THE

HISTORY OF THE SARACENS;

COMPRISING THE

LIVES OF MOHAMMED AND HIS SUCCESSORS,

TO THE DEATH OF ABDALMELIK, THE ELEVENTH CALIPH.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

THEIR MOST REMARKABLE BATTLES, SIEGES, REVOLTS, &c.

COLLECTED FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES, ESPECIALLY ARABIC MSS.

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THE SIXTH EDITION,

REVISED, IMPROVED, AND ENLARGED.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The Publisher of the Standard Library has much satisfaction in presenting to his subscribers an improved edition of a book so remarkable for curious, original, and instructive matter as Ockley's History of the Saracens. Upon its first publication this work was received by scholars with marked approbation, as the most complete and authentic account of the Arabian Prophet and his successors which had yet been given to the world; and even at the present day, after the lapse of nearly a century, it continues to be regarded as the standard history of this eventful period.

The establishment of Islamism is undoubtedly to be numbered among those stupendous events which have changed the face of society in the East; and is a subject deserving not only of the careful study of the statesman and the divine, but of all who delight to search, patiently and reverently, into the ways of Providence. With the Koran in one hand, and the scimitar in the other, the impetuous and indomitable Arab achieved a series of splendid victories unparalleled in the history of nations; for in the short space of eighty years that mighty range of Saracenic conquest embraced a wider extent of territory than Rome had mastered in the course of eight hundred.

It is evident that a work designed for popular circulation, and which is intended to allure those whom business or indolence may prevent from more laborious reading, requires a nice combination of qualities which do not often meet together in the same intellect—accuracy, judgment, taste, and scholarship—all of which, it will be seen, are exhibited in Ockley's pages.

The most unqualified praise has been awarded to the author for the laborious research and unwearied energy displayed under peculiar difficulties, which has resulted in the production of a work at once enriching the literature of our country, and furnishing materials of the highest importance to historians and travellers of every age. Gibbon made considerable use of this work, in his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," where he speaks of Ockley as "a learned and spirited interpreter of Arabian authorities, whose tales and traditions afford an artless picture of the men and the times;" and in his Autobiography he describes him as "an original in every sense, who had opened his eyes." Professor Smyth, also, in his recent Lectures on Modern History, recommends "Ockley's curious work as necessary to enable the student to comprehend the character of the Arabians, which is there displayed by their own writers in all its singularities." A writer in the Quarterly Review (No. xxix.) likewise adds, that "the History of the Saracens is a splendid instance of success in this most difficult branch of authorship, and will considerably overpay a perusal, by the strong moral painting and dramatic vivacity with which the vigorous writer diversified and elevated his subjects."

The literary character of the work being so well established, and the last edition having become extremely scarce, the reasons for its republication must be obvious. In preparing the present Edition for the Press, it is confidently hoped, that the various improvements introduced throughout, have enhanced its value, and will entitle it to a high degree of popular favour. The entire work is now compressed in a single volume, printed from the third and best edition of 1757, which appeared in two volumes, 8vo, and it has been enriched with considerable additions in the form of Notes, from the researches of later writers on Arabian History, particularly Major Price, Burckhardt, Mills, Lane, Dr. Weil, and Don Pascual de Gayangos. The orthography of the Oriental names, which in the work as left by Ockley was by no means uniform, has, as far as possible, been reduced to the standard now most generally acceptable to English readers. A Memoir of the learned Author, a Table of Contents and Index, have also been added, with Chronological Dates of the Christian and Mohammedan years, as well as a Synoptical View of the later portion of Saracenic History not given by Ockley.

In a future volume it is intended to give a continuation of Ockley's work, to the extinction of the Bagdad Caliphate, which will be found to contain information both interesting and instructive to the general reader.

H. G. B.

YORK STREET, *March*, 1847.

MEMOIR OF SIMON OCKLEY.

At a time when Oriental studies were at their infancy in this country, Simon Ockley, animated by the illustrious example of Pocock, and the laborious diligence of Prideaux, devoted his life and his fortune to those novel researches, which necessarily involved both. With that enthusiasm which the ancient votary experienced, and with that patient suffering the modern martyr has endured, he pursued, till he accomplished, the useful object of his labours. He perhaps was the first who exhibited to us other heroes than those of Greece and Rome; sages as contemplative, and a people more magnificent even than the iron masters of the world.*

Simon Ockley was born at Exeter in 1678, and was descended from a good family of Great Ellingham, in Norfolk, where his father usually resided. After a proper foundation laid in school-learning, he was sent, in 1693, to Queen's College in Cambridge, where he soon distinguished himself by great quickness of parts as well as intense application to literature; to the oriental languages more particularly, for his uncommon skill in which he afterwards became famous. He took, at the usual time, the degrees in arts, and that of bachelor in divinity. Having taken orders also, he was, in 1705, through the interest of Simon Patrick, bishop of Ely, presented by Jesus College, in Cambridge, to the vicarage of Swavesey, in that county; and, in 1711, chosen Arabic professor of the university. These preferments he held to the day of his death, which happened at Swavesey, Aug. 9, 1720, immaturely to himself, but more so to his family.

Ockley had the culture of Oriental learning very much at heart, and the several publications which he made were intended solely to promote it. In 1706, he printed, at Cambridge, a useful little book, entitled, "Introductio ad Linguas Orientales." Prefixed is a dedication to his friend the bishop of Ely, and a preface, addressed to the Juventus Academica, whom he labours to excite by various arguments to the pursuit of oriental learning; assuring them in general, that no man ever was, or ever will be, truly great in divinity, without at least some portion of skill in it. There is a chapter in this work, relating to the celebrated controversy between Buxtorf and Capellus, upon the antiquity of the Hebrew points, where Ockley professes to think with Buxtorf, who contended for it: but he afterwards changed his opinion, and went over to Capellus, although he had not any opportunity of publicly declaring it. And indeed it is plain, from his manner of closing that chapter upon the points, that he was then far enough from having any settled persuasion about them.

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* D'Israeli's Calamities of Authors.

In 1707, he published in 12mo. from the Italian of Leo Modena, a Venetian rabbi, "The History of the present Jews throughout the World; being an ample, though succinct, account of their customs, ceremonies, and manner of living at this time:" to which is subjoined a "Supplement concerning the Carraites and Samaritans, from the French of Father Simon." In 1708, a little curious book, entitled "The Improvement of Human Reason, exhibited in the Life of Hai Ebn Yokdhan, written above 500 years ago, by Abu Jaafar Ebn Tophail:" translated from the Arabic, and illustrated with figures, 8vo. The design of the author, who was a Mohammedan philosopher, is to show, how human reason may, by observation and experience, arrive at the knowledge of natural things, and thence to supernatural, and particularly the knowledge of God and a future state: the design of the translator, to give those who might be unacquainted with it, a specimen of the genius of the Arabian philosophers, and to excite young scholars to the reading of eastern authors. This was the point our rabbi had constantly in view; and, therefore, in his "Oratio Inauguralis," for the professorship, it was with no small pleasure, as we imagine, that he insisted upon the beauty, copiousness, and antiquity, of the Arabic tongue in particular, and upon the use of oriental learning in general; and that he dwelt upon the praises of Erpenius, Golius, Pocock, Herbelot, and all who had in any way contributed to promote the study of it. In 1713, his name appeared to a little book, with this title "An Account of South-West Barbary, containing what is most remarkable in the territories of the king of Fez and Morocco; written by a person who had been a slave there a considerable time, and published from his authentic manuscript: to which are added, two Letters; one from the present king of Morocco to Colonel Kirk; the other to Sir Cloudesly Shovell, with Sir Cloudesly's answer," &c., 8vo. While we are enumerating these small publications of the professor, it will be but proper to mention two sermons: one, "Upon the Dignity and Authority of the Christian Priesthood," preached at Ormond Chapel, London, in 1710; another, "Upon the Necessity of Instructing Children in the Scriptures," at St. Ives, in Huntingdonshire, 1713. To these we must add a new translation of the second "Apocryphal Book of Esdras," from the Arabic version of it, as that which we have in our common Bibles is from the vulgar Latin, 1716. Mr. Whiston, we are told, was the person who employed him in this translation, upon a strong suspicion, that it must needs make for the Arian cause he was then reviving; and he, accordingly, published it in one of his volumes of "Primitive Christianity Revived." Ockley, however, was firmly of opinion, that it could serve nothing at all to his purpose; as appears from a printed letter of his to Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Thirlby, in which are the following words: "You shall have my 'Esdras' in a little time; two hundred of which I reserved, when Mr. Whiston reprinted his, purely upon this account, because I was loath that anything with my name to it should be extant only in his heretical volumes. I only stay, till the learned author of the 'History of Montanism' has finished a dissertation which he has promised me to prefix to that book."* A learned letter of Ockley's to Mr. W. Wotton is printed among the "Miscellaneous Tracts of Mr. Bowyer, 1784."

But the most considerable by far of all the professor's performances is, "The History of the Saracens;" begun from the death of Mohammed, the founder of the Saracenic empire, which happened in 632, and carried down through a succession of caliphs, to 705. This "History," which illustrates the religion, rites, customs, and manner of living of that warlike people, is very curious and entertaining; and Ockley was at vast pains in collecting materials from the most authentic

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* This letter, dated Oct. the 15th, 1712, is entitled, "An Account of the authority of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, controverted between Dr. Grabe and Mr. Whiston." 1712. 8vo.

Arabic authors, especially manuscripts, not hitherto published in any European language; and for that purpose resided a long time at Oxford, to be near the Bodleian library, where those manuscripts were reposited. It is in 2 vols. 8vo.; the first of which was published in 1708; the second, in 1718: and both were soon after republished. A third edition was printed, in the same size, at Cambridge, in 1757; to which is prefixed, "An Account of the Arabians or Saracens, of the Life of Mohammed, and the Mohammedan Religion, by a learned hand:" that is, by the learned Dr. Long, master of Pembroke hall, in Cambridge.

While at Oxford, preparing this work, he sent a letter to his daughter, part of which is worth transcribing, as characteristic both of him and his labours. "My condition here is this: one of the most useful and necessary authors I have is written in such a wretched hand, that the very reading of it is perfect deciphering. I am forced sometimes to take three or four lines together, and then pull them all to pieces to find where the words begin and end; for oftentimes it is so written, that a word is divided as if the former part of it was the end of the foregoing word, and the latter part the beginning of another; besides innumerable other difficulties known only to those that understand the language. Add to this the pains of abridging, comparing authors, selecting proper materials, and the like, which in a remote and copious language, abounding with difficulties sometimes insuperable, make it equivalent at least to the performing of six times so much in Greek and Latin. So that if I continue in the same course in which I am engaged at present, that is, from the time I rise in the morning till I can see no longer at night, I cannot pretend once to entertain the least thought of seeing home till Michaelmas. Were it not that there is some satisfaction in answering the end of my profession, some in making new discoveries, and some in the hopes of obliging my country with the history of the greatest empire the world ever yet saw, I would sooner do almost anything than submit to the drudgery.

"People imagine, that it is only understanding Arabic, and then translating a book out of it, and there is an end of the story: but if ever learning revives among us, posterity will judge better. This work of mine (in another way) is almost of as different a nature from translating out of the Greek or

Latin, as translating a poet from one language to another is different from prose. One comfort I have, that the authors I am concerned with are very good in their kind, and afford me plenty of materials, which will clear up a great many mistakes of modern travellers, who, passing through the eastern countries, without the necessary knowledge of the history and ancient customs of the Mohammedans, pick up little pieces of tradition from the present inhabitants, and deliver them as obscurely as they receive them. One thing pleases me much, that we shall give a very particular account of Ali and Hosein, who are reckoned saints by the Persians, and whose names you must have met with both in Herbert and Tavernier; for the sake of whom there remains that implacable and irreconcilable hatred between the Turks and Persians to this very day, which you may look for in vain in all the English books that have hitherto appeared. It would be a great satisfaction to me, if the author I have were complete in all his volumes, that I might bring the history down five or six hundred years: but, alas! of twelve that he wrote, we have but two at Oxford, which are large quartos, and from whence I take the chief of my materials.

"I wish that some public spirit would arise among us, and cause those books to be bought in the east for us which we want. I should be very willing to lay out my pains for the service of the public. If we could but procure £500 to be judiciously laid out in the east, in such books as I could mention for the public library at Cambridge, it would be the greatest improvement that could be conceived: but that is a happiness not to be expected in my time. We are all swallowed up in politics; there is no room for letters; and it is to be feared that the next generation will not only inherit but improve the polite ignorance of the present."

Poor Ockley, always a student, and rarely what is called a man of the world, once encountered a literary calamity which frequently occurs when an author finds himself among the vapid triflers and the polished cynics of the fashionable circle. Something like a patron he found in Harley, the Earl of Oxford, and once had the unlucky honour of dining at the table of my Lord Treasurer. It is probable that Ockley, from retired habits and severe studies, was not at all accomplished in the *suaviter in modo*, of which greater geniuses than Ockley have so surlily despaired. How he behaved we cannot narrate; probably he delivered himself with as great simplicity at the table of the Lord Treasurer, as on the wrong side of Cambridge Castle gate. The embarrassment this simplicity drew him into, is very fully stated in the following copious apology he addressed to the Earl of Oxford, which we have transcribed from the original; perhaps it may be a useful memorial to some men of letters as little polished as the learned Ockley:—

"*Cambridge, July* 15, 1714.

"My Lord,

"I was so struck with horror and amazement two days ago, that I cannot possibly express it. A friend of mine showed me a letter, part of the contents of which were, 'That Professor Ockley had given such extreme offence by some uncourtly answers to some gentlemen at my Lord Treasurer's table, that it would be in vain to make any further application to him.'

"My Lord, it is impossible for me to recollect, at this distance of time. All that I can say is this: that, as on the one side for a man to come to his patron's table with a design to affront either him or his friends, supposes him a perfect natural, a mere idiot; so on the other side it would be extremely severe, if a person whose education was far distant from the politeness of a court, should, upon the account of an unguarded expression, or some little inadvertency in his behaviour, suffer a capital sentence.

"Which is my case, if I have forfeited your Lordship's favour; which God forbid! That man is involved in double ruin that is not only forsaken by his friend; but, which is the unavoidable consequence, exposed to the malice and contempt, not only of enemies, but, what is still more grievous, of all sorts of fools.

"It is not the talent of every well-meaning man to converse with his superiors with due decorum; for, either when he reflects upon the vast distance of their station above his own, he is struck dumb and almost insensible; or else their condescension and courtly behaviour encourages him to be too familiar. To steer exactly between these two extremes requires not only a good intention, but presence of mind, and long custom.

"Another article in my friend's letter was, 'That somebody had informed your lordship, that I was a very sot.' When first I had the honour to be known to your lordship, I could easily foresee that there would be persons enough that would envy me upon that account, and do what in them lay to traduce me. Let Haman enjoy never so much himself, it is all nothing, it does him no good, till poor Mordecai is hanged out of his way.

"But I never feared the being censured upon that account. Here in the University, I converse with none but persons of the most distinguished reputations both for learning and virtue, and receive from them daily as great marks of respect and esteem, which I should not have, if that imputation were true. It is most certain that I do indulge myself the freedom of drinking a cheerful cup, at proper seasons, among my friends; but no otherwise than is done by thousands of honest men who never forfeit their character by it. And whoever doth no more than so, deserves no more to be called a sot, than a man that eats a hearty meal would be willing to be called a glutton.

"As for those detractors, if I have but the least assurance of your lordship's favour, I can very easily despise them. They are *nati consumere fruges.* They need not trouble themselves about what other people do; for whatever they eat and drink, it is only robbing the poor. Resigning myself entirely to your Lordship's goodness and pardon, I conclude this necessary apology with like provocation, That *I would be content he should take my character from any person that had a good one of his own.*

"I am, with all submission,
"My Lord,
"Your Lordship's most obedient, &c.
"SIMON OCKLEY."

To the honour of the Earl of Oxford, this unlucky piece of awkwardness at table, in giving "uncourtly answers," did not interrupt his regard for the poor oriental student; for several years afterwards the correspondence of Ockley was still acceptable to the Earl.*

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* D'Israeli's Calamities of Authors.

In the meantime, Ockley was one of those unfortunate persons, whom Pierius Valerianus would have recorded, in his book "De infelicitate literatorum." In his "Inaugural Oration," printed in 1711, he calls fortune *venefica* and *noverca*, speaks of *mordaces curæ* as things long familiar to him; and, in Dec. 1717, we find him actually under confinement for debt. In the introduction to the second volume of the first edition of his "Saracenic History," he not only tells us so, but even stoically dates from Cambridge Castle. His biographer thus accounts for his unfortunate situation:—Having married very young, he was encumbered with a family early in life; his preferment in the church was not answerable to his reputation as a scholar; his patron, the Earl of Oxford, fell into disgrace when he wanted him most; and, lastly, he had some share of that common infirmity among the learned, which makes them negligent of economy and a prudential regard to outward things, without which, however, all the wit, and all the learning, in the world, will but serve to render a man the more miserable.

If the letters of the widows and children of many of our eminent authors were collected, they would demonstrate the great fact, that the man who is a husband or a father ought not to be an author. They might weary with a monotonous cry, and usually would be dated from the gaol or the garret. I have seen an original letter from the widow of Ockley to the Earl of Oxford, in which she lays before him the deplorable situation of her affairs; the debts of the Professor being beyond what his effects amounted to, the severity of the creditors would not even suffer the executor to make the best of his effects; the widow remained destitute of necessaries, incapable of assisting her children.

Thus students have devoted their days to studies worthy of a student. They are public benefactors, yet find no friend in the public, who cannot yet appreciate their value—Ministers of state know it, though they have rarely protected them. Ockley, by letters I have seen, was frequently employed by Bolingbroke to translate letters from the sovereign of Morocco to our court; yet all the debts for which he was imprisoned in Cambridge Castle did not exceed two hundred pounds. The public interest is concerned in stimulating such enthusiasts; they are men who cannot be salaried, who cannot be created by letters patent; for they are men who infuse their soul into their studies, and breathe their fondness for them in their last agonies. Yet such are doomed to feel their life pass away like a painful dream![*]

As to the literary character of Ockley, it is certain that he was extremely well skilled in all the ancient languages, and particularly the oriental; so that the very learned Reland thought it not too much to declare, that he was "vir, si quis alius, harum literarum peritus." He was, likewise, very knowing in modern languages, as in the French, Spanish, Italian, &c. and, upon the whole, considered as a linguist, we may presume that very few have exceeded him.[†]

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[*] D'Israeli's Calamities of Authors.

[†] For this biography, which is principally written by Dr. Heathcote, we are indebted to Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary and D'Israeli's Calamities of Authors.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

The Arabians, a people but little noticed by the Greek and Roman authors, notwithstanding the nearness and the extent of their country, have, since the time of Mohammed, rendered themselves universally remarkable, both by their arms and learning. The understanding, therefore, of their affairs seems no less if not more necessary than a knowledge of the history of any people whatsoever, who have flourished since the decline of the Roman empire. Not only have they had as great men, and performed as considerable actions, as any other nation under heaven; but, what is of more concern to us Christians, they were the first ruin of the eastern church.

It might reasonably have been expected, that the Greeks, who bore the greatest share of that grievous calamity, and whose vices and divisions, it is to be feared, brought it upon the Christian world, would have taken particular care to have given a just account of it. But, on the contrary, they have been more jejune and sparing in this particular, than is allowable in any tolerable historian, even when relating matters at the greatest distance. Not to enumerate a long catalogue of their defects, I shall content myself with producing the words of an ingenious author,* who was well aware of the imperfections of the Greeks with relation to this history, and fully expresses the true sense of that matter in these words: "This," says he, "in substance, is the account of those wars, and of the beginning of the Saracenic empire, which is left us by the Grecian writers of that age, who are justly accused of brevity and obscurity, in a subject that deserved to be more copiously handled; for undoubtedly it must needs have been various as well as surprising in its circumstances, containing no less than the subduing of whole nations, altering ancient governments, and introducing a new face of affairs in the world." There is nothing more just than this observation; and what lame accounts must we then expect from those who compile histories of the Saracens out of the Byzantine historians?

I was no sooner convinced of this, but, having, by the study of their language, fitted myself in some measure for reading their authors, I felt a great desire to communicate some part of this hitherto unknown history to the world; being equally affected with wonder and concern, that, considering the multitude of learned men which the last age produced, it should have been so long neglected. The reason of this is, I conceive, that the very few who were masters of the Arabic learning were otherwise employed, spending their time in publishing such books as were absolutely necessary to pave the way for posterity to attain a competent skill in that difficult language. Others, insufficiently acquainted with that nation, have entertained too mean an opinion of them, looking upon them as mere barbarians• and this mistaken notion hindered all further inquiry.

* Echard's Roman History, vol. ii. p. 304.

As for those great men who, in this last age first restored to us Europeans that learned, copious, and elegant language; I mean Erpenius, Giggeius, Golius, Sionita, and our incomparable Dr. Pocock; we cannot express how much we are indebted to them for their learned labours, without which the Arabic tongue would still have been inaccessible to us. But as there are other persons of a different taste, who, for want of due information, have conceived a wrong opinion of the Arabians, it will not be amiss, before we give a particular account of our present undertaking, to say something concerning that people.

Before Mohammed's time they were idolaters. They were always a warlike people, seldom being at peace either with one another or their neighbours. They were divided into two classes; some of them lived in towns and villages; others, having no fixed, settled habitations, lived in tents, and removed from one part of the country to another, according as their necessities compelled, or conveniences invited them. Their chief excellence consisted in breeding and managing horses, and the use of bows, swords, and lances. Their learning lay wholly in their poetry, to which their genius greatly inclined them. Mohammed and his successors soon rooted out idolatry, and united those jarring tribes in the profession of that new superstition, which he pretended to have received by inspiration from God, delivered to him immediately by the angel Gabriel.

For about two hundred years, little else was cared for but war, except what concerned the interpretation of the Koran, and the sects and divisions among themselves which arose therefrom, and daily multiplied. But there was as yet no curiosity about foreign learning, nor desire of being acquainted with the arts and sciences. At last, in Al Mamoun's reign, who was the twenty-seventh after Mohammed, and was inaugurated caliph in the 108th year of the Hejirah,* learning began to be cultivated to a very great degree, especially mathematics and astronomy. And, in order to promote learning and science, that noble caliph spared no cost, either to procure such Greek books as were serviceable to that purpose, or to encourage learned men to the study of them. Nor did the sagacity and application of that ingenious, penetrating people in the least disappoint the designs of their munificent benefactor; their progress in learning, after they had once entered upon it, seeming no less wonderful than that of their conquests; for in a few years' time they had plenty of translations out of the Greek, not only of mathematicians and astronomers, but also of philosophers, naturalists, and physicians. And this love of learning was not confined to the eastern parts, but diffused throughout the whole dominions of the Saracens, being first carried into Africa (where they erected a great many universities), and from thence into Spain: so that when learning was quite lost in these western parts, it was restored by the Moors, to whom was owing whatever of philosophy was understood by the Christians of these times. For Greek was not understood in this part of the world till the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, A.D. 1453, when several learned Greeks escaping with their libraries, and coming westward, that language was restored; therefore the philosophers and schoolmen, before this date, were obliged to content themselves with Latin translations, not only of Averroes, Alfarabius, and

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* A.D. 813.

Algazali, and other Mohammedan authors, but also of Aristotle and other philosophers, which translations of Greek authors were not made out of the original Greek, but out of Arabic versions.

Had the Arabians, after having taken the pains to learn the Greek tongue, applied themselves with as much care to the historians, as they did to the philosophers, and studied Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and the other masters of correct writing which that language furnished, we might have expected from them a succession of historians worthy to write the great actions which were performed among them. But they never turned their thoughts that way, studying the Greek merely for the sake of the sciences, and valuing neither that nor any other language as compared with their own. And, though it must be granted that the Arabic is extremely fine and copious, so as to afford words sufficient to express with elegance and propriety every subject, it is, nevertheless, not sufficient of itself, any more than any other language, to make a man an author; there being a manifest difference between language and style, insomuch that a man may write the best language in the world, and use the most proper and significant words, and yet not be worth the reading. For besides propriety of expression, a certain justness and exactness (not only with respect to the choice of materials, but to the composition), must shine through the whole; and this is not to be attained without being well acquainted with the best authors.

The great esteem which I have for eastern learning makes me heartily wish that we had not too much cause in this respect to complain of our Arabic historians. For in this way they have deprived us of a great deal of the pleasure, and sometimes profit, which we might otherwise have derived from reading them. They have not sufficient regard to the due qualifications of an historian, but tell things after a careless manner, often stuffing their works with many trifling matters, at other times jingling upon words, and, to show the copiousness of their language and variety of expression, spinning out a trifling incident into a long story. It is, therefore, a work of difficulty to follow or compile these authors, and yet the task, nevertheless, deserves well to be undertaken, and will abundantly recompense the pains.

For in these authors is contained an account of all the most remarkable actions done in the east, and other parts, for above one thousand years. During this period, Asia and Africa were the scene of as great achievements as ever were performed in the times of the Roman empire, to which that of the Saracens was, in many respects, equal.

In order to carry out my design, after I had made a draught out of Elmakin, Abulfaragius, and Eutychius, I went to the Bodleian Library, which is, without question, the best furnished with oriental manuscripts of any in Europe. Besides a great number of the best authors, purchased by the University of Oxford, out of the libraries of Dr. Hyde, Dr. Huntington, and Dr. Pocock; not to mention Mr. Samuel Clark's, Gravius's, or Selden's, there is in the Bodleian an invaluable collection given by that incomparable prelate and martyr of blessed memory, Archbishop Laud; of whose great virtues it would be superfluous to say anything here, they being so well known and admired by all that know how to set a just value upon learning and piety.

But this prelate's princely munificence and zeal in restoring oriental learning in these northern climates, both by purchasing an excellent collection of eastern authors, and in encouraging men of abilities to apply themselves to that study, cannot, without the greatest ingratitude, be passed over in silence by any one that has any due regard to oriental learning. But I especially owe him this acknowledgment, as it was among the manuscripts of that reverend prelate that I found the best copy* of that author which I have here endeavoured to make speak English, and of whom I am now going to give an account.

His name is Abu Abdollah Mohammed Ebn Omar Al Wakidi. As to the time in which he lived I have not been able to find any authentic information, nor could I, by the diligent reading of him, discover any token by which I could give a probable guess.

Though I cannot precisely fix his age, it is most certain that he lived above two hundred years after the matter of fact which he relates. For, page 313, he mentions Al Motasem, the caliph, whose reign began in the year of our Lord 833; and, if so, it is the same thing as if he had lived six hundred years after. For that author that lives one thousand years after any matter of fact, is as much a witness of it as he that lives but at two hundred years' distance. They are both of them obliged to take upon trust, and if there be no loss of good authors during that interval, he that writes latest is as credible an historian as the first.

Besides, the particulars relating to the first rise of kingdoms and empires are generally obscure. The reason of which is, because arms take rule of all, and a government must be well established before learning can get room to breathe in it. Wherefore, in these cases, it is allowed by all, that those accounts which have been handed down from time to time, and received by the best judges, ought to be looked upon as authentic. Never was there any person yet that inquired after the age of Livy, in order to know how far he might be accounted a competent relator of what was done in the reigns of Romulus and Numa Pompilius.

In these cases it is, as that excellent author very well observes: *Famæ rerum standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem,* "When a long interval of time has set things at too great a distance, we must be content with the current report, and rest satisfied with the best account we can get." However, that author consults his own reputation, and his readers' satisfaction most, who does not indifferently set down everything he meets with, but uses as much caution as the circumstances of the matter will admit. Our author, Al Wakidi, has not been wanting in this particular. Sometimes he ushers in a story after this manner: "I have been informed by a credible person." In another place, he says: "We are informed by Moses Ebn Asem, who had it from Jonas Ebn Abdallah, who had it from his grandfather Abdarrhaman Ebn Aslam Arrabii, who was in the wars of Syria." In that place where he gives an account of Derar and some others, who were put into chests at Arrean, he says: "I was informed by Ahmed Al Matin Al Jorhami, who had it from Raphaa Ebn Kais Al Amiri, who had it from Saiph Ebn Jabalah Al Chatgami, who had it from Thabet Ebn Al Kamah, who said he was present at the action." These expressions (not to insinuate that they may afford a trace which may lead to a guess at the author's age) are most evident proofs that he was as careful as he could, neither to be imposed upon himself, nor to deceive his reader. And though there are a great many such like expressions dispersed throughout his whole work, yet I have not thought fit to intermix them in my history, because it is so different from what we are used to. Here, however, I thought it necessary to give a taste of it, for the vindication of my author. And certain it is, that such things as these, nay of less consideration, were thought a good defence of Herodotus against Plutarch's objections by no less a person than the learned Harry Stephens.

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* MSS. Laud. No. A. 118.

Al Wakidi's design was not to write the life of any particular caliph, but to give an account of the conquest of Syria. I should have been very glad if he had given me an opportunity of comparing him with some noble Greek or Latin historian, but his manner of writing will not allow it. He is chiefly valuable for this, that we find materials in him which we have no where else, and he is not so sparing of them, but there is liberty enough to pick and choose. How I have succeeded in this performance must be submitted to the judgment of the learned reader. Only I must take the liberty to say, that though I have not transcribed my author in every particular, yet I have done him no injury in anything that I have related; nor have I taken a liberty of writing carelessly, in hopes of being secure from discovery (the language not being generally understood), but have used the same diligence as I would have done were I sure that every one of my readers would instantly have collated my book with the manuscripts.

The archbishop's copy, which I chiefly used, is two hundred and fifty years old, being written in the year of the Hejirah 863, of our Lord 1458. There is another copy of it among Dr. Pocock's MSS. D'Herbelot says there is one in the library of the king of France; which are all that I know of in Europe.

SIMON OCKLEY.

INTRODUCTION.

In our first volume* we have given an account of the wonderful success of the Saracens in the speedy conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt. The particulars of the sieges of Damascus, Alexandria, Aleppo, Antioch, Jerusalem, and several other places of great importance, as delivered by their own authors ; the foundation of the destruction of the Grecian empire, and the establishment of that of the Saracens under the government of Abubeker, Omar, and Othman, the immediate successors of Mohammed.

But, if the reader expects in this second volume such a particular account of their foreign conquests as is to be found in the first, he will find himself deceived. When the Saracens first undertook the conquest of the universe, everything beyond their own bounds was new to them, and their achievements were no less matter of surprise to themselves than to their neighbours. Afterwards, however, when they were grown considerable enough to quarrel among themselves, and when their foreign enemies were removed so far from the centre of the government, that, let success prove which way it would, it was not likely to affect the vitals of the empire; their historians begin to pass over those distant transactions very cursorily, seldom descending to particulars, unless there happens to be something very extraordinary; and, what is more remarkable still, seldom take any notice of them, unless the bare mentioning of them can be reckoned as such. Not but that there are in several of their libraries particular accounts from whence many circumstances might be gathered relating to Africa, and also entire histories of the conquest of Spain; while, for the eastern parts of their empire, the Persian historians are the best.

Instead of such exact accounts of foreign affairs, we are in the present period entertained with a quite different scene. Here their historians dwell principally upon those terrible divisions among themselves which, originating with the succession of Ali and his family, the abdication of his son Hasan, and the death of Hosein, have laid the foundation of perpetual discord among the followers of the prophet. For the dissensions between Ali's followers (of whom the Persians are chief), and the Traditionists (of whom are the Turks, and whose creed we have inserted at the end of the Life of Mohammed), seem never likely to be reconciled so long as Mohammedanism itself shall exist. Some of the Turks, indeed, interpret that fable of Mohammed's having divided the moon, and, after holding one half of it for some time in his sleeve, joining it again to the other, as prefiguring the division of the professors of Mohammedanism (whose standard is the new moon) into those two great sects, and the re-union of them after a certain period of years.

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* The edition from which the present is printed is in two volumes, published at intervals, in 1757. This introduction was prefixed to the second volume.—*Ed.*

These things, together with the changing of their government from an elective monarchy as it was left to them by Mohammed, into an hereditary one, as commenced by Moawiyah, and firmly settled in the reigns of his successors; as well as the account of the immense and rapid extension of their empire, form the principal contents of the second volume. And although we have not arrived at the conquest of Spain, nor the learned age of the Arabians, yet we have brought the Saracen empire to an established settlement, and written the history of fourscore years, in which the Saracens conquered very much more than the Romans did in four hundred.

I designed, when I first set about the present portion of my work, to take in the whole of the contemporary affairs of the Christians; but, upon second thoughts, it appeared to me to be foreign to my purpose. Every one may satisfy himself, by reading this history, how regardless during its course the Saracens were of any European powers; they were wholly taken up with their domestic quarrels. The proposed way of proceeding must have occasioned a great many discourses to be intermixed through the whole, in order to reconcile the accounts of the Greeks and Arabians, which widely disagree both in the facts and the dates. By such discussions the narrative of Arabian affairs must have been frequently and unseasonably interrupted. A man might as well undertake to write the history of France for the present time, out of our newspapers, as to give an account of the Arabians from Christian historians. The Arabians (and it is their history we write, and no other) are the most likely to give the best account of things performed among themselves. Wherefore all that we promise, is, to fix our chronology to a day.

Then, as to the Greeks, whom, in the early part of our history, we see sufficiently broken by the irresistible prowess of the victorious Saracens; it was not in their power to offer any considerable opposition to such foes. For so great was their intrepidity that there was not a single deputy-lieutenant or general among them that would not have thought himself worthy to be branded with indelible disgrace, if he should have suffered himself to have been intimidated even by the united forces of all Europe. And if any one asks, why the Greeks did not exert themselves more towards the extirpation of these insolent invaders? to say, that Amrou kept his residence at Alexandria, and Moawiyah at Damascus, is a sufficient answer to any person that is acquainted with the characters of those men.

But what a great many persons, otherwise of no contemptible reading nor abilities, wonder at, is the vast difference between the occurrences in our present history and those that are found in others. But whosoever considers the briskness and activity of the Arabians (the effect of the warmth of their climate, temperance, and constant exercise), joined to their enthusiasm, will find an easy solution of those extravagant actions that seem to distinguish them from the rest of mankind.

For this reason no one ought to wonder if I have accommodated my style to the humour of the people of whom I write. To write of men in their circumstances, who were all humorists, bigots, and enthusiasts, in the same style as becomes the sedateness and gravity of the Greeks and Romans, would be most unsuitable and unnatural. In such a case you put them in a dress which they would no more thank you for than a Roman senator would for a long periwig, or Socrates for a pair of silk stockings. You rob them of all their merit; the very things for which you laugh at them are what they most value themselves upon; and it is most certain, that the nearer you bring a man that is singular to the rest of mankind, the farther you remove him from himself, and destroy the very being of his singularity. This will, I hope, satisfy the judicious reader, that, if I have deviated from that way of writing which was first established by the ancients, and always admired and imitated by the wisest of the moderns, I have done so not of choice, but of necessity. For otherwise I should have abused both the Arabians and my readers: the former by putting them into a disguise under a pretence of dressing them; my readers, by defrauding them of the humour of that enthusiastic nation. Wherefore I have let them tell their own story their own way; and I have abstained as much as possible from intermixing reflections of my own, unless where there appeared a necessity of illustrating something that might not be obvious to persons unacquainted with oriental affairs.

I must confesss that some of the particulars seem very odd and ridiculous; but the stranger they are, the more they illustrate the character of the people of whom we write. Besides, there is a vast deal of difference between being a reader and a spectator. The things that make us laugh now, would have made us tremble then. The habit, the manner, the gravity, sobriety, and activity of that conquering people, are not beneath the observance of the greatest genius. What we find in them to laugh at is the difference of their manners. But this is but a childish reason, and the very same which makes ignorants laugh at scholars; fools, at wise men; boys, at old ones; atheists and debauchees, at persons of virtue and religion. However, I do not deny, but that I have here and there inserted a relation wherein the matter of fact itself contains nothing very extraordinary; nevertheless, I could not make up my mind to omit it, because the circumstances appeared to be highly characteristic of the humour and genius of that tragi-comical people.

Who would not rather have the details of a siege omitted, than lose the description of Ali's inauguration? Of the former a man may form some notion by himself, but he could have no idea of the latter without good authority. Many cities have been taken under nearly the same circumstances, but very few emperors, I believe, were ever proclaimed in such style as Ali. A great many other little incidents there are, very useful and entertaining in themselves, that may be properly enough inserted in writing a life, which would not so well come into a universal history, whose course goes on like a vast river, sometimes overflowing its banks, sometimes keeping within its bounds; sometimes with a great, impetuous fall, sometimes with a smooth and almost imperceptible motion. But, in writing the lives of monarchs, the course of the narrative is frequently interrupted, and the historian must detail several little particulars pertaining to his particular person, his humour, friends, enemies, passions, affections, dangers, deliverances, apophthegms, and the like, not properly belonging to the history of the people. Such is the difference between Suetonius and Livy.

But, to write after the manner of the most celebrated universal historians, all little circumstances and trivial discourses must be omitted; the language must be all of the same thread, and the whole carried on in a nervous, eloquent, and flowing style; and, when the subject calls for it (as in any very extraordinary case), proportionable ornament must be added; the images magnified beyond the life, and embellished to that degree sometimes, that the historian puts on the orator before he is aware: and speeches must be made suitable to every occasion, according to the abilities of the author. Throughout the cadence must be smooth and easy, and the periods full: nothing must be inserted that falls beneath the dignity of history; otherwise, between the style and the matter, it must of necessity oftentimes happen, that a great deal of nature is lost. The whole composition must be uniform, and managed as regularly as a well-built edifice. In short, such a round turn must be given to everything, that the facts shall seem to be made on purpose to embellish the history, rather than the history for the relation of the facts. He, therefore, that reads for delight, and loves to be entertained with artful compositions, will choose this way; he that studies nature, will be better pleased with the other. That is one reason why persons of the greatest severity and exactest judgment delight in comedy, not only because it diverts them, but because it lets them into the humour of mankind, and paints it in all conditions of life as it really is. Now, why an historian, whose business is truth, should, for the sake of imitation, smother every thing that is characteristic and distinguishing of the people concerning whom he writes, I cannot understand. Wherefore, let Livy make speeches for his people, and Tacitus invent politics, it is the glory of our Arabic historians to represent the naked truth as handed down from their ancestors in its native simplicity. So that, as much as we are exceeded by other authors in their elaborate expression, and the strength and artifice of their composition, so much at least do we hope to exceed them in the unaffected plainness and sincerity of our relation.

Some critics were pleased to object to the first part of my history, that it was the strangest story they had ever heard since they were born! They never met with such folks in their lives as these Arabians! They never heard too, they said, of these things before, which they of course must have done, if any body else had. A reverend dignitary asked me, if, when I wrote that book, I had not lately been reading the History of Oliver Cromwell! They say that the Arabians are given to romance; and for that reason I suppose they are not to be believed (according to Aristotle) when they speak truth. And above all, that a history will never go down in this nice age, that contains only a relation of battles, but that the very quintessence of a history consists in the politics.

Now for my own part I must confess, that I am of such an indolent disposition, that if I can but fairly get rid of this last grand objection, I care not one rush for all the rest. I confess that a history without politics comes into the world in very unfashionable circumstances, especially in a generation wherein, if fortune had not envied our merit, we should all have been plenipotentiaries, secretaries of state, or privy-councillors! What affects me most is, that this objection should be made by these enlightened gentlemen, whom every body would have supposed to have been so well skilled in analytics, as upon the first sight of any action to have made an infallible guess at the springs of it. Besides, I should have run a great risk on the other side, for it is an insufferable affront in an author to leave nothing to his intelligent reader, but to be always feeding him with a spoon, and teaching him to read with a fescue! Who would ever have imagined but that it was the peculiar talent of these gentlemen, upon first sight of the event to trace back the springs of the action; and surely it required no great discernment to trace the course and issue of events, in an enthusiastic tyrannical government, held by persons entangled in family quarrels entailed upon them from generation to generation, and not extinguished, whatsoever they pretended, by their being united in the same profession of Mohammedanism. For it was from these antecedent divisions that arose those terrible convulsions in the state which, had it not been very well supported by their aversion to Christianity on the one side, and to idolatry on the other, must soon have rendered them a prey to their common enemies. Add to this, that those persons who had enjoyed the greatest share of their prophet's favour when alive, were treated with proportionable respect after his decease. To such a height was this carried, that if any person had been any way familiar with Mohammed, he was reckoned among the companions* though he was never so young; and so great was the respect paid to them, that their authority would turn the scale in almost any debate. For the Saracens preferred to go to a very great extremity, rather than reject the advice of a companion of the apostle—of course I mean if that counsel were urged on the prevailing side; for notwithstanding their allegiance to their prince, it is evident they were no bigots to indefeasible right.

But if the not having heard of this history before be such a terrible objection against it, what would the having heard of it before have been? I must confess that objection lies strong against the veracity of it to persons who would take it as an affront to be supposed capable of being ignorant of such a considerable part of history as this pretends to be. What I wonder most at is, that those very gentlemen who formerly were better acquainted with the rivers Jaxartes and Oxus, Indus and the Ganges, than with the Thames itself which they swam in every holiday; who discoursed of Asia as if they had been surveyors to Alexander the Great; who would have disputed every foot of ancient geography with no less eagerness than if it had been a paternal inheritance; and could pronounce concerning the oracle of Jupiter Ammon with no less certainty than the oracle itself, should on a sudden prove so indolent as not only to suffer those delicate provinces to be ravished out of their hands without so much as venturing a suit about them, but even express an ungrateful displeasure of those who too officiously proffer their service to restore them gratis. However, these critics are of the kinder sort; they neither mean nor do any great hurt; they only make themselves a little sport with those things which they do not very well understand; and, if they carry on the humour upon that foot, bid fair for the reputation of the merriest company in the world.

I have not omitted to make every use of the learned labours of Monsieur D'Herbelot, whose Bibliothéque Orientale deserves the highest esteem from all that have a true taste for oriental learning. After I had made my collections, I found him so accurate in the life of Ali, in the history of the Saracens, that I have chosen sometimes to transcribe him paragraph by paragraph, rather than to spoil what was already well done, by affecting to make it my own.

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* Ziyad was of this number: he was born in the year of the Hejirah, and was but eleven years old when Mohammed died. See p.

To him I owe whatsoever is quoted from the Persian authors. How often have I endeavoured to perfect myself in that easy and delicate language; but my malignant and envious stars have still combined to frustrate my attempts. However, they shall sooner alter their own courses than extinguish my resolution of quenching that thirst, which the little taste I have had of it, hath so hotly excited.

I am as yet ignorant of Turkish; which I should not be so much concerned at, were it not for five volumes in that language in our public library, which I behold with delight and concern at the same time: with delight, because they are ours, and so not to be despaired of: with concern, because I do not myself understand them. They are a translation of the great Tabari, who is the Livy of the Arabians; the very father of their history. As far as I could find by inquiry his original work is given over for lost in Arabia. I formerly inquired of my predecessor, Dr. Luke, concerning him, who told me he had never met with him in the east, and that he believed there was no hope of finding an Arabic copy of his book: Monsieur D'Herbelot says the same. And there is this good reason for it, that this being the standard of their history, and upon that account translated from the very first out of Arabic into Turkish, the value of the Arabic copy must of necessity have fallen more and more in all those territories where Turkish is better understood than Arabic; for it would not be worth the bookseller's while to be at the charge of transcribing it. However that we might not imagine it lost because of its extreme scarcity, I luckily found a piece of it in folio amongst archbishop Laud's manuscripts (it is unfortunately imperfect), accurately written and with all the points, and no doubt for the use of some great person. Without the assistance of which copy I must oftentimes have been left in the dark.

Had I not been destitute of similar aids; had I not been forced to snatch everything that I have, as it were out of the fire; our history of the Saracens should have been ushered into the world after a different manner. Now, gentlemen, though critics and readers, I hold you in very particular respect, yet pardon me if I choose rather to point out my own deficiencies than leave them for you to find out; for I fear lest, notwithstanding your candour, a fault should be ascribed to my laziness or negligence that ought more justly to be attributed to the influence of inexorable necessity. Wherefore, in the first place, I will confess that could I have been master of my own time and circumstances, I would never have published anything of this kind, till I had perfectly finished the first part of it according to the natural division which the circumstances of the Saracen empire suggested to the Arabian historians. This era would have extended, from Mohammed's birth to the ruin of the house of Ommiyah by that of Abbas, which was effected in that part of the year of the Hejirah one hundred and thirty two, which answers to part of the year of our Lord seven hundred and fifty. And this period would consequently have included several other conquests, besides that of Spain.

But these were things rather to be desired than hoped for; and if I had waited till I could have made all this preparation, I should never have published any of it as long as I lived. The ancients oftentimes thought a life well spent in polishing one single book; and they certainly were very much in the right of it, if (as most certainly they did) they intended to perpetuate their memories to posterity, and eke out perishing mortality with an access of glory. We moderns on the contrary can no sooner propose anything though it requires never so much care and application, but we are daily importuned to know when it is to come out. This however is our comfort, that the ancients are in their graves, and though we can, when we find leisure, read their books, they shall never arise from the dead to read ours.

But that we may not affectedly attribute to the ancients all excellence exclusively, we must observe that modern taste is not always so corrupt. Monsieur Petit de la Croix, (that famous oriental interpreter to the late Louis XIV. of France,) when commanded by the great Colbert to write the life of Jenkizchan, did not think, as his son acknowledges in the preface, ten years too much time to employ upon it; though he neither wanted books, leisure, abilities, nor encouragement. It is not the mere following those authors who have made their business to write the lives of such or such princes that is sufficient; but it is also necessary to gather up the scattered remains that occur in other historians; to consult the commentators upon the Koran; to consult the scholiasts of their poets; also their medals, inscriptions, and lexicographers. The historian must also trace the originals of customs, surnames, tribes, and the like; and in a word, must dispose all the materials with such judgment that every part may fall naturally into its proper place, and add a lustre to the whole.

But my unhappy condition hath always been such as was far from admitting of such an exactness. Fortune seems only to have given me a taste of it out of spite, on purpose that I might regret the loss of it. Though perhaps I might accuse her wrongfully for befriending me with an excuse for those blemishes that would have admitted of none had I been furnished with all those assistances and advantages, the want of which I now bewail. If that was her meaning, she hath been very tender of my reputation indeed, and resolved that my adversaries should have very little reason to accuse me of the loss of time. The first part of my work cost me two journeys to Oxford, each of them of six weeks only, (inclusive of the delays upon the road, and the difficulty of finding the books without any other guide than the catalogue, not always infallible.) But my chief business being then with one author,* it was so much the easier to make a quick despatch; because it is of no small moment in affairs of this nature to be once well acquainted with the hand of the manuscript, and the style of the author.

But in my second undertaking I found the appearance of things quite different in more respects than one. Either my domestic affairs were grown much worse, or I less able to bear them, or, what is most probable, both were the case.† What made me easy as to my journey and charges during my absence, was the liberality of the worshipful Thomas Freke, Esq. of

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* Al Wakidi.

† "Ingenuous confession! fruits of a life devoted, in its struggles, to important literature! and we murmur when genius is irritable, and erudition is morose!"—*D'Israeli's Calamities of Authors.*

Hannington, Wilts; to whom the world is indebted for whatsoever is performed at present in this second work; I mean with regard to the expenses: which kindness however would not have answered the end he designed, if I had not been indulged with all possible conveniences of study, first by the favour of my much honoured friend, the incomparable Dr. Halley, who, with the consent of his learned colleague Dr. Keil, allowed me the keys of the Savilian study. In the next place I have to express my thanks to the reverend and learned Dr. Hudson, principal librarian of the Bodleian; who according to his wonted humanity permitted me to take out of the library whatsoever books were for my purpose; otherwise, though I had five months' time, much could not have been done, considering the variety and difficulty of the manuscripts. Besides all which I was forced to take the advantage of the slumbers of my cares, that never slept when I was awake; and if they did not incessantly interrupt my studies, were sure to succeed them with no less constancy than night doth the day.* Though it would be the height of ingratitude in me not to acknowledge that they were daily alleviated by the favours and courtesies which I received from persons of the greatest dignity and merit in that noble university; too numerous to be all here inserted, and all too worthy (should I mention any one of them) to be omitted.

Some such apology as this will always be necessary for him that undertakes a work of this nature upon his own bottom, without proper encouragement. If any one should pertly ask me, why then do you trouble the world with things that you are not able to bring to perfection? let them take this answer of one of our famous Arabian authors;† what cannot totally be known, ought not to be totally neglected; for the knowledge of a part is better than the ignorance of the whole.

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* "This is the cry of agony. He who reads this without sympathy, ought to reject these volumes (Calamities of Authors) as the idlest he ever read; and honour me with his contempt."—*D'Israeli.*

† Abulfeda, Præf. ad Geograph.

THE

LIFE OF MOHAMMED.

THE Arabians, who are also by the Greek, and in imitation of them, by Latin writers, called Saracens, are divided by their historians into three classes: 1. The primitive Arabians, who inhabited Arabia immediately after the flood: of whom nothing now remains but the names of their tribes, as Adites, Thamudites, &c. and some traditional stories of their punishment for not hearkening to the prophets sent to reclaim them; which stories, however fabulous, have not only served to furnish the Arabian poets with subjects and allusions, but are mentioned in a serious manner by Mohammed,* in the Koran,† in order to deter his followers from disbelieving his mission and rejecting his doctrine. 2. The second class are the pure Arabians, descended from Kaktan or Joktan the son of Heber, spoken of Gen. x. 25. The Arab historians make Joktan the father of two sons, not mentioned in the Bible, or mentioned under different names: one of them, called Yáarab, they say was the father of the Arabs who inhabited Yeman, or Arabia Felix; and the other son Jorham settled in the province of Hejaz; hither they tell us Abraham, upon Sarah's complaint, carried Ishmael, who married Ra'ala the daughter of the twelfth king of the Jorhamites: by whom he had twelve sons. From these, and their posterity intermarrying with the pure Arabians, sprang the Most-Arabi or mixt Arabians, called Ishmaelites and Hagarens. This does not agree with Scripture, which tells us, that the mother of Ishmael took him a wife out of the land of Egypt, Gen. xxi. 21. But here I would have it once for all observed, that we shall often find the Arab writers give different accounts of persons and things from what we meet with in sacred history. They had no ancient writings, their memorials of ancient times were handed down to them by tradition;* they are besides much given to fable; no wonder then that they deviate so from the truth. Thus they tell the most absurd stories of Adam and Eve: they mention Noah's flood, but instead of eight, as the Scripture informs us, pretend eighty persons were saved in the ark: they will have it that it was not Isaac but Ishmael whom Abraham was about to offer, &c. In general, though Mohammed professed great regard for the Old and New Testaments, he miserably corrupted the histories of both by fables; some borrowed out of the Jewish Talmud, others from spurious authors, and some probably forged in his own brain, or that of his assistants.

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* Ockley writes *Mahomet*, but as the name is pronounced in Arabic, *Muhammed*, or *Mohammed*, and the latter is the orthography most generally adopted, it has been followed here. The name is derived from the past participle of the verb *hamad*, signifying "praised," or "most glorious."

† *Koran* signifies *a book*, *Al* is the Arabic article *the*; the word Alcoran was formerly adopted in almost all the European languages; but as Sale, Gibbon, and most of our modern authors write *Koran*, it is preferred here.

The Arabs are now, as they were in ancient times, of two sorts. Some inhabit towns, maintaining themselves by their flocks, agriculture, the fruit of their palm-trees, by trade or merchandise; others live in tents, removing from place to place, as they find grass and water for their cattle, feeding chiefly upon the milk and flesh of camels, a diet which is said by an Arabian physician to dispose them to fierceness and cruelty.† The latter class, though strictly just among themselves, often commit robberies upon merchants and travellers; and excuse themselves by alleging the hard usage of their progenitor Ishmael, and think they have a right to indemnify themselves, not only upon the posterity of Isaac, but also upon every body else who falls in their way. The Arabs were, before the time of Mohammed, divided into several tribes; each tribe had a king or head: and they were often at war with one another.

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* Pocock. Specim. Arab. Histor. p. 55.

† Idem, p. 88.

The religion of the ancient Arabians, according to their traditions, was derived from Abraham and Ishmael. These patriarchs it was pretended built the temple of Mecca, which from its form, was called the *Kaaba* or Square; and was their kebla, or place towards which they turned their faces when they prayed, as the Jews turned theirs towards the temple of Jerusalem. The Kaaba was held by them in great veneration, as it is also by the present Mohammedans, who are persuaded it is all but coeval with the world. For they say, that when Adam was cast out of paradise (which they place in the seventh heaven), he begged of God that he might be permitted to erect upon earth a building like that he had seen the angels go round in heaven; and that in answer to his prayer, a representation of that house in curtains of light was let down, and placed at Mecca, directly under the original, in a way that he might go round it, and turn his face towards it when he prayed. After Adam's death, Seth, they tell us, built the Kaaba of stone and clay, in the same place; but, being destroyed by the deluge, it was rebuilt by Abraham and Ishmael. The Kaaba, which has been several times rebuilt or repaired,* is a square stone building, the length whereof from north to south is twenty-four cubits, the breadth from east to west twenty-three, and the height twenty-seven cubits. The door, which is on the east side the threshold, has four cubits above the ground, so that, there being no steps† adjoining to it, they who come to worship may touch the threshold with their foreheads, or kiss it. The black stone, which the Mohammedans hold in great reverence, and believe to be one of the stones of paradise, which fell down with Adam from heaven, is a small stone set in silver and fixed in the south-east corner of the Kaaba, about four feet from the ground. It is said to be white within, but to have been turned black on the outside by the sins of the people, or more probably by the kisses of the pilgrims.* Upon the ground on the north-side of the Kaaba there is a stone called the sepulchre of Ishmael; there is also another stone called the station of Abraham, which they say being used by him for a scaffold rose higher with him as the walls of the building rose; and that, after he had done building, he stood upon it and prayed, and left on it the prints of his feet. Round three sides of the Kaaba, and at no great distance from it, stands a row of pillars, which are joined at the bottom by a low balustrade, and at the top by bars of silver. Without this enclosure, are buildings used for oratories, by the different sects of Mohammedans; there also is the treasury, and a small edifice raised over the sacred well Zemzem.† All these buildings are enclosed at a considerable distance by a magnificent colonnade surmounted with small cupolas, and at the four corners there are as many steeples adorned like cupolas, with gilded spires and crescents; between the pillars of both enclosures hang a number of lamps, which are constantly lighted up at night.*

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* "Ten thousand angels were appointed to guard the structure from accidents; but they seem, from the history of the holy building, to have been often remiss in their duty."—*Burckhardt's Arabia*, p. 162.

† There are movable steps to use when the Kaaba is to be cleaned, or the lamps therein lighted up.

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* "Being in want of a stone to fix into the corner of the building as a mark from whence the Towaf, or holy walk round it, was to commence, Ismael went in search of one. On his way he met the angel Gabriel, holding in his hand the famous black stone. It was then of a refulgent bright colour, but became black, says El Azraky, in consequence of its having suffered repeatedly by fire, before and after the introduction of Islamism. Others say its colour was changed by the sins of those who touched it. At the day of judgment, it is to bear witness in favour of all those who have touched it with sincere hearts, and will be endowed with sight and speech."—*Burckhardt's Arabia*, p. 163.

† "The Mohammedans are persuaded that the well Zemzem is the very spring which gushed out for the relief of Ismael, when Hagar his mother wandered with him in the desert; and some pretend it was so named from her calling to him, when she spied it, in the Egyptian tongue, 'Zem, zem, that is, 'stay, stay;' though it seems rather to have had the name from the murmuring of its waters. The water of this well is holy, and is highly reverenced; being not only drunk with particular devotion by the pilgrims, but also sent in bottles, as a great rarity, to most parts of the Mohammedan dominions. Abdallah, surnamed Al Hâfedh, from his great memory, particularly as to the traditions of Mohammed, gave out that he acquired that faculty by drinking large draughts of Zemzem water, to which I believe it is about as efficacious as that of Helicon to the inspiring of a poet."—*Sale.* Mr. Lane, in his notes to the Arabian Nights, tells us, that "The water of this well is believed to possess miraculous virtues, and is therefore brought away in bottles or flasks by many of the pilgrims, to be used, when occasion may require, as medicine, or to be sprinkled on grave-linen. A bottle of it is a common and acceptable present from a pilgrim, and a guest is sometimes treated with a sip of this holy water." Pitts, an old English traveller, found the water brackish, and says, the pilgrims drink it so inordinately that "they are not only much purged, but their flesh breaks out all in pimples; and this they called the purging of their spiritual corruption."

The Kaaba is supported by pillars of aloe-wood, between which hang silver lamps, and a spout of gold carries off the rain-water from the roof. The walls on the outside are hung with a rich covering of black damask, adorned with a band of gold, which is changed every year at the expense of the Turkish emperor.† The Kaaba is properly the temple, but the whole territory of Mecca is held sacred, and distinguished by small turrets, some at seven and others at ten miles' distance from the city. Within these precincts it is not lawful to attack an enemy, or even to hunt or fowl.

Mohammed was born at Mecca, an ancient city of Arabia, about the year of our Lord 571, for historians do not agree about the precise year.‡ He was of the tribe of Koreish, the noblest of that part of the country. Arab writers make him to be descended in a right line from Ishmael, the son of Abraham; but do not pretend to any certainty in the remote part of his genealogy; for our purpose it will be enough to commence much later, but with a well authenticated fact. The great grandfather of Mohammed was Hashem, whose descendants were from him called Hashemites.* He managed to obtain the presidency over the Kaaba, and, what went with it, the government of Mecca, which had been some time in the tribe of the Koreishites.† After his death it went to his son Abda'l Motalleb, who had thirteen sons, whose names I shall here set down, because we shall meet with some of them in the following history. Abdallah, Hamza, Al Abbas, Abu Taleb, Abu Laheb, Al Gidak, Al Hareth, Jahel, Al Mokawam, Dorar, Al Zobeir, Kelham, Abdal Kaaba. The eldest of them, Abdallah, who, on account of the integrity of his character and the comeliness of his person, is said to have been his father's favourite, married Amina, of the tribe also of the Koreishites, by whom he had Mohammed. Upon the marriage of Abdallah, it is related that no fewer than two hundred young damsels, who were in love with him, died in despair. We should here observe, that the Mohammedan historians are often very extravagant in their accounts of persons and things that have any relation to their prophet. Thus Abulfeda, one of the gravest of them, tells us of four miraculous events that happened at the birth of Mohammed: 1. That the palace of Cosroes, king of Persia, was so shaken, that fourteen of its towers fell to the ground; 2. That the sacred fires of the Persians, which had been kept incessantly burning for 1000 years, went out all at once; 3. That the lake Sawa sank; 4. That the river Tigris overflowed its banks. By these prodigies, and by a dream of the high-priest of Persia, which seemed to forebode some impending calamity from Arabia, Cosroes being naturally alarmed, sent for a famous diviner to inform him what they portended; he received for answer, that fourteen kings and queens should reign in Persia, and that then what was to come to pass would happen. Some legendary writers relate a great many more wonderful things, enough to shock the belief of the most credulous. They may be seen in Maracci.* I shall give only two of them as a sample of the rest: 1. They assert that Mohammed came into the world surrounded with a light, which not only illuminated the chamber wherein he lay, but also the whole country round about. 2. That as soon as he was born he fell upon his knees, and bending all except his two *fore*-fingers, with uplifted hands, and his face turned towards heaven, pronounced distinctly these words, "Allah acbar," &c. that is, "God is great: there is no other God but one, and I am his prophet."

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* Burckhardt, in describing the Kaaba at the present day, says, "The effect of the whole scene, the mysterious drapery, the profusion of gold and silver, the blaze of lamps, and the kneeling multitude, surpasses anything the imagination could have pictured."

† "A new covering for the Kaaba is sent from Cairo every year with the great caravan of pilgrims: it is carried in procession through that city, and is believed to be one of the chief means of procuring safety to the attendants through their arduous and dangerous journey."—*Lane's Arab. Nights.*

‡ "The date of the birth of Mohammed is not fixed with precision. It is only known from Oriental authors that he was born on a Monday, the 10th Reby 1st, the third month of the Mohammedan year; the 40th or 42nd of Cosroes Nushirvam, king of Persia; the year 881 of the Seleucidan æra; the year 1316 of the æra of Nabonnassar. This leaves the point undecided between the years 569, 570, 571, of Jesus Christ. See the Memoir of M. Silv. de Sacy, on divers events in the History of the Arabs before Mohammed, Mem. Acad. des Inscripts. vol. xlvii, pp. 527, 531. St. Martin, vol. ix. p. 59. Dr. Weil decides on A.D. 571. Mohammed died in 632, aged 63; but the Arabs reckoned his life by lunar years, which reduces his life nearly to 61."—*Milman's Gibbon.*

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* Even to this day the chief magistrate both at Mecca and Medina, who must always be of the race of Mohammed, is invariably styled "The Prince of the Hashemites."

† Abulfeda informs us that the custody of the Kaaba and presidency of Mecca had been formerly in the possession of the tribe of the Kozaites, till at length they fell into the hands of Abu Gabshan, a weak and silly man, whom Kosa, the grandfather of Hashem, circumvented while in a drunken humour, and bought of him the keys of the temple and the government of Mecca for a bottle of wine. A war between the Koreishites and Kozaites was the result, which, however, ended in the defeat of the latter, and the whole possession of Mecca remained to the Koreishites, and was held by Kosa and his posterity in a right line down to Mohammed.

Abdallah dying while Mohammed was an infant, or, according to some, before he was born, he was by his mother put to a wet-nurse named Halima. Here again we have more miracles, even in Abulfeda. The nurse, who, while this blessed infant was with her, was in greater affluence than ever she had been before, was one day put in a great fright by her own son, who came running out of the field, and told her that two men in white had just seized Mohammed, laid him on the ground, and ripped open his belly. Upon this, she and her husband went out to him, and found him upon his legs; but when she asked him, What is the matter with you, child? he confirmed the tale of his belly being cut up. Hearing this, the husband said, I am afraid he has contracted some bad disease; and Halima herself, who had before been very desirous to keep the child, was now as eager to get rid of him, and carried him home at once to Amina. On being asked what was the reason she had thus changed her mind, the nurse said she was afraid the devil had made some attack upon him; but the mother replied, "Out upon you, why should the devil hurt my child?" Some authors tell us, that when the angels ripped up Mohammed's belly they took out his heart, and squeezed out of it the black drop, which they believe is the consequence of original sin, and the source of all sinful thoughts, being found in the heart of every person descended from Adam, except only the Virgin Mary and her son Jesus.

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* Refutatio Alcorani, fol. 1698.

It is a wonder they did not except Mohammed also, whom they look upon to be the most perfect creature that God ever made; but of whom we shall find in the sequel that his heart was not entirely cleansed from the black drop.

Mohammed's mother dying when he was six years old, he was taken care of by his grandfather, Abda'l Motalleb, who at his death, which happened two years after, left him under the guardianship of his son Abu Taleb. By this uncle, whose business was merchandise, Mohammed was brought up, and at the age of thirteen went with him into Syria. At fourteen he joined his kinsmen in the impious war,* where the Koreishites gained the victory. With Abu Taleb he continued till he was twenty-five, when he became a factor to Kadija, the widow of a rich merchant at Mecca, who had left her all his wealth. He managed the affairs of his mistress so well, and so ingratiated himself into her favour, that after keeping him three years in her service, she bestowed on him her hand. The legendary writers, in their account of this circumstance, tell us, Kadija fell in love with Mohammed owing to the wonderful things that befell him in his last journey from Bostra in Syria, of which some were related to her by the slaves who had accompanied him, and of some she was herself an eye-witness. But that which made the greatest impression on her heart was, that the angel Gabriel carried all the way a cloud over his head, to screen him from the scorching heat of the sun, which in that country is very intense. But surely there was little need of a miracle to induce a widow of forty-five, who had already buried two husbands, to take for a third a young man of twenty-eight, possessed, as Mohammed is said to have been, of a handsome person and agreeable manners.†

From the age of thirteen or fourteen to twenty-five very little is related of Mohammed, except a fabulous story of his being seen when very young by a monk of Bostra in Syria, called Bahira, who foretold his future grandeur. Boulainvilliers, indeed, who has left an unfinished account of his life, has thought fit to fill up the chasm with inventions of his own. He tells us, that during this interval his uncle Abu Taleb prepared him for the wars he was afterwards to be engaged in, by inuring him to hunting and martial exercises. Contrary to all history, he makes him twenty when he first travelled into Syria, and carries him to Damascus, to Baalbec, to Elia or Jerusalem, and to the capital of Persia, places which no other writer ever mentions him as visiting. These accounts he pretends to have taken from Arabian authors, but does not name a single authority. In short, Boulainvilliers* has given to the world, instead of a history, a politico-theological romance founded upon the life of Mohammed, whom he supposes, in these imaginary voyages, to have made such observations, and to have furnished his mind with such political ideas as enabled him to form those great designs he afterwards put in execution.

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* The Arabs had four months in which it was not lawful to go to war; this war was in one of those months.

† "The nuptials of the prophet and his bride were celebrated with great festivity, mirth, music, and dancing; heaven is said to have been filled with unwonted joy, and the whole earth intoxicated with delight. Some Arab writers add, that a voice from the skies pronounced the union happy; that the boys and girls of Paradise were led out on the joyous occasion in their bridal robes; that the hills and valleys capered for gladness at the sounds of unearthly music; and that fragrance was breathed through all nature."

The following, however, seems to be the truth of the matter. Raised by his advantageous match with Kadija to an equality with the principal men of the city, he may very naturally have conceived the idea of aiming at the government of it. And this is the more probable as it belonged to his family, and in a regular succession ought to have come to him; but in consequence of his father and grandfather both dying when he was a minor, it had fallen to his uncle Abu Taleb. From his marriage nearly to the time of his pretended revelation, all that we hear of him on authority is, that by Kadija he had four sons. Upon the birth of the eldest, who was named Casem, he took, according to the custom of the Arabians, the surname Abu'l Casem, i. e. the father of Casem. His sons all died in their infancy; but his daughters, Fatima, Zainab, Rokaia, and Omm Colthum, lived to be married, and will be mentioned hereafter, as occasion arises.

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* Gagnier says he could find no historians that verify the account given by Boulainvilliers; and exposes the bad design he seems to have had in view, in the encomiums he lavishes on the impostor and his false religion.—*Pref. au Vie de Mohammed.*

It is probable that he employed himself for some years in the care of his family, and the prosecution of his trade; conforming all the while to the idolatrous superstition of his countrymen. By the Christian writers he is said to have been profligate in his morals; but nothing of the kind, as was to be expected, is mentioned by any Mohammedan author. However this may be, in the thirty-eighth year of his life he began to affect solitude, retiring frequently into a cave of mount Hara, near Mecca, to spend his time in fasting, prayer, and meditation. Here he is supposed to have composed so much of the Koran as he first published. Mohammed, who, it is agreed on all hands, could neither read nor write, has evidently borrowed many things from the Old and New Testaments, and from the Jewish Talmud. His assistants in the work are said to have been Abdia, the son of Salem, who was a Persian Jew, and a Nestorian monk named Bahira by the eastern, and Sergius by the western writers. From a statement we shall presently give from Abulfeda, it seems probable that Waraka was also in the secret, if he did not lend a helping hand. In his Koran, chap. xvi. the impostor complains that his enemies charged him with being assisted by that Persian Jew, but endeavours to clear himself in these words: "They say, certainly some man teaches him; he whom they mean speaks a barbarous language; but the Koran is in the Arabic tongue, full of instruction and eloquence."* As for the monk, he is said to have murdered him, when he had no further occasion for him. No doubt he took what care he could to conceal his being assisted.

Abulfeda, after relating Mohammed's marriage with Kadija, has a digression, wherein he speaks of the prefecture of the Kaaba going from Nabet, the son of Ishmael, to the Jorhamites, next to the Kozaites, and from them to the Koreishites. The last pulled down the temple and began to rebuild it. But when the walls were raised up to the height at which the black stone was to be set, a dispute arose as to which of the tribes should have the honour of placing it. The Koreishites being unable to settle the question, Mohammed, who stood by, ordered a garment to be spread upon the ground, and the stone to be laid in the middle of it, and then all the tribes together to take hold of it round the edges and lift it up. When they had raised it high enough the prophet took the stone and put it into its place. From Abulfeda's manner of relating this transaction, its date is not fixed to this part of his life; but an Arab writer, cited by Gagnier, says it was done when Mohammed was a little boy. In all probability it is only a fiction, invented to excite a high opinion of his wisdom.*

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* See Sale's Koran, chap. xvi. with the Notes thereon.

The following account, which is taken verbatim from Abulfeda, is the statement already alluded to. "When the apostle of God (whom God bless†) was forty years old,

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* Schlegel mentions the circumstance, and says, that at the time the honour fell to the lot of Mohammed, he was a stripling of fifteen. He also states, that at an early age, long before he announced himself as a prophet, his poetry, which far outshone that of his competitors, had raised him to a high degree of honour and consideration.—*Phil. of History.* In reference to this, we annex the following illustration from Herbelot: Lebid, the most distinguished Arabian poet of the time, and one of the seven whose verses constituted the Moallakat, a series of prizes suspended in the Kaaba, was still an idolater when Mohammed commenced publishing his laws. One of his poems commenced with this verse: "All praise is vain which does not refer to God: and all good which proceeds not from him is but a shadow;" and no other poet could be found to compete with it. At length, the chapter of the Koran, entitled Barat, was attached to a gate in the same temple, and Lebid was so overcome by the verses at the commencement, as to declare that they could only be produced by the inspiration of God, and he immediately embraced Islamism. When Mohammed was apprised of the conversion of Lebid, the finest genius of his time, he was exceedingly delighted, and requested him to answer the invectives and satires of Amilicais and other infidel poets who wrote against the new religion and its followers. Amasi, however, states, that after he had became a Mussulman, he wrote on no other subject save the praising of God for his conversion. He is said to have uttered the following sentence on his death-bed: "I am told that all that is new is pleasant; but I find it not so in death, even though it be a novelty." Ben Caschem also attributes to him the following, which is the finest sentence which ever fell from the lips of an Arab:—

"All is vain which is not of God."

Lebid lived to the age of 140 years, and died in the year 141 of the Hejira.

† In the Koran the followers of the impostor are forbidden, when they address him, to call him by his name, Mohammed. This was too familiar; they were therefore commanded to say, O prophet, or O apostle of God.

God sent him to the black and the red (i. e. to all mankind), that by a new law he might abolish the ancient laws. His first entrance upon this prophetic office was by a true night vision; for the most high God had inspired him with a love of retirement and solitude, so that he spent a month every year in the cave of Mount Hara. When the year of his mission was come he went, in the month Ramadan, with some of his family, into the cave. Here, as soon as the night fell wherein the glorious God very greatly honoured him, Gabriel (upon whom be peace) came to him and said, 'Read,' And when the prophet answered, 'I cannot read,' he said again, 'Read: In the name of the Lord who hath created,' &c. reciting the words as far as, 'he taught man what he knew not,' v. 5.* Upon this the prophet, going to the middle of the mountain, and hearing a voice from heaven saying, 'O Mohammed, thou art the apostle of God, and I am Gabriel,' stood still in his place looking upon Gabriel, till at length Gabriel departed, when the prophet also went away. Soon after he came to Kadija, and told her what he had seen; she said, 'I am very glad of this good news; I swear by him in whose hand the soul of Kadija is, I verily hope you are the prophet of this nation.' And when she had said this she went to her kinsman, Waraka, son of Nawfal. Now Waraka had read the books, and heard many discourses, of Jews and Christians. To him, therefore, Kadija related what the apostle of God had said; and Waraka replied, 'By the most holy God, and by him in whose hand is the soul of Waraka, what

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This author never mentions the apostle of God without adding these words, "whom God bless," or the initial letters of these words, "w. G. b." Generally, indeed, Mohammedan writers seldom name an angel, or a person whom they regard as a prophet, or as eminent for piety, without adding "peace be to him."

* This is generally believed to be the first passage of the Koran revealed to Mohammed, though it is the beginning of the ninety-sixth chapter of that book. It runs thus, as divided into verses in Maracci's edition. "1. Read in the name of the Lord, who hath created. 2. He hath created man of coagulated blood. 3. Read by the most beneficent Lord. 4. Who taught by the pen. 5. Who taught man what he knew not." The rest of the chapter has no connexion with the beginning, but is taken up in upbraiding and threatening one of his enemies, supposed to be Abu Jehel.

you say, Kadija, is true, for the glorious law brought by Moses, the son of Amram, foretold his coming. No doubt he is the prophet of this nation.' Then Kadija returned to the apostle of God, and told him what Waraka had said; whereupon the apostle of God said a prayer, and went to the Kaaba, and, after compassing it seven times, returned to his own house.*

"After this, revelations followed thickly one after another. Kadija was the first of mortals that embraced Islamism,† so that nobody preceded her. In the book called Al Sahih there is a tradition, that the apostle of God said, among men there have been many perfect; but among women only four: Asia, the wife of Pharaoh; Mary, daughter of Amram; Kadija, daughter of Cowalled; and Fatima, daughter of Mohammed."‡

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* Warakah-bin-Nawfal was a cousin of Kadija. In the days of ignorance he learned the Christian religion, translated the gospel into Arabic, gave himself up to devotion, and opposed the worship of idols. He lived to a great age, and towards the end of his life became blind.—*Notes to the Mishcat.*

† Islam, or Islamism, is said by Prideaux, to signify the Saving religion; by Sale, resigning one's self to God; by Pocock, obedience to God and his prophet. It also means the Mohammedan world. It is, therefore, of the same acceptation among the Mohammedans, as the words Christianity and Christendom among Christians. Moslem, or Mussulman, is a derivation from Eslam or Islam, and is the common name of Mohammedans, without distinction of sect or opinion. In grammatical accuracy, Moslem is the singular of the word, Mussulman is the dual, and Mussulminn, the plural. But in conformity with the usages of the best writers, we shall use the words Moslem and Mussulman in the singular, and Moslems and Mussulmans in the plural. Mussulmen is decidedly wrong, and has never been used by any author of note.—*Mills.*

‡ "The wickedness of women is a subject upon which the stronger sex among the Arabs, with an affected feeling of superior virtue, often dwell in common conversation. That women are deficient in judgment or good sense is held as a fact not to be disputed even by themselves, as it rests on an assertion of the prophet; but that they possess a superior degree of cunning is pronounced equally certain and notorious. Their general depravity is declared to be much greater than that of men. 'I stood,' said the prophet, 'at the gate of Paradise; and, lo, most of its inmates were the poor: and I stood at the gate of hell; and, lo, most of its inmates were women.' In allusion to women, the caliph Omar said, 'Consult them, and do the contrary of what they advise.' A truly virtuous wife is, of course, excepted in this rule: such a person is as much respected by Mussulmans, as she is (at least, according to their own account) rarely met

According to this statement, Kadija was the first disciple of Mohammed. Some authors, however, assert that she did not come in so readily as is here related, but for some time rejected the stories he told her as delusions of the devil. Others again say she declared she would not believe except she also should see Gabriel; but upon her husband telling her she had not virtue enough to see an angel, she was satisfied, and became a believer. His second convert was his cousin Ali, who had lived with him some time, and was then not above ten or eleven years old. The third was his slave Zaid, to whom he gave his freedom. In imitation of this, it became a law among the Mohammedans to emancipate those of their slaves who should turn to their religion. The fourth convert was Abubeker, one of the most considerable men in Mecca, and whose example was soon followed by Othman son of Affán Abdal Rahman son of Aws, Saad son of Abu Wakas, Zobeir son of Al Awam, and Telha son of Obeidolla, and Abu Obeida. These were some of the principal men of the city, and were afterwards the generals of Mohammed's army, and assisted him in establishing his imposture and his empire. Abulfeda says, "Mohammed made his converts in secret for three years; but after this period he was commanded to preach to those of his tribe. Upon this he ordered Ali to invite his kinsmen, about forty in number, to an entertainment, and to set before

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with by them. When woman was created, the devil, we are told, was delighted, and said, 'Thou art half of my host, and thou art the depository of my secret, and thou art my arrow, with which I shoot, and miss not.' What are termed by us affairs of gallantry were very common among the Pagan Arabs, and are scarcely less so among their Moslem posterity. They are, however, unfrequent among most tribes of Bedawees, and among the descendants of those tribes not long settled as cultivators. I remember being roused from the quiet that I generally enjoyed in an ancient tomb in which I resided at Thebes, by the cries of a young woman in the neighbourhood, whom an Arab was severely beating for an impudent proposal that she had made to him."—*Lane's Arab. Nights*, vol. i. pp. 38, 39. Thomas Moore has thus wittily versified the above sentiment of Omar:—

"Whene'er you're in doubt, said a sage I once knew,
'Twixt two lines of conduct which course to pursue,
Ask a woman's advice, and whate'er she advise,
Do the very reverse and you're sure to be wise."

them a lamb and a large vessel of milk. When they had done eating and drinking, he began to preach; but being interrupted by Abu Laheb, he invited them to a like feast the next day, and when it was over, he harangued them in the following words: 'I do not know any man in Arabia can make you a better present than I now bring you; I offer you the good both of this world, and of the other life: the great God has commanded me to call you to him. Who then will will be my vizier (i. e. take part of the burden with me), my brother, my deputy?' When all were silent, Ali said, 'I will; and I will beat out the teeth, pull out the eyes, rip up the bellies, and break the legs of all that oppose you, I will be your vizier over them.' Then the apostle of God embracing Ali about the neck, said, 'This is my brother, my ambassador, my deputy, pay him obedience.' At this they all fell a laughing, and said to Abu Taleb, 'You are now to be obedient to your son.'

"Mohammed, not at all discouraged by the opposition of his tribe, continued to upbraid them with their idolatry, and the perverseness and infidelity of their ancestors and of their nation. This provoked them to that degree, that they went to Abu Taleb to complain of his nephew, and desired him to interpose, who, however, dismissed them with a civil answer. However, as Mohammed persisted in his purpose, they went to him a second time, and threatened to use force. Upon this, Abu Taleb sent for his nephew and said to him, 'Thus and thus have your countrymen spoken to me;' but Mohammed imagining his uncle to be against him, replied, 'Uncle, if they could set the sun against me on my right hand, and the moon on my left, I would never drop the affair.' 'Well,' says Abu Taleb, 'tell me what answer I shall give them: as for me,' confirming his words with an oath, 'I will never give you up.' The whole tribe now consulted about banishing all who embraced Islamism; but Abu Taleb protected his nephew, though he did not come into his new religion." After this, Hamza, another of his uncles, resenting an affront that Abu Jehel, whom he bitterly hated, had offered to Mohammed, became one of his proselytes, as did also Omar, the son of Al Ketabi, another of the principal men of Mecca, and Abubeker's successor in the Caliphate. Previously to his conversion, Omar was violently set against the prophet. At last his anger rose to such a height, that having girded on a sword, he went in search of him with an intent to kill him. By the way, he called in at his own sister's, where the twentieth chapter of the Koran was reading. Omar demanded to see the book, and upon his sister's refusal, gave her a violent slap on the face, who then gave it to him, upon his promising to restore it her again. No sooner had he read a little of it, when he cried out, "O how fine is this! how I reverence it! I have a great desire to be a believer." He immediately inquired where Mohammed was to be found, and, being told, went to the apostle, who, taking hold of his clothes and pulling him forcibly to him, said, "O son of Al Ketabi, what do you stop at? Why would you stay till the roof of the house falls upon your head?" Upon Omar's replying, "I come hither that I may believe in God and his apostle," the apostle gave praise to God, and thus was completed the conversion of Omar.

And now, finding he made such progress, the Koreishites cruelly persecuted the followers of Mohammed. On this account he gave leave to as many of them as had no family to hinder it, to leave Mecca, which they did, to the number of eighty-three men and eighteen women, with their little ones. They fled to the king of Ethiopia, to whom the Koreishites sent two persons with a present of skins, desiring him to send back the fugitives. This the king not only refused to do, but, as the Mohammedan writers assert, embraced Islamism himself. In the eighth year of Mohammed's mission, the Koreishites pledged themselves by a written compact not to intermarry with the Hashemites, or to have any dealings with them. This deed was placed in the Kaaba, where, it is said, a worm ate out every word of the deed, except the name of God. Upon this the whole tribe held a public meeting, and cancelled the agreement.*

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* Some say that the hand of the notary who drew up the writing was dried up as soon as he had finished it. The Mussulman writers, however, do not agree amongst themselves about this miracle. Maracci quotes an account in which it is asserted that the name of God was eaten out of the instrument, wherever it occurred, every other part of it being perfectly legible; upon which, it was observed, that as God had been averse to the drawing up of the instrument before them, he had taken care that everything relating to him in it should be obliterated, and that everything that was the effect of their wickedness should remain.

"In the tenth year of the mission of the prophet died Abu Taleb. Before his death, whilst he was very ill, the apostle of God said to him, 'Uncle, make the profession which will entitle you to happiness at the day of the resurrection;' and Abu Taleb answered, 'So I would, nephew, if it were not for the disgrace; for if I should do so, the Koreishites would say I did it for fear of death.' In his last moments he began to move his lips, and Al Abbas, putting his ear close to them, said, 'O nephew, he has repeated the words that you exhorted him to say.' Upon hearing this, the apostle of God said, 'Praised be God who has directed you, dear uncle.'"

Very soon after Kadija died also.* Whereupon, Mohammed, meeting with more and more opposition at Mecca, where Abu Sofian, his mortal enemy, bore the chief sway, took a journey to Taïf, a town about sixty miles east of Mecca, wherein Al Abbas, another of his uncles, often resided, to try if he could make any converts there; but having no success, he returned to Mecca, where his followers were greatly mortified by the repulse he had met with.

Mohammed, however, continued his preaching, even, says Abulfeda, at the hazard of his life; going occasionally among the pilgrims, and calling to them, "O ye of such and such a tribe (which he named), I am the apostle of God, who commands you to serve God, and not to associate any other with him; and to believe and testify that I am a true apostle." One time, being at a place called Alkaba (a mountain north of Mecca), where there were some pilgrims from Yathreb, he addressed them, and made converts of six. These, upon their return to Yathreb, spread his fame there, and propagated Islamism with great success.

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* Of Mohammed's affection for his wife Kadija, Abulfeda relates the following anecdote. His subsequent wife Ayesha one day reproached him with his grief on her account. "Was she not old?" said Ayesha, with the insolence of blooming beauty; "has not God given you a younger, a better, and a more beautiful wife in her place?" "More beautiful, truly," said the prophet, "and younger, but not better. There cannot be a better: she believed in me when men despised me—she relieved my wants when I was poor and persecuted." Mr. Burckhardt informs us that the tomb of Kadija is still remaining, and is regularly visited by hadjys (pilgrims), especially on Friday mornings. It is enclosed by a square wall, and presents no objects of curiosity except the tomb-stone, which has a fine inscription in Cufic characters, containing a passage from the Koran, from the chapter entitled, Souret el Kursy.—*Arabia*, p. 172.

The chief points of religion which, besides some moral duties, Mahommed first insisted upon were, the unity of God, a resurrection, and a future state of rewards and punishments. The only profession necessary to be made in order to be one of his disciples consisted of these two articles: "There is no God but one," and "Mohammed is his prophet." The former was in opposition, not only directly to all who worship idols, or own a plurality of gods, but indirectly against Christians also, as holding the divinity of our blessed Saviour, and the doctrine of the Trinity. The profession of the second article was the most essential means he could take to bind his followers to swallow everything, how absurd soever, that he should propose to them for belief or practice. Islamism, he declared, was not a new religion, but a restoration to its original purity of the ancient religion, taught and practised by the prophets Adam, Abraham, Moses, David, and Jesus. He did indeed purge the religion of the Arabians, which in his time was rank idolatry, from some gross abuses, as Sabæism, or the worship of the host of heaven, the worship of idols, and divination. In order, however, to make his new system the more acceptable to his countrymen, he retained several of their old superstitious services, such as frequent washing, the pilgrimage to Mecca, with the absurd ceremonies appendant to it, of going seven times round the Kaaba, throwing stones to drive away the devil, &c.

The fewness of the things he proposed to their profession and belief certainly made it more easy for him to gain proselytes. And although the paradise he promised them was, as we shall see hereafter, very gross and sensual, it was nevertheless very well suited to the taste of the people he had to deal with, while, on the other hand, the hell with which he threatened unbelievers was terrible. He may be supposed to have dwelt much on the latter subject, as it is so frequently repeated in the Koran. By his artful, insinuating address, in which he is said to have exceeded all men living, he surmounted all difficulties that lay in his way. At his first setting out upon his prophetic office, he bore all affronts without seeming to resent them; and when any of his followers were injured he recommended patience to them, and for that purpose, it is said, proposed the Christian martyrs for their imitation. He was obliging to every body; the rich he flattered, the poor he relieved with alms: and by his behaviour appeared the most humane, friendly person in the world, so long as he found it necessary to wear the mask, which we shall hereafter find him, upon occasions, pulling off and throwing aside.

In the tenth year of his mission, Mohammed gave his daughter Fatima, then nine years old, in marriage to Ali. The dowry given by Ali upon that occasion was twelve ounces of ostrich plumes (a thing of some value in that country), and a breastplate; all indeed that he had to give.* In the same year, according to Elmakin (for authors vary as to the precise date of many of his most considerable transactions), Mohammed, to strengthen his interest, as well as perhaps to gratify his inclination, married Ayesha, daughter of Abubeker, and Sawda, daughter of Sama.† To these two wives he added, some time after, Hafsa, daughter of Omar. Ayesha was then but seven years old, and therefore this marriage was not consummated till two years after, when she was nine years old, at which age, we are told, women in that country are ripe for marriage. An Arabian author cited by Maracci,‡ says that Abubeker was very averse to the giving him his daughter so young, but that Mohammed pretended a divine command for it; whereupon he sent her to him with a basket of dates, and when the girl was alone with him, he stretched out his blessed hand (these are the author's words), and rudely took hold of her clothes; upon which she looked fiercely at him, and said, "People call you the faithful man,§ but your behaviour to me shows you are a perfidious one." And with these words she got out of his hands, and, composing her clothes, went and complained to her father. The old gentleman, to calm her resentment, told her she was now betrothed to Mohammed, and that made him take liberties with her, as if she had been his wife.

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* It was a custom among the Arabs for the bridegroom to make a present to the father of the bride.

† According to the *Mishcat,* Sawda was not a favourite wife of Mohammed's. Razin says, that once when he proposed to divorce her, she said, "Keep me with your wives, and do not divorce me; peradventure I may be of the number of your wives in Paradise; and I give up my turn to Ayesha."—Book xiii. chap. x.

‡ Marac. Vita Mahometis, p. 23.

§ Abulfeda says he was called Al Amin, "the faithful one," when he was young.

THE STORY OF MOHAMMED'S ASCENT INTO HEAVEN.

The Mohammedan writers are not agreed about the time of this transaction, nor as to the nature of it, whether it were only a vision or a real journey. The most received opinion is, that it was in the twelfth year of his mission; and the most orthodox belief is, that it was a real journey.* I will give it in the words of Abulfeda, who took his relation out of Al Bokhari. "Hodba† the son of Kaled said, that Hamman son of Jahia said, that Cottada had it from Anas the son of Malek the son of Sesa, that the prophet of God gave them a relation of his night-journey to heaven in these words: As I was within the inclosure of the Kaaba (or, as he sometimes told the story, as I lay upon a stone), behold one (Gabriel) came to me with another, and cut me open from the pit of the throat to the groin; this done, he took out my heart, and presently there was brought near me a golden basin full of the water of faith; and he washed my heart, stuffed it, and replaced it. Then was brought to me a white beast less than a mule but larger than an ass, I mounted him, and Gabriel went with me till I came to the first heaven of the world, and when he knocked at the door, it was said to him, 'Who is there?' he answered, 'Gabriel;' and 'Who is with you?' he answered, 'Mohammed;' then it was asked, 'Has the apostle had his mission?' he replied, 'Yes;' whereupon the wish was uttered, 'May it be fortunate with him, he will now be very welcome;' and the door was opened, and behold, there was Adam. Upon this Gabriel said to me, 'This is your father Adam, greet him;' and I did so, and he returned the greeting, saying, 'May my best son and the best prophet be prosperous.' Then he went up with me to the second heaven, and as he knocked at the door a voice demanded, 'Who is there?' when he had answered, 'Gabriel,' he was further asked, 'And who is with you?' to which he replied 'Mohammed;' the voice again inquired, 'Has the apostle had his mission?' Upon his answering, 'Yes,' I again heard the words, 'May it be fortunate to him, he will now be very welcome;' and the door was opened, and behold there was Jahia (i. e. John) and Isa (Jesus), and they were cousins-german.'* Gabriel said to me, 'These are Jahia and Isa, greet them,' and I did so, and they greeting me in turn, said, 'May our best brother and the best prophet be successful.'" It would be nauseous to an English reader to repeat in the same manner, as my author does, the knocking at the doors, the same question and answer, and the exchange of greeting, through the following five heavens; it is sufficient to say that Mohammed being with Gabriel admitted into the third heaven, found Joseph there, Enoch in the fourth heaven, Aaron in the fifth, Moses in the sixth, and Abraham in the seventh; and that when he was near Moses, Moses wept, and being asked the reason of his weeping, said "It was because a young man, whose mission was posterior to his, would have a greater number of his nation enter into paradise, than he should of his countrymen." "Then," continued the prophet, "I was carried up to the tree Sedra,† beyond which it is not lawful to go. The fruit thereof is as large as the water-pots of Hadjr, and the leaves as big as the ears of an elephant. I saw there also four rivers, and when I asked Gabriel, 'What rivers are these?' he answered, 'Two of them run within paradise, and quite through it, the other two, which run on the outside of it, are the Nile and the Euphrates.' Then he took me to the house of visitation,‡ into which seventy thousand angels go every day. Here there were set before me three vessels, one of wine, another of milk, and the third of honey. I drank of the milk, whereupon Gabriel said to me, 'This is the happiest [omen] for thee and thy nation.'" (Another tradition adds, "If you had chosen the wine, your nation would have strayed from the right way.") "Lastly, when I came to the throne of God, I was ordered to pray fifty times a day. In my return from thence, being near Moses, he asked me what I had been commanded to do; I told him to pray fifty times a day. 'And are you able,' said he, 'to pray fifty times a day?' and with an oath he declared, 'I have made the experiment among men, for I have endeavoured to bring the children of Israel to it, but never could compass it. Go back then to your Lord, and beg an abatement for your nation.' So I went back, and he took off ten prayers; and coming to Moses, he advised me as before, and I went back again and had ten more abated; then coming to Moses, he repeated the same advice; I therefore returned, and was commanded to pray ten times a day; upon Moses's repeating what he had said before, I went back again, and was commanded to say prayers five times a day; and when Moses was informed of this last order, he would have had me go back again to my Lord and beg a still further abatement; I replied, 'I have so often petitioned my Lord that I am ashamed;' and so saying, I took my leave of him, and prayed for him."

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* According to a tradition from Ayesha, it must have been a dream, for she said he was in bed with her all that night.

† The author of the book of the most authentic traditions; an account will be given of him hereafter.

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* Here Mohammed was mistaken, the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth were not sisters.

† Or Lotus tree.

‡ This house is the original whereof a copy was sent down to Adam, as is mentioned before, page 3.

The foregoing account of Mohammed's night-journey is modest, in comparison of what some authors give us, who, from other traditions, add many other wonders. Thus they tell us, that the beast Alborac would not let Mohammed mount, till he had promised him a place in paradise; that then he took him quietly on his back, and in the twinkling of an eye, Gabriel leading him all the way by the bridle, carried him to Jerusalem; that there a number of the prophets and departed saints appearing at the gate of the temple, saluted him, and, attending him into the chief oratory, desired him to pray for them; that when he came out from thence, there was a ladder of light ready set for them, on which Gabriel and Mohammed went up to the heavens, having first tied Alborac to a ring, where he used to be tied by the prophets who had formerly ridden him. Besides all these wonders, in the first heaven, which was made of pure silver, Mohammed saw the stars hanging from it by chains of gold, (each star being as large as Mount Nobo near Mecca,) and the angels keeping watch and ward in them, that the devils might not come near to listen and hear what was doing in heaven. As he went farther on, he saw a multitude of angels of every variety of shape, which presided over and interceded for the different kinds of birds and beasts in whose shape they severally appeared. Amongst those of the birds, there was a cock, the angel of the cocks, so large, that his feet standing upon the first heaven, his head reached up to the second, which, at the ordinary rate of travelling upon earth, was at a distance of a five hundred days' journey. This he makes the distance of every one of the seven heavens from the heaven next above it. Other writers are still more extravagant, and say, the head of the cock reached through all the seven heavens, up to the throne of God: that his wings, which are large in proportion to his height, are decked with carbuncles and pearls: that every morning when God sings a hymn, this cock joins in it, and crows so loud as to be heard by all the creatures upon the earth, except men and fairies: and that upon hearing him all the cocks upon earth crow also. In the second heaven, which was all of pure gold, he saw an angel so large that his head reached up to the third heaven. The third heaven was all made of precious stones. There he found Abraham, who recommended himself to his prayers; and there also, he saw more angels than in either of the former heavens. One of them was of so prodigious a stature that the distance between his two eyes was equal to the length of a journey of 70,000 days.* This, Gabriel told him was the angel of death, who had a table before him of an immense bigness, whereon he was continually writing down the names of those who were to be born, and blotting out the names of those who were to die. The fourth heaven was all of emerald; therein he found Joseph the son of Jacob, who desired him to to pray for him. In this again the number of angels was greater than in the third heaven, and one of them, whose head reached to the fifth heaven, was always weeping for the sins of mankind, and the miseries they thereby bring upon themselves. The fifth heaven was made of adamant; here he found Moses, who desired his prayers. The sixth heaven was of carbuncle; here was John the Baptist, who also begged his prayers. In the seventh heaven, which was made of heavenly light, he found Jesus, whose prayers he desired for himself. Here, says Prideaux, Mohammed changes his style, and acknowledges Jesus for his superior; this Gagnier thinks improbable, as he taught Jesus to be no more than a creature, and pretended that he himself was the most perfect of all creatures. Perhaps it will solve this difficulty to observe, that this privilege of perfection was not yet granted to Mohammed. In this heaven were more angels than in all the rest of the heavens; and among them one, a very extraordinary angel, who had 70,000 heads, and in every head 70,000 mouths, in every mouth 70,000 tongues, and every tongue uttering 70,000 distinct voices, with which he was day and night incessantly praising God.

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* Here Prideaux observes, that the distance between a man's eyes is in proportion to his height, as one to seventy-two. So that the height of this angel must have been four times as much as the height of all the seven heavens, and therefore he could not stand in one of them.

Gabriel having brought him thus far, told him he was not permitted to go any farther, and directed him to ascend the rest of the way by himself. He did so, going through water and snow, and other difficulties, till he heard a voice say, "Mohammed, salute thy Creator." Ascending still higher, he came into a place of such exceeding brightness that his eyes could not bear it. Here was placed the throne of the Almighty, on the right side whereof was written, "La Ellah Ellalla, Mohammed resul Ellah." "There is no God but God, Mohammed is the prophet of God." The same inscription was also inscribed upon all the gates of the seven heavens. Having approached to the presence of God, as near as within two bow-shots, he saw him, he said, sitting upon his throne, with a covering of 70,000 veils upon his face. In token of his favour, God put forth his hand and laid it on him, which was of such exceeding coldness as to pierce to the very marrow of his back: that, after this, God talked familiarly with him, taught him many mysteries, instructed him in the whole of his law, gave him many things in charge concerning his teaching it. Moreover, he bestowed upon him several privileges, as that he should be the most perfect of all creatures; that, at the day of judgment, he should be advanced above all the rest of mankind, and that he should be the redeemer of all who believed in him. Then, returning to Gabriel, they both went back the same way they had come, passing successively through all the heavens. Upon arriving at Jerusalem, he found Alborac where he had been left tied, and was brought back by him to Mecca in the same manner as he had been carried from thence, and all this in the tenth part of a night.

On his relating this extravagant story to the people the next morning after the night on which he pretended it had happened, it was received by them, as it deserved, by a general shout of derision. Some laughed at it as ridiculous; others were moved with indignation at his attempting to impose upon them with so absurd and impudent a lie, and bade him ascend up to heaven before their eyes, and they would believe; while some even of his disciples were so shocked at so improbable a fiction, that they immediately left him. To prevent, therefore, further defection from him, Abubeker came forward and vouched for the truth of all Mohammed had related; and upon this account he received from the impostor the title of Assaddick, "the just man." However, as this journey to heaven was a great stumbling-block even to his friends, Mohammed does not appear to have thought Abubeker's asseveration sufficient, for he in two places of the Koran brings God himself to bear witness to the truth of the transactions of this night.

How absurd soever this story seems, Mohammed knew that he would be sure to find his account in it, if he could but once get it believed. It tended to raise his authority among his followers to that height, that they could never reject any doctrine he should afterwards advance, nor refuse obedience to whatever he should think proper to command. And here, in addition to the Koran, or written law, was laid a foundation for an oral law of a like kind to that which the Jews possess, consisting of the traditions of those directions which they say Moses received at the same time with the written law, during his forty days' stay upon mount Sinai, and were by him dictated by word of mouth to those about him. Accordingly the Mohammedans pay as great a regard to many traditions of the sayings and actions of Mohammed, as to the Koran itself.* And as the Jews have several books in which their oral law is recited and explained, so the Mohammedans have their Sunnah, or tradition; in which the sayings and doings of Mohammed, in any way referring either to religion or law, are narrated in the manner set down p. 20, from Al Bokhari,* being generally carried up from the collector of the tradition through several hands to one of Mohammed's intimate companions, who either had the saying from his own mouth, or was an eye-witness of the recorded fact. They have also many commentators upon that Sunnah.

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* The Mishcât-ul-Masábìh, or a collection of the most authentic traditions regarding the actions and sayings of Mohammed, translated from the original Arabic by Capt. A. N. Mathews, was published at Calcutta in 1809, in two volumes quarto.

We may observe here, that different traditions give different accounts of the places of the prophets, Abraham, Moses, &c. Gagnier too,† has a much longer relation of the night-journey taken from Abu Horaira, one of the six authors of traditions,‡ who had every thing from the mouth of Mohammed himself. The following are some of the principal things mentioned by him, but not given in the other traditions; 1. Gabriel is made to appear in the form he was created in, with a complexion white as snow, and white hair finely plaited and hanging in curls about his shoulders, &c.; upon his forehead were two plates, on one was written, "There is no God but God;" on the other, "Mohammed is the apostle of God:" about him he had also ten thousand little perfume-bags full of musk and saffron; five hundred pair of wings; and from one wing to the other there was the distance of a journey of five hundred years. 2. Gagnier gives a fuller description of the beast Alborac; he had the face of a man, with a mane of fine pearls, &c., his very eyes two large emeralds, bright as stars, &c., while his two large wings were enamelled with pearls and precious stones, and were bordered with light: he had a human soul, and understood what was said, but could not speak; speech, however, was for once given to him, at this time, to enable him to ask Gabriel to intercede with Mohammed, that he might have a place in paradise, which the prophet promised him. 3. Gabriel made the prophet stop and alight upon Mount Sinai, and pray, after bowing twice; whereupon he got up again, and went on till he was over Bethlehem; there he was ordered to alight, and to say the prayer a second time with two bowings. 4. As he went along, he twice heard an earnest call to him to stop; and after this a young woman finely dressed accosted him, offered her hand, and told him she was entirely at his service: but Alborac continued his pace. Gabriel subsequently told him, that if he had obeyed the first call, his nation would all have become Jews; if the second, they would have been Christians: and that the woman who tempted him was the world; and that if he had stopped to answer her, his nation would have chosen the enjoyment of this world in preference to eternal happiness, and so have been cast into hell. 5. He met a fine looking old man of the most venerable aspect; he gave the prophet a tender embrace, by whom it was returned; Gabriel told him this was Islam. 6. They went to the temple of the resurrection (in Jerusalem), and met there a man with three pitchers, one of water, one of milk, the third of wine; Mohammed, being ordered to choose, drank of the milk; the consequence of which was that his nation would, to the day of resurrection, be always directed in the right way; but hearing that if he had drunk it all, none of his nation would ever have gone to hell, he begged he might take the milk again, and drink it all up: but Gabriel said, It is too late, the thing is determined. 7. A ladder with steps of gold and precious stones was placed where Jacob's ladder had been formerly set, when he saw the angels going up and down; on this Gabriel ascended, hugging Mohammed close to his bosom, and covering him with his wings. 8. In the fifth heaven he saw an angel so large that he could have swallowed the seven heavens and seven earths as easily as a pea: and another angel of a most frightful aspect, who was the governor of hell, of which also the prophet had a sight. 9. In the sixth heaven he saw an angel, half snow and half fire; upon which he prayed him who could join together things so contrary to unite his several believers, in obedience to him. 10. In the seventh heaven the impostor has the impudence to say, he heard God and one of the angels alternately repeat the profession, "God is one, and Mohammed is his apostle." 11. Gabriel stopped at the tree Sedra, as it was not permitted to any angel to go any further; but, upon Mohammed being frightened at his leaving him, the angel was ordered to conduct him further; which he did, till he came to a sea of light, where he consigned him to the angel who presided over it: then this angel took him and carried him to another sea of light, where another angel presided, of such a stature, that if every thing created in heaven and earth were put into his hand it would be but as a grain of mustard seed in a large field.

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* This famous doctor was, from Bokhara the place of his birth, or his chief residence, called Al Bokhari. His collection of traditions is of the greatest authority of all that have ever been made: he called it Al Sahih, i. e. "genuine," because he separated the spurious ones from those that were authentic. He says, he has selected 7,275 of the most authentic traditions out of 100,000, all of which he looked upon to be true, having rejected 200,000 as being false.—*D'Herbelot, Bokhari and Al Sahih.*

† Vie de Mohammed.

‡ The six persons from whom the most authentic traditions come, are, 1. Ayesha, the prophet's wife. 2. Abu Horaira, his particular friend. 3. Abu Abbas. 4. Ebn Omar, son of the Caliph Omar. 5. Giaber, son of Abdollas. 6. Anas, son of Malok.

Then he was carried to a large black sea, and, going ashore, passed by several different choirs of angels, till he came to Asraphel, an angel with a million of wings, and a million of heads; in every head a million of mouths, &c. This angel supported the throne of God on the nape of his neck. Mohammed, being now commanded to look up, saw upon the throne everything that is contained in heaven and earth, in epitome. 12. Besides the angel of the cocks already mentioned, he also saw angels of such gigantic stature, that the distance from the centre of the earth to the seventh heaven would not equal the height of their ancles. Then he was conducted by a retinue of 70,000 angels within the 70,000 veils; and, the last veil of the *unity* being lifted up, saw 70,000,000 of angels prostrate, adoring the Supreme Being; besides 70,000 more, who had the care of the veils. Upon this there reigned a profound silence, till a voice exclaimed, "Mohammed, approach near to the powerful and glorious God:" upon which he advanced, at one step, a journey of five hundred years; and, the same command being twice repeated, he took two more such steps. At the next moment the ground he stood upon was lifted up, so that he was within the light of his Lord, and was quite absorbed by it and dazzled. Fearing he should be blinded, Mohammed shut his eyes, but God opened the eyes of his heart: and now, being within the veil, he saw unutterable things without number. The Lord then laid one hand on his breast, and the other upon his shoulder, upon which a cold penetrated into his bowels, but at the same time he was regaled with an inexpressible sweetness, and an odour infinitely delightful. And now, the apostle was admitted to a conversation with his Creator, of which I shall notice only the principal points. Seeing a bloody sword suspended, he prayed it might not hang over his nation: and was answered, "I send thee with the sword, but thy nation shall not perish by the sword." Next he begged that some degree of excellence might be given to him, as had been done to other prophets, as Abraham, Moses, &c., and was answered, there are two chapters in the Koran, which whoever reads shall have everything necessary in this world, and enter into paradise in the life to come: "As for you Mohammed, I have written your name in heaven along with my own: mention is never made of me either in heaven or earth, but you are mentioned also: no crier shall call to prayers without saying, 'God is but one, and Mohammed is the apostle of God; nor will I accept any prayers if that profession is not made.'" He further desired pardon for his nation, and was promised a pardon for seventy thousand of them; and upon his beseeching that the number might be increased, God took three handfuls of infinitely small dust, and scattered it, indicating thereby that so many Mussulmans would be saved, that none but God alone should be able to tell their number.

The first person to whom Mohammed related his night-journey was Al Abbas, who advised him by all means to keep it to himself; for, said he, if you speak of it in public you will be called a liar, and be otherwise insulted. Omm Hana, daughter of Abu Taleb, earnestly besought him to the same purpose, and even laid hold of his vest to detain him; but he, angrily breaking from her, went and declared it in a large company, who received it with much derision. Besides many other taunts, Abu Jehel called out to him, saying, "Mohammed, you say you have been in the temple of Jerusalem, pray give us some description of it; as for me, I have been in it more than once." Upon this, Mohammed whispered in the ear of Abubeker, that he was quite at a loss what to say; because it was in the night that he was there. Hearing this, Abubeker was in such a consternation that he fell to the ground; but Mohammed soon got out of his difficulty by the help of his friend Gabriel the angel, who, unseen by every body else, held in his view a model of the temple, which enabled him to answer all questions they put to him as to the number and situation of the doors, lamps, &c., so exactly and according to the truth, as to strike the hearers with astonishment. So much may suffice from Abu Horaira, whose tradition is accounted of great authority, and by every reader it will doubtless be deemed as credible, at least, as the other from Anas, son of Malek.

In the thirteenth year of Mohammed's mission, Musaab son of Omair, with seventy men and eighteen women, believers, and some others not yet converted, came to Mecca, and promised the apostle to meet him at night at a place called Akaba. He went to them accompanied by his uncle Al Abbas, who, though he favoured his nephew's interest, had not yet embraced Islamism. Al Abbas made a speech, wherein he recommended to them to stand by his nephew, whom they had invited to come among them. Mohammed proposed that they should take an oath to defend him as they would their wives and children; and when they demanded, "What shall we get, if we be killed upon your account?" he answered, "Paradise." "Stretch out your hand then," said they. Upon his complying, they took the oath and returned to Yathreb. Then the prophet ordered his converts among the people of Mecca, to get away secretly to Yathreb, while he himself should stay at Mecca, till he should receive the divine permission to leave it. Abubeker and Ali remained with him.

The Koreishites, finding the prophet had thus entered into a league with those of Yathreb, and that his party at Mecca stuck close to him, determined to assassinate him.* Being informed of their designs, he made his escape by throwing, says my author, a handful of dust upon the heads of the infidels; but first having put his own green vest upon Ali, and ordered him to lie down in his place, which he did. The assassins peeped in through a crevice of the door, and seeing the green vest, thought themselves sure of him, till Ali came out in the morning; and then, finding their mistake, sent out parties in pursuit of him. Here Mohammed had a narrow escape. The pursuing party halted before the cave where he and Abubeker had hid themselves. During the three days they had lain hid here, a spider, they tell us, had spun its web over the mouth of the cave, and a pigeon laid two eggs near it.* The sight of these objects convinced their enemies that the cave could not lately have been entered by man, and so they passed on without searching it. As soon as their pursuers had departed, they came out; and, by the help of a guide, got safe to Yathreb. Here they met with a kind reception, for some of the helpers, eager to entertain him, laid hold of the bridle of his camel; "Let her go," said he, "she is obstinate:" at last, when she came to a certain place,† she knelt, and the prophet alighting, walked on till he met Abu Ayub one of the helpers, who took his baggage off his camel, and received him into his house.‡ He lived with Abu Ayub till he had built a house of his own, and settled there till his death. From this event the town lost its ancient name—Yathreb, and was called Medinato'l Nabi, "the town of the prophet," and at last, Medina, "the town," by way of eminence; in the same manner as London is often called the town. This Hejira, or Flight of Mohammed, is the era from which the Mohammedans date all their transactions.§

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* They agreed that a man should be chosen out of each of the confederated tribes for the execution of their project, and that each man should have a blow at him with his sword, in order to divide the guilt of the deed, and to baffle the vengeance of the Hashemites; as it was supposed, that with their inferior strength they would not dare, in the face of this powerful union, to attempt to avenge their kinsman's blood. The prophet declared that the angel Gabriel had revealed to him this atrocious conspiracy.—*Green's Mohammed.*

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* Others say this was an artful contrivance of a pigeon's nest and a spider's web, so placed by the fugitives as to induce the supposition that the cave was empty.—*Green's Mohammed.*

† Some Christian writers quoted by Prideaux, say, the ground belonged to two orphans, whom Mohammed violently dispossessed, to build a mosque thereon, for the exercise of his new religion; Gagnier, brings Arab writers that say he bought the ground and paid for it.—*Note in Abulfeda*, p. 53.

‡ "The people of Medina, in offering him an asylum, inquired whether, if he were recalled by his countrymen, he would not abandon his new allies? 'All things,' replied the admirable politician, 'are now common between us: your blood is as my blood, your ruin as my ruin: we are bound to each other by the ties of honour and of interest. I am your friend, and the enemy of your foes.' 'But,' said his trembling disciples, 'if we are killed in your service, what will be our reward?' 'Paradise,' cried Mohammed. The martial spirit of his hearers was roused, their sensual passions were inflamed, and their faith was confirmed."—*Mills.*

§ It is the general opinion of our chronologists that the Mussulman era of "The Flight" (in Arabic, "el-Hijrah," more correctly translated "The Emigration,") was Friday, the 16th of July, A.D. 622.—*Lane's Modern Egyptians.*

Mohammed had hitherto propagated his religion by fair means only. During his stay at Mecca, he had declared his business was only to preach and admonish; and that whether people believed or not was none of his concern. He had hitherto confined himself to the arts of persuasion, promising, on the one hand, the joys of paradise to all who should believe in him, and who should, for the hopes of them, disregard the things of this world, and even bear persecution with patience and resignation: and, on the other, deterring his hearers from what he called infidelity, by setting before them both the punishments inflicted in this world upon Pharaoh and others, who despised the warnings of the prophets sent to reclaim them; and also the torments of hell, which would be their portion in the world to come. Now, however, when he had got a considerable town at his command, and a good number of followers firmly attached to him, he began to sing another note. Gabriel now brings him messages from heaven to the effect, that whereas, other prophets had come with miracles and been rejected, he was to take different measures, and propagate Islamism by the sword. And accordingly, within a year after his arrival at Medina, he began what was called the holy war. For this purpose, he first of all instituted a brotherhood, joining his Ansars or helpers, and his Mohajerins or refugees together in pairs; he himself taking Ali for his brother. It was in allusion to this, that Ali, afterwards when preaching at Cufa, said, "I am the servant of God, and brother to his apostle."

In the second year of the Hejira, Mohammed changed the Kebla of the Mussulman, which before this time had been towards Jerusalem, ordering them henceforth to turn towards Mecca, when they prayed.* In the same year, he also appointed the fast of the month Ramadan.

Mohammed having now a pretty large congregation at Medina, found it necessary to have some means of calling them to prayers; for this purpose he was thinking of employing a horn, or some instrument of wood, which should be made to emit a loud sound by being struck upon. But his doubts were settled this year by a dream of one of his disciples, in which a man appearing to him in a green vest recommended as a better way, that the people should be summoned to prayers by a crier calling out, "Allah acbar, Allah acbar," &c.; "God is great, God is great, there is but one God, Mohammed is his prophet;* come to prayers, come to prayers." Mohammed approved of the scheme, and this is the very form in use to this day among the Mussulmans; who, however, in the call to morning prayers, add the words, "Prayer is better than sleep, prayer is better than sleep;" a sentiment not unworthy the consideration of those who are professors of a better religion.

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* This was partly out of aversion to the Jews, his mortal enemies, and partly to please the idolatrous Arabs, whose ancient Kebla was Mecca. See *Sale's Koran*, chap. ii.

The same year, the apostle sent some of his people to plunder a caravan going to Mecca; which they did, and brought back two prisoners to Medina. This was the first act of hostility committed by the Mussulmans against the idolaters. The second, was the battle of Beder. The history of the battle is thus given by Abulfeda:—"The apostle, hearing that a caravan of the Meccans was coming home from Syria, escorted by Abu Sofian at the head of thirty men, placed a number of soldiers in ambuscade to intercept it. Abu Sofian, being informed thereof by his spies, sent word immediately to Mecca, whereupon all the principal men, except Abu Laheb, who, however, sent Al Asum son of Hesham in his stead, marched out to his assistance, making in all 950 men, whereof 200 were cavalry. The apostle of God went out against them with 313 men, of whom seventy-seven were refugees from Mecca, the rest being helpers from Medina; they had with them only two horses and seventy camels, upon which they rode by turns. The apostle encamped near a well called Beder, from the name of the person who was owner of it, and had a hut made where he and Abubeker sat. As soon as the armies were in sight of each other, three champions came out from among the idolaters, Otha son of Rabia, his brother Shaiba, and Al Walid son of Otha; against the first of these, the prophet sent Obeidah son of Hareth, Hamza against the second, and Ali against the third: Hamza and Ali slew each his man and then went to the assistance of Obeidah, and having killed his adversary, brought off Obeidah, who, however, soon after died of a wound in his foot. All this while the apostle continued in his hut in prayer, beating his breast so violently that his cloak fell off his shoulders, and he was suddenly taken with a palpitation of the heart; soon recovering, however, he comforted Abubeker, telling him God's help was come. Having uttered these words, he forthwith ran out of his hut and encouraged his men, and taking a handful of dust, threw it towards the Koreishites, and said, 'May their faces be confounded;' and immediately they fled. After the battle, Abdallah, the son of Masud, brought the head of Abu Jehel to the apostle, who gave thanks to God; Al As, brother to Abu Jehel, was also killed; Al Abbas also, the prophet's uncle, and Ocail son of Abu Taleb, were taken prisoners. Upon the news of this defeat, Abu Laheb died of grief within a week." Of the Mussulmans died fourteen martyrs, (for so they call all such as die fighting for Islamism.) The number of idolaters slain was seventy; among whom my author names ome of chief note, Hantala son of Abu Sofian, and Nawfal brother to Kadija. Ali slew six of the enemy with his own hand.

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* The Persians add these words, "and Ali is the friend of God:" Kouli Khan, having a mind to unite the two different sects, ordered them to be omitted.—*Fraser's Life of Kouli Khan*, p. 124.

The prophet ordered the dead bodies of the enemy to be thrown into a pit, and remained three days upon the field of battle dividing the spoil; on occasion of which a quarrel arose between the helpers and the refugees, and to quiet them. the 8th chapter of the Koran was brought from heaven. It begins thus, "They will ask thee concerning the spoils: say, The spoils belong to God and his apostle:" and again in the same chapter, "And know that whenever ye gain any, a fifth part belongeth to God, and to the apostle, and his kindred, and the orphans, and the poor." The other four-fifths are to be divided among those who are present at the action. The apostle, when he returned to Safra in his way to Medina, ordered Ali to behead two of his prisoners.

The victory at Beder was of great importance to Mohammed: to encourage his men, and to increase the number of his followers, he pretended that two miracles were wrought in his favour, in this, as also in several subsequent battles:—1st, that God sent his angels to fight on his side, and 2nd, made his army appear to the enemy much greater than it really was. Both these miracles are mentioned in the Koran, chap. viii. Al Abbas said, he was taken prisoner by a man of a prodigious size (an angel, of course); no wonder, then, he became a convert.

"Ommia, the son of Abu'l Salat, was one of the chief of the unbelievers: being one who could read, he had objected to the mission of the prophet, and was arrived to that pitch of madness, as to hope to be received for an apostle himself. He had been in Syria when the battle was fought, and, as he was returning home, he was shown the well into which the carcases of the slain, and among these two of his near relations, had been thrown. In token of grief, he cut off the ears of his camel; and, standing by the well, recited a long elegy, of which the following lines are a part:

"Have I not wailed th' heroic sons of nobles,
Their wounded bodies and their fractured ribs,
In the thick wood as mourns the lonely dove?
Like her, with me, lament, ye mourning women,
With sighs and groans, low sitting on the ground.
Alas! the peers and princes of the people
How fallen, at Beder and Al Kandali!
All night exposed, lie there both old and young,
Naked and breathless.
Oh, what a change is come to Mecca's vale!
Even sandy desert plains are drenched in tears."*

As soon as the Mussulmans returned to Medina, the Koreishites sent to offer a ransom for their prisoners, which was accepted, and distributed among those who had taken them, according to the quality of the prisoners. Some had 1000 drachms for their share. Those who had only a small or no part of the ransom Mohammed rewarded with donations, so as to content them all.

The Jews had many a treaty with Mohammed, and lived peaceably at Medina; till a Jew, having affronted an Arabian milk-woman, was killed by a Mussulman. In revenge for this, the Jews killed the Mussulman, whereupon a general quarrel ensued. The Jews fled to their castles; but after a siege of fifteen days, were forced to surrender at discretion. Mohammed ordered their hands to be tied behind them, determined to put them all to the sword, and was with great difficulty prevailed upon to spare their lives, and take all their property. Kaab, son of Ashraf, was one of the most violent among the Jews against Mohammed. He had been at Mecca, and, with some pathetic verses upon the unhappy fate of those who had fallen at Beder, excited the Meccans to take up arms. Upon his return to Medina, he rehearsed the same verses among the lower sort of people and the women. Mohammed being told of these under-hand practices, said, one day, "Who will rid me of the son of Ashraf?" when Mohammed, son of Mosalama, one of the helpers, answered, "I am the man, O apostle of God, that will do it:" and immediately took with him Salcan son of Salama, and some other Moslems, who were to lie in ambush. In order to decoy Kaab out of his castle, which was a very strong one, Salcan, his foster-brother, went alone to visit him in the dusk of the evening; and, entering into conversation, told him some little stories of Mohammed, which he knew would please him. When he got up to take his leave, Kaab, as he expected, attended him to the gate; and, continuing the conversation, went on with him till he came near the ambuscade, where Mohammed and his companions fell upon him and stabbed him.

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* Abulfeda, Vit. Moham.

Abu Sofian, meditating revenge for the defeat at Beder, swore he would neither anoint himself nor come near his women till he was even with Mohammed. Setting out towards Medina with two hundred horse, he posted a party of them near the town, where one of the helpers fell into their hands, and was killed. Mohammed, being informed of it, went out against them, but they all fled; and, for the greater expedition, threw away some sacks of meal, part of their provision. From which circumstance this was called the meal-war.

Abu Sofian, resolving to make another and more effectual effort, got together a body of three thousand men, whereof seven hundred were cuirassiers and two hundred cavalry; his wife Henda, with a number of women, followed in the rear, beating drums, and lamenting the fate of those slain at Beder, and exciting the idolaters to fight courageously. The apostle would have waited for them in the town, but as his people were eager to advance against the enemy, he set out at once with one thousand men; but of these one hundred turned back, disheartened by the superior numbers of the enemy. He encamped at the foot of Mount Ohud, having the mountain in his rear. Of his nine hundred men only one hundred had armour on; and as for horses, there was only one besides that on which he himself rode. Mosaab carried the prophet's standard; Kaled, son of Al Walid, led the right wing of the idolaters; Acrema, son of Abu Jehel, the left; the women kept in the rear, beating their drums. Henda cried out to them, "Courage, ye sons of Abdal Dari; courage! smite with all your swords."

Mohammed placed fifty archers in his rear, and ordered them to keep their post. Then Hamza fought stoutly, and killed Arta, the standard-bearer of the idolaters; and as Seba, son of Abdal Uzza, came near him, Hamza struck off his head also; but was himself immediately after run through with a spear by Wabsha, a slave, who lurked behind a rock with that intent. Then Ebn Kamia slew Mosaab, the apostle's standard-bearer; and taking him for the prophet cried out, "I have killed Mohammed." When Mosaab was slain the standard was given to Ali.

At the beginning of the action, the Mussulmans attacked the idolaters so furiously that they gave ground, fell back upon their rear, and threw it into disorder. The archers seeing this, and expecting a complete victory, left their posts, contrary to the express orders that had been given them, and came forward from fear of losing their share of the plunder. In the meantime, Kaled, advancing with his cavalry, fell furiously upon the rear of the Mussulmans, crying aloud at the same time, that Mohammed was slain. This cry, and the finding themselves attacked on all sides, threw the Mussulmans into such consternation, that the idolaters made great havoc among them, and were able to press on so near the apostle as to beat him down with a shower of stones and arrows. He was wounded in the lip, and two arrow-heads stuck in his face. Abu Obeidah pulled out first one and then the other; at each operation one of the apostle's teeth came out. As Sonan Abu Said wiped the blood from off his face, the apostle exclaimed, "He that touches my blood, and handles it tenderly, shall not have his blood spilt in the fire" (of hell). In this action, it is said, Telhah, whilst he was putting a breast-plate upon Mohammed, received a wound upon his hand, which maimed it for ever. Omar and Abubeker were also wounded. When the Mussulmans saw Mohammed fall, they concluded he was killed, and took to flight; and even Othman was hurried along by the press of those that fled. In a little time, however, finding Mohammed was alive, a great number of his men returned to the field; and, after a very obstinate fight, brought him off, and carried him to a neighbouring village. The Mussulmans had seventy men killed, the idolaters lost only twenty-two.

The Koreishites had no other fruit of their victory but the gratification of a poor spirit of revenge. Henda, and the women who had fled with her upon the first disorder of the idolaters, now returned, and committed great barbarities upon the dead bodies of the apostle's friends. They cut off their ears and noses, and made bracelets and necklaces of them; Henda pulled Hamza's liver out of his body, and chewed and swallowed some of it. Abu Sofian, having cut pieces off the cheeks of Hamza, put them upon the end of his spear, and cried out aloud, "The success of war is uncertain; after the battle of Beder comes the battle of Ohud; now, Hobal,* thy religion is victorious." Notwithstanding this boasting, he decamped the same day. Jannabi ascribes his retreat to a panic; however that may have been, Abu Sofian sent to propose a truce for a year, which was agreed to.

When the enemy were retreated towards Mecca, Mohammed went to the field of battle to look for the body of Hamza. Finding it shamefully mangled, in the manner already related, he ordered it to be wrapped in a black cloak, and then prayed over it, repeating seven times, "Allah acbar," &c. "God is great," &c. In the same manner he prayed over every one of the martyrs, naming Hamza again with every one of them; so that Hamza had the prayers said over him seventy-two times. But, as if this were not enough, he declared that Gabriel had told him he had been received into the seventh heaven, and welcomed with this eulogium, "Hamza, the lion of God, and the lion of his prophet."

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* An Arab of Kossay, named Ammer Ibn Lahay, is said to have first introduced idolatry among his countrymen; he brought the idol called Hobal, from Hyt in Mesopotamia, and set it up in the Kaaba. It was the Jupiter of the Arabians, and was made of red agate in the form of a man holding in his hand seven arrows without heads or feathers, such as the Arabs use in divination. At a subsequent period the Kaaba was adorned with three hundred and sixty idols, corresponding probably to the days of the Arabian year.—*Burckhardt's Arabia*, pp. 163, 164.

The Mussulmans were much chagrined at this defeat. Some expressed a doubt of the prophet being as high in the divine favour as he pretended, since he had suffered such an overthrow by infidels. Others murmured at the loss of their friends and relations. To pacify them he used various arguments; telling them, the sins of some had been the cause of disgrace to all; that they had been disobedient to orders, in quitting their post for the sake of plunder; that the devil put it into the minds of those who turned back; their flight, however, was forgiven, because God is merciful; that their defeat was intended to try them, and to show them who were believers and who not; that the event of war is uncertain; that the enemy had suffered as well as they; that other prophets before him had been defeated in battle; that death is unavoidable. And here Mohammed's doctrine of fate was of as great service to him as it was afterwards to his successors, tending as it did to make his people fearless, and desperate in fight. For he taught them, that the time of every man's death is so unalterably fixed, that he cannot die before the appointed hour; and, when that is come, no caution whatever can prolong his life one moment;* so that they who were slain in battle would certainly have died at the same time, if they had been at home in their houses; but, as they now died fighting for the faith, they had thereby gained a crown of martyrdom, and entered immediately into paradise, where they were in perfect bliss with their Lord.

In the beginning of the next year, Mohammed, hearing the Asadites had a design against the country about Medina, sent a party of fifty men to ravage their lands, who brought away a great number of sheep, and so many camels that every man had seven for his share. About this time, too, being informed that Sofian, son of Kaled, the Hodhailite, was raising men against him, he ordered Abdallah, son of Onais, a determined bravo, to go and assassinate him. Abdallah having performed this office, was rewarded by Mohammed with his walking-stick, which he carried about with him ever after, and ordered it to be buried with him.

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* An opinion as ancient as Homer.—*Iliad*, vi. 487.

Mohammed sent also Amru, with an assistant, to Mecca, to assassinate Abu Sofian; but the object of his visit being discovered, Amru, with his companion, was forced to flee, and returned to Medina without accomplishing his task. This year the prophet had a revelation, commanding him to prohibit wine and games of chance. Some say the prohibition was owing to a quarrel occasioned by these things among his followers.*

This year also, the people of Edlo and Al-Kara, having sent a deputation to desire the prophet to send some Mussulmans to instruct them in his religion, he sent with them six men, of whom they treacherously massacred three, and took the other three prisoners. Of the prisoners, one was killed attempting to make his escape; the other two were sold to the Koreishites, who put them to a cruel death.

In the fifth year of the Hejira, Mohammed, informed by his spies of a design against Medina, surrounded it with a ditch, which was no sooner finished than the Meccans, with

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Several stories have been told as the occasion of Mohammed's prohibiting the drinking of wine. Busbequius says, "Mohammed, making a journey to a friend at noon, entered into his house, where there was a marriage feast; and sitting down with the guests, he observed them to be very merry and jovial, kissing and embracing one another, which was attributed to the cheerfulness of their spirits raised by the wine; so that he blessed it as a sacred thing in being thus an instrument of much love among men. But returning to the same house the next day, he beheld another face of things, as gore-blood on the ground, a hand cut off, an arm, foot, and other limbs dismembered, which he was told was the effect of the brawls and fightings occasioned by the wine, which made them mad, and inflamed them into a fury, thus to destroy one another. Whereon he changed his mind, and turned his former blessing into a curse, and forbade wine ever after to all his disciples." Epist. 3. "This prohibition of wine hindered many of the prophet's contemporaries from embracing his religion. Yet several of the most respectable of the pagan Arabs, like certain of the Jews and early Christians, abstained totally from wine, from a feeling of its injurious effects upon morals, and, in their climate, upon health; or, more especially from the fear of being led by it into the commission of foolish and degrading actions. Thus Keys, the son of Asim, being one night overcome with wine, attempted to grasp the moon, and swore that he would not quit the spot where he stood until he had laid hold of it. After leaping several times with the view of doing so, he fell flat upon his face; and when he recovered his senses, and was acquainted with the cause of his face being bruised, he made a solemn vow to abstain from wine ever after."—*Lane's Arab. Nights*, vol. i. pp. 217, 218.

several tribes of Arabs, sat down before it, to the number of ten thousand men. The appearance of so great a force threw the Mussulmans into a consternation. Some were ready to revolt; and one of them exclaimed aloud, "Yesterday the prophet promised us the wealth of Cosroes and Cæsar, and now he is forced to hide himself behind a nasty ditch." In the meantime, Mohammed, skilfully concealing his real concern, and setting as good a face upon the matter as he could, marched out with three thousand Mussulmans, and formed his army at a little distance behind the entrenchment. The two armies continued facing each other for twenty days, without any action, except a discharge of arrows on both sides. At length, some champions of the Koreishites, Amru son of Abdud, Acrema son of Abu Jehel, and Nawfal son of Abdallah, coming to the ditch, leaped over it; and, wheeling about between the ditch and the Moslem army, challenged them to fight. Ali readily accepted the challenge, and came forward against his uncle Amru, who said to him, "Nephew, what a pleasure am I now going to have in killing you." Ali replied, "No; it is I that am to have a much greater pleasure in killing you." Amru immediately alighted, and having hamstrung his horse, advanced towards Ali, who had also dismounted, and was ready to receive him. They immediately engaged, and, in turning about to flank each other, raised such a dust that they could not be distinguished, only the strokes of their swords might be heard. At last, the dust being laid, Ali was seen with his knee upon the breast of his adversary, cutting his throat. Upon this, the other two champions went back as fast as they came. Nawfal, however, in leaping the ditch, got a fall, and being overwhelmed with a shower of stones, cried out, "I had rather die by the sword than thus." Ali hearing him, leaped into the ditch and despatched him. He then pursued after Acrema, and having wounded him with a spear, drove him and his companions back to the army. Here they related what had happened; which put the rest in such fear, that they were ready to retreat; and when some of their tents had been overthrown by a storm, and discord had arisen among the allies, the Koreishites, finding themselves forsaken by their auxiliaries, returned to Mecca. Mohammed made a miracle of this retreat; and published upon it this verse of the Koran, "God sent a storm, and legions of angels, which you did not see."*

Upon the prophet's return into the town, while he was laying by his armour and washing himself, Gabriel came and asked him, "Have you laid by your arms? we have not laid by ours; go and attack them," pointing to the Koraidites, a Jewish tribe confederated against him. Whereupon, Mohammed went immediately, and besieged them so closely in their castles, that after twenty-five days, they surrendered at discretion. He referred the settlement of the conditions to Saad, son of Moad; who being wounded by an arrow at the ditch, had wished he might only live to be revenged. Accordingly, he decreed, that all the men, in number between six and seven hundred, should be put to the sword, the women and children sold for slaves, and their goods given to the soldiers for a prey. Mohammed extolled the justice of this sentence, as a divine direction sent down from the seventh heaven, and had it punctually executed. Saad, dying of his wound presently after, Mohammed performed his funeral obsequies, and made an harangue in praise of him.

One Salam, a Jew, having been very strenuous in stirring up the people against the prophet, some zealous Casregites desired leave to go and assassinate him. Permission being readily granted, away they went to the Jew's house, and being let in by his wife, upon their pretending they were come to buy provisions, they murdered him in his bed, and made their escape.

Towards the end of this year, Mohammed, going into the house of Zaid,† did not find him at home, but happened to espy his wife Zainab so much in dishabille, as to discover beauties enough to touch a heart so amorous as his was. He could not conceal the impression made upon him; but cried out, "Praised be God, who turneth men's hearts as he pleases!" Zainab heard him, and told it to her husband when he came home. Zaid, who had been greatly obliged to Mohammed, was very desirous to gratify him, and offered to divorce his wife. Mohammed pretended to dissuade him from it, but Zaid easily perceiving how little he was in earnest, actually divorced her. Mohammed thereupon took her to wife, and celebrated the nuptials with extraordinary magnificence, keeping open house upon the occasion. Notwithstanding this step gave great offence to many who could not bring themselves to brook that a prophet should marry his son's wife; for he had before adopted Zaid for his son. To salve the affair, therefore, he had recourse to his usual expedient: Gabriel brought him a revelation from heaven, in which God commands him to take the wife of his adopted son, on purpose, that for ever after, believers might have no scruple in marrying the divorced wives or widows of their adopted sons; which the Arabs had before looked upon as unlawful. The apostle is even reproved for fearing men, in this affair, whereas, he ought to fear God. Koran, chap. xxxiii.

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* Tradition says, the prophet successfully employed his arts and emissaries in producing dissensions in the camp of his confederate enemies; and the remnant was thrown into confusion, and made powerless by the direct visitation of an angry God. While they lay encamped about the city, a remarkable tempest, supernaturally excited, benumbed the limbs of the besiegers, blew dust in their faces, extinguished their fires, overturned their tents, and put their horses in disorder. The angels, moreover, co-operated with the elements in discomfiting the enemy, and by crying, "ALLAH ACBAR!" "GOD IS GREAT!" as their invisible legions surrounded the camp, struck them with such a panic, that they were glad to escape with their lives.—*Green.*

† This was the emancipated slave who was the third convert of Mohammed, see p. 14.

In the sixth year he subdued several tribes of the Arabs. Among the captives was a woman of great beauty, named Juweira, whom Mohammed took to wife, and by way of dowry, released all her kindred that were taken prisoners. About the same time a servant of Omar, fighting with one of the helpers, occasioned a quarrel between the helpers and the refugees; whereupon, Abdallah, son of Abu Solul, a Medinian unbeliever, reflected upon the refugees, as a people that would encroach upon the Medinians, if the latter did not prevent it in time, as now they might easily do. These words being reported to the prophet, Omar, who stood by, would have had him send some one to strike off the head of Abdallah; but his zeal was checked by the prophet asking, "Will not people say, 'What, may Mohammed put to death those that are with him, as he pleases?'" Presently after, the son of Abdallah, who had heard of the affair, came in, and said, "O apostle of God, I am told you have some thoughts of condemning my father to death: if that be your intent, command me, and I will immediately bring you his head." So well had this youth, who had embraced Islamism, been instructed in the humane doctrine taught in the Koran, chap. xlvii., in these words, "If ye meet with any unbelievers, strike off their heads, until ye have made a great slaughter of them: and bind them in strong bonds: and give them their liberty freely, or take a ransom, until the weapons of war are laid down." The apostle, who well knew when it was for his interest to appear merciful and placable, bade the young man be kind to his father, and not take anything amiss of him.

When Mohammed went upon any expedition, it was generally determined by lots which of his wives should go with him; at this time it fell to Ayesha's lot to accompany him.* Upon their return to Medina, Ayesha was accused of intriguing with one of the officers of the army, and was in great disgrace for about a month. The prophet was exceedingly chagrined to have his best beloved wife accused of adultery; but his fondness for her prevailed over his resentment, and she was restored to his favour upon her own protestation of her innocence. This, however, did not quite satisfy the world, nor, indeed, was the prophet's mind perfectly at ease on the subject, until Gabriel brought him a revelation, wherein Ayesha is declared innocent of the crime laid to her charge; while those who accuse believers of any crime, without proof, are severely reproved, and a command given, that whosoever accuses chaste women, and cannot produce four eye-witnesses, in support of the charge, shall receive eighty stripes. Koran, chap. xxiv. In obedience to this command, all those who had raised this report upon Ayesha were publicly scourged, except Abdallah, son of Abu Solul, who was too considerable a man to be so dealt with, notwithstanding he had been particularly industrious in spreading the scandal.†

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* Ayesha says, "When Mohammed intended to travel, he would throw up a piece of wood, on which was the name of each, and determine by it which of his wives to take with him."—*Mishcat*, book xiii. chap. 10.

† The following elucidation of the above circumstance is given by Sale. "Mohammed having undertaken an expedition against the tribe of Mostalek, in the sixth year of the Hejira, took his wife Ayesha with him. On their return, when they were not far from Medina, the army removing

Mohammed being now increased in power, marched his army against Mecca, and a battle being fought on the march, wherein neither side gaining the advantage, a truce was agreed upon for ten years, on the following conditions:—All within Mecca, who were disposed, were to be at liberty to join Mohammed; and those who had a mind to leave him and return to Mecca, were to be equally free to do so; but, for the future, if any Meccans deserted to him, they should be sent back upon demand; and that Mohammed or any of the Mussulmans might come to Mecca, provided they came unarmed, and tarried not above three days at a time.

Mohammed was now so well confirmed in his power, that he took upon himself the authority of a king; and was, by the chief men of his army, inaugurated under a tree near Medina; and having, by the truce obtained for his followers, free access to Mecca, he ordained they should henceforward make their pilgrimages thither.* Among the Arabs it had been an ancient usage to visit the Kaaba once a year, to worship there the heathen deities. Mohammed, therefore, thought it expedient to comply with a custom with which they were pleased, and which, besides, was so beneficial to his native place, by bringing a great concourse of pilgrims to it; that when he afterwards came to be master of Mecca, he enforced the

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by night, Ayesha, on the road, alighted from her camel, and stepped aside on a private occasion; but on her return, perceiving she had dropped her necklace, which was of onyxes of Dhafâr, she went back to look for it; and in the meantime her attendants, taking it for granted that she was got into her pavilion, set it again on the camel, and led it away. When she came back to the road, and saw her camel was gone, she sat down there, expecting that when she was missed, some would be sent back to fetch her; and in a little time she fell asleep. Early in the morning, Safwan Ebu al Moattel, who had stayed behind to rest himself, coming by, perceived somebody asleep, and found it was Ayesha; upon which he awoke her, by twice pronouncing with a low voice these words, 'We are God's, and unto him must we return.' Ayesha immediately covered herself with her veil; and Safwan set her on his own camel, and led her after the army, which they overtook by noon, as they were resting. This accident had like to have ruined Ayesha, whose reputation was publicly called in question, as if she had been guilty of adultery with Safwan."—*Sale's Koran*, chap. xxiv. *note*.

* He once thought to have ordered the pilgrimage to Jerusalem; but finding the Jews so inveterate against him, thought it more advisable to oblige the Arabs.

pilgrimage with most of the old ceremonies belonging to it, only taking away the idols, and abolishing this worship. Though he now took upon himself the sovereign command, and the insignia of royalty, he still retained the sacred character of chief pontiff of his religion, and transmitted both these powers to his caliphs or successors, who, for some time, not only ordered all matters of religion, but used, especially upon public occasions, to officiate in praying and preaching in their mosques. In process of time, this came to be all the authority the caliphs had left, for, about the year of the Hejira, 325, the governors of provinces seized the regal authority, and made themselves kings of their several governments. They continued, indeed, to pay a show of deference to the caliph, who usually resided at Bagdad, whom, however, they occasionally deposed. At this present time, most Mohammedan princes have a person in their respective dominions who bears this sacred character, and is called the mufti in Turkey, and in Persia the sadre. He is often appealed to as the interpreter of the law; but, as a tool of state, usually gives such judgment as he knows will be most acceptable to his prince.

Mohammed used at first, when preaching in his mosque at Medina, to lean upon a post of a palm-tree driven into the ground; but being now invested with greater dignity, by the advice of one of his wives, he had a pulpit built, which had two steps up to it, and a seat within. When Othman was caliph, he hung it with tapestry, and Moawiyah raised it six steps higher, that he might be heard when he sat down, as he was forced to do, being very fat and heavy; whereas his predecessors all used to stand.

Mohammed had now a dream, that he held in his hand the key of the Kaaba, and that he and his men made the circuits round it, and performed all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. Having told his dream next morning, he and his followers were all in high spirits upon it, taking it for an omen that they should shortly be masters of Mecca. Accordingly, great preparations were made for an expedition to this city. The prophet gave it out that his only intent was to make the pilgrimage. He provided seventy camels for the sacrifice, which were conducted by 700 men, ten to each camel; as, however, he apprehended opposition from the Koreishites, he took with him his best troops, to the number of 1400 men, besides an incredible number of wandering Arabs from all parts. The Koreishites, alarmed at the march of the Mussulmans, got together a considerable force, and encamped about six miles from Mecca. Mohammed continued his march, but finding, by his spies, the enemy had posted their men, so as to stop the passes in his feints and counter-marches, came to a place where his camel fell upon her knees. The people said she was restive, but the prophet took it for a divine intimation that he should not proceed any farther in his intended expedition, but wait with resignation till the appointed time. He therefore turned back, and encamped without the sacred territory, at Hodaibia. The Koreishites sent three several messengers, the two last men of consequence, to demand what was his intention in coming thither. He answered, that it was purely out of a devout wish to visit the sacred house; and not with any hostile design. Mohammed also sent one of his own men to give them the same assurance; but the Koreishites cut the legs of his camel, and would also have killed the man, had not the Ahabishites interposed and helped him to escape. Upon this, he wished Omar to go upon the same errand; but he excused himself, as not being upon good terms with the Koreishites. At last, Othman was sent; who delivered his message, and was coming away, when they told him he might, if he wished, make his circuits round the Kaaba. But upon his replying he would not do so until the apostle of God had first performed his vow to make the holy circuits, they were so greatly provoked, that they laid him in irons. In the Mussulman army it was reported that he was killed, at which Mohammed was much afflicted, and said aloud, "We will not stir from hence till we have given battle to the enemy." Thereupon, the whole army took an oath of obedience and fealty to the prophet, who, on his part, by the ceremony of clapping his hand one against the other, took an oath to stand by them as long as there was one of them left.

The Koreishites sent a party of eighty men towards the camp of the Mussulmans to beat up their quarters. Being discovered by the sentinels, they were surrounded, taken prisoners, and brought before Mohammed; who, thinking it proper at that time to be generous, released them. In return, Sohail son of Amru was sent to him with proposals of peace, which he agreed to accept. In wording the treaty, however, Ali had written, "Articles agreed upon between Mohammed the apostle of God, and Sohail son of Amru;" to this title Sohail objected, saying, "If I owned you for an apostle of God, I should be to blame to oppose you; write, therefore, your own name and your father's." Mohammed being in no condition to dispute the matter, bade Ali blot out the objectionable words, but he bluntly swore he would not so dishonour his glorious title. Upon this, Mohammed took the pen and blotted out the words himself, writing instead of them, son of Abdallah. This, my author says, was one of his miracles; for he never had learned to write. While they were drawing up the treaty, Abu Jandal, son of Sohail, who had embraced Islamism, and been confined by his father at Mecca, got loose, and came among the Mussulmans; and being discovered, was reclaimed by his father, in virtue of the articles. Sohail beat his son severely for this elopement; but Mohammed exhorted the young man to have patience, for God would soon give liberty and prosperity to him and all Mussulmans in his condition. Mohammed's men were greatly disgusted at the disappointment they had met with; for, from his dream and the promises he had made them, they had expected nothing less than a complete victory; whereas, after a great deal of fatigue, they were now forced to be content with what they could not but regard as a dishonourable peace.

Mohammed had encamped without the precincts of Mecca, but so near the sacred territory, that he went thereon to say his prayers. He gave the word of command to his people, "Slay the victims and shave your heads;" but nobody stirred to do as he had bidden them. Upon his telling this to his wife Omm-Salama, she thus advised him: "Go among them, and say nothing to any body, but slay your camels and make your sacrifice; and send for your barber and shave your head:" he did so, and all his people immediately followed his example. The apostle having cried out, "God be merciful to the shaved heads;" they answered, "And to the shaved beards too, O apostle of God:" he repeated his prayer, and they repeated their response.

Mohammed, pretending he had a divine promise of a great booty, returned to Medina; and, having concluded a peace for ten years with the Koreishites, was the better enabled to attack the Jews, his irreconcilable enemies. Accordingly, he went to Khaibar, a strong town about six days' journey north-east of Medina, and took that and several other strong places, whereto the Jews had retired, and carried a vast deal of treasure; this all fell into the hands of the Mussulmans. Being entertained at Khaibar, a young Jewess, to try, as she afterwards said, whether he were a prophet or not, poisoned a shoulder of mutton, a joint Mohammed was particularly fond of. One of those who partook of it at the table, named Basher, died upon the spot; but Mohammed, finding it taste disagreeable, spat it out, saying, "This mutton tells me it is poisoned." The miracle-mongers improve this story, by making the shoulder of mutton speak to him; but if it did, it spoke too late, for he had already swallowed some of it; and, of the effects of that morsel he complained in his last illness, of which he died three years after.

In this year, Jannabi* mentions Mohammed's being bewitched by the Jews. Having made a waxen image of him, they hid it in a well, together with a comb and a tuft of hair tied in eleven knots. The prophet fell into a very wasting condition, till he had a dream that informed him where these implements of witchcraft were, and accordingly had them taken away. In order to untie the knots, Gabriel read to him the two last chapters of the Koran, consisting of eleven verses; each verse untied a knot, and, when all were untied, he recovered.†

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* Gagnier, Vie de Mohammed, v. 2, p. 43. Sale on the Koran, p. 508.

† "An implicit belief in magic is entertained by almost all Mussulmans; and he among them, who denies its truth, they regard as a free-thinker, or an infidel. Some are of opinion that it ceased on the mission of Mohammed; but these are comparatively few. Many of the most learned Mussulmans, to the present age, have deeply studied it; and a much greater number of persons of inferior education (particularly schoolmasters) have, more or less, devoted their time and talents to the pursuit of this knowledge. Recourse is had to it for the discovery of hidden treasures, for alchymical purposes, for the acquisition of the knowledge of futurity, to procure offspring, to obtain the affection of a beloved object, to effect cures, to guard against the influence of the evil eye, to afflict or kill an enemy or a rival, and to attain various other objects of desire. Babil, or Babel, is regarded by the Mussulmans as the fountain head of the science of magic, which was, and, as most think, still is, taught there to mankind by two fallen angels, named Haroot and Maroot, who are there suspended

This year Mohammed had a seal made with this inscription, "Mohammed, the apostle of God." This was to seal his letters, which he now took upon him to write to divers princes, inviting them to Islamism. His first letter to this effect was sent to Badham, viceroy of Yemen, to be forwarded to Cosroes, king of Persia. Cosroes tore the letter, and ordered Badham to restore the prophet to his right mind, or send him his head. Cosroes was presently after murdered by his son Siroes; Badham with his people turned Mussulmans, and Mohammed continued him in his government.

by the feet in a great pit closed by a mass of rock."—*Lane's Arab. Nights*, vol. i. pp. 66, 218.

"From another fable of these two magicians, we are told that the angels in heaven, expressing their surprise at the wickedness of the sons of Adam, after prophets had been sent to them with divine commissions, God bid them choose two out of their own number, to be sent down to be judges on earth. Whereupon they pitched upon Haroot and Maroot, who executed their office with integrity for some time, in the province of Babylon; but whilst they were there, Zohara, or the planet Venus, descended, and appeared before them in the shape of a beautiful woman, bringing a complaint against her husband. As soon as they saw her they fell in love with her, whereupon she invited them to dinner, and set wine before them, which God had forbidden them to drink. At length, being tempted by the liquor to transgress the divine command, they became drunk, and endeavoured to prevail on her to satisfy their desires; to which she promised to consent upon condition that one of them should first carry her to heaven, and the other bring her back again. They immediately agreed to do so, but directly the woman reached heaven she declared to God the whole matter, and as a reward for her chastity she was made the morning star. The guilty angels were allowed to choose whether they would be punished in this life or in the other; and upon their choosing the former, they were hung up by the feet by an iron chain in a certain pit near Babylon, where they are to continue suffering the punishment of their transgression until the day of judgment. By the same tradition we also learn, that if a man has a fancy to learn magic, he may go to them and hear their voice, but cannot see them."—*See Sale's Koran*, chap. ii. and notes. *Prideaux's Life of Moham.* &c.

Lane says, "that the celebrated traditionist, Mujahid, is related to have visited these two angels under the guidance of a Jew. Having removed the mass of rock from the mouth of the pit, or well, they entered. Mujahid had been previously charged by the Jew not to mention the name of God in their presence; but when he beheld them, resembling in size two huge mountains, and suspended upside down, with irons attached to their hands and knees, he could not refrain from uttering the forbidden name, whereupon the two angels became so violently agitated, that they almost broke the irons which confined them, and Mujahid and his guide fled in consternation."—*Lane's Arab. Nights*, vol. i. p. 214.

He also sent a letter of the same purport to the Roman emperor, Heraclius. Heraclius received the letter respectfully, and made some valuable presents to the messenger. He sent another to Makawkas, viceroy of Egypt, who returned in answer, he would consider of the proposals, and sent, among other presents, two young maidens. One of these, named Mary, of fifteen years of age, Mohammed debauched. This greatly offended two of his wives, Hafsa and Ayesha, and to pacify them he promised, upon oath, to do so no more. But he was soon taken again by them transgressing in the same way. And now, that he might not stand in awe of his wives any longer, down comes a revelation which is recorded in the sixty-sixth chapter of the Koran, releasing the prophet from his oath, and allowing him to have concubines, if he wished.* And the two wives of Mohammed, who, upon the quarrel about Mary, had gone home to their fathers, being threatened in the same chapter with a divorce, were glad to send their fathers to him to make their peace with him, and obtain his permission for their return. They were fain to come and submit to live with him upon his own terms.

Mohammed sent letters at the same time to the king of Ethiopia, who had before professed Islamism, and now in his answer repeated his profession of it. He wrote to two other Arabian princes, who sent him disagreeable answers, which provoked him to curse them. He sent also to Al Mondar, king of Bahrain, who came into his religion, and afterwards routed the Persians, and made a great slaughter of them. And now all the Arabians of Bahrain had become converts to his religion.

Among the captives taken at Khaibar, was Safia, betrothed to the son of Kenana, the king of the Jews. Mohammed took the former to wife, and put Kenana to the torture, to make him discover his treasure. In the action at Khaibar, it is said, Ali, having his buckler struck out of his hand, took one of the gates off its hinges, and used it for a buckler, till the place was taken. The narrator of this story asserts that he and seven men tried to stir the gate, and were not able.

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* Thomas Moore, the poet, thus alludes to the circumstance in Lalla Rookh :—

"And here Mohammed, born for love and guile,
Forgets the Koran in his Mary's smile;
Then beckons some kind angel from above,
With a new text to consecrate their love!"
Veiled Prophet of Khorassan.

One of the articles of the peace being, that any Mussulman might be permitted to perform his pilgrimage at Mecca, the prophet went to that city to complete the visitation of the holy places, which he could not do as he intended when at Hodaiba. Hearing, upon this occasion, the Meccans talking of his being weakened by the long marches he had made, to show the contrary, in going round the Kaaba seven times, he went the first three rounds in a brisk trot, shaking his shoulders the while, but performed the four last circuits in a common walking pace. This is the reason why Mussulmans always perform seven circuits round the Kaaba in a similar manner.

In the eighth year of the Hejira, Kaled son of Al Walid, Amru son of Al As, and Othman son of Telha, who presided over the Kaaba, became Mussulmans; this was a considerable addition to Mohammed's power and interest. The same year Mohammed, having sent a letter to the governor of Bostra in Syria, as he had to others, and his messenger being slain there, sent Zaid, son of Hareth, with three thousand men to Muta in Syria, against the Roman army, which, with their allies, made a body of nearly one hundred thousand men. Zaid being slain, the command fell to Jaafar, and, upon his death, to Abdallah son of Rawahas, who was also killed.* Thereupon the Mussulmans unanimously chose Kaled for their leader, who defeated the enemy, and returned to Medina with a considerable booty, on which account Mohammed gave him the title of the "Sword of God."

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* "The death of Jaafar was heroic and memorable; he lost his right hand, he shifted the standard to his left, the left was severed from his body, he embraced the standard with his bleeding stumps, till he was transfixed to the ground with fifty honourable wounds. 'Advance,' cried Abdallah, who stepped into the vacant place, 'advance with confidence; either victory or paradise is our own.' The lance of a Roman decided the alternative; but the falling standard was rescued by Kaled, the proselyte of Mecca; nine swords were broken in his hand; and his valour withstood and repulsed the superior numbers of the Christians. To console the afflicted relatives of his kinsman Jaafar, Mohammed represented that, in paradise, in exchange for the arms he had lost, he had been furnished with a pair of wings, resplendent with the blushing glories of the ruby, and with which he was become the inseparable companion of the archangel Gabriel, in his volitations through the regions of eternal bliss. Hence, in the catalogue of the martyrs, he has been denominated Jaaffer teyaur, the winged Jaaffer."—*Milman's Gibbon*, chap. l.

The same year the Koreishites assisted some of their allies against the Kozaites, who were in alliance with Mohammed. This the latter resented as an infraction of the peace. Abu Sofian was sent to try to make up matters, but Mohammed would not vouchsafe to receive his explanation. But having made his preparation to fall upon them before they could be prepared to receive him, he advanced upon Mecca with about ten thousand men. Abu Sofian having come out of the town in the evening to reconnoitre, he fell in with Al Abbas, who, out of friendship to his countrymen, had ridden from the army with the hope of meeting some straggling Meccans whom he might send back with the news of Mohammed's approach, and advise the Meccans to surrender. Al Abbas, recognizing Abu Sofian's voice, called to him, and advised him to get up behind him, and go with him, and in all haste make his submission to Mohammed. This he did, and, to save his life, professed Islamism, and was afterwards as zealous in propagating as he had hitherto been in opposing it.

Mohammed had given orders to his men to enter Mecca peaceably, but Kaled meeting with a party who discharged some arrows at him, fell upon them, and slew twenty-eight of them. Mohammed sent one of his helpers to bid him desist from the slaughter; but the messenger delivered quite the contrary order, commanding him to show them no mercy. Afterwards, when Mohammed said to the helper, "Did not I bid you tell Kaled not to kill any body in Mecca?" "It is true," said the helper, "and I would have done as you directed me, but God would have it otherwise, and God's will was done."

When all was quiet, Mohammed went to the Kaaba, and rode round it upon his camel seven times, and touched with his cane a corner of the black stone with great reverence. Having alighted, he went into the Kaaba, where he found images of angels, and a figure of Abraham holding in his hand a bundle of arrows, which had been made use of for deciding things by lot. All these, as well as three hundred and sixty idols which stood on the outside of the Kaaba, he caused to be thrown down and broken in pieces. As he entered the Kaaba, he cried with a loud voice, "Allah acbar," seven times, turning round to all the sides of the Kaaba. He also appointed it to be the Kebla, or place toward which the Mussulmans should turn themselves when they pray. Remounting his camel, he now rode once more seven times round the Kaaba, and again alighting, bowed himself twice before it. He next visited the well Zemzem, and from thence passed to the station of Abraham. Here he stopped a while, and ordering a pail of water to be brought from the Zemzem, he drank several large draughts, and then made the holy washing called wodhu. Immediately all his followers imitated his example, purifying themselves and washing their faces. After this, Mohammed, standing at the door of the Kaaba, made an harangue to the following effect: "There is no other god but God, who has fulfilled his promise to his servant, and who alone has put to flight his enemies, and put under my feet every thing that is visible; men, animals, goods, riches, except only the government of the Kaaba and the keeping of the cup for the pilgrims to drink out of. As for you, O ye Koreishites, God hath taken from you the pride of paganism, which caused you to worship as deities our fathers Abraham and Ishmael, though they were men descended from Adam, who was created out of the earth." Having a mind to bestow on one of his own friends the prefecture of the Kaaba, he took the keys of it from Othman the son of Telha, and was about to give them to Al Abbas, who had asked for them, when a direction came to him from heaven, in these words, "Give the charge to whom it belongs." Whereupon he returned the keys by Ali to Othman, who, being agreeably surprised, thanked Mohammed, and made a new profession of his faith. The pilgrim's cup, however, he consigned to the care of Al Abbas, in whose family it became hereditary.

The people of Mecca were next summoned to the hill Al Safa, to witness Mohammed's inauguration. The prophet having first taken an oath to them, the men first, and then the women, bound themselves by oath to be faithful and obedient to whatsoever he should command them. After this, he summoned an extraordinary assembly, in which it was decreed, that Mecca should be henceforward an asylum or inviolable sanctuary, within which, it should be unlawful to shed the blood of man, or even to fell a tree.

After telling the Meccans they were his slaves by conquest, he pardoned and declared them free, with the exception of eleven men and six women, whom, as his most inveterate enemies, he proscribed, ordering his followers to kill them wherever they should find them. Most of them obtained their pardon by embracing Islamism, and were ever after, the most zealous of Mussulmans. One of these, Abdallah, who had greatly offended Mohammed, was brought to him by Othman, upon whose intercession Mohammed pardoned him. Before he granted his pardon, he maintained a long silence, in expectation, as he afterwards owned, that some of those about him would fall upon Abdallah and kill him. Of the women, three embraced Islamism, and were pardoned, the rest were put to death; one being crucified.

Mohammed now sent out Kaled and others, to destroy the idols which were still retained by some of the tribes; and to invite them to Islamism. Kaled executed his commission with great brutality. The Jodhamites had formerly robbed and murdered Kaled's uncle as he journeyed from Arabia Felix. Kaled having proposed Islamism to them, they cried out, "they professed Sabæism." This was what he wanted. He immediately fell upon them, killing some, and making others prisoners: of these, he distributed some among his men, and reserved others for himself. As for the latter, having tied their hands behind them, he put them all to the sword. On hearing of this slaughter, Mohammed lifted up his eyes, and protested his innocence of this murder; and immediately sent Ali with a sum of money to make satisfaction for the bloodshed; and to restore the plunder. Ali paid to the surviving Jodhamites as much as they demanded, and generously divided the overplus among them. This action Mohammed applauded; and afterwards reproved Kaled for his cruelty.

Upon the conquest of Mecca, many of the tribes of the Arabs came and submitted to Mohammed; but the Hawazanites, the Thakishites, and part of the Saadites, assembled to the number of 4000 effective men, besides women and children, to oppose him. He went against them at the head of 12,000 fighting men. At the first onset, the Mussulmans being received with a thick shower of arrows, were put to flight;

but Mohammed, with great courage, rallied his men, and finally obtained the victory. Among the captives there was one who said she was the daughter of Mohammed's nurse. The prophet, being satisfied by some mark of the truth of her pretensions, held out his cloak towards her, in token of his good will, and giving her leave to return home, furnished her liberally for her journey. The next considerable action was the siege of Taïf, a town sixty miles east from Mecca. The Mussulmans set down before it; and, having made several breaches with their engines, marched resolutely up to them; but were vigorously repulsed by the besieged. Mohammed, having by an herald proclaimed liberty to all the slaves who should come over to him, twenty-three deserted, to each of whom he assigned a Mussulman for a comrade. So inconsiderable a defection did not in the least abate the courage of the besieged; so that the prophet began to despair of reducing the place, and, after a dream, which Abubeker interpreted unfavourably to the attempt, determined to raise the siege. His men, however, on being ordered to prepare for a retreat, began to murmur; whereupon, he commanded them to be ready for an assault the next day. The assault being made, the assailants were beaten back with great loss. To console them in their retreat, the prophet smiled, and said, "We will come here again, if it please God." When the army reached Jesana, where all the booty taken from the Hawazanites had been left, a deputation arrived from that tribe, to beg it might be restored. The prophet having given them their option, between the captives or their goods, they chose to have their wives and children again. Their goods being divided among the Mussulmans, Mohammed, in order to indemnify those who had been obliged to give up their slaves, gave up his own share of the plunder, and divided it among them. To Malec, however, son of Awf, the general of the Hawazanites, he intimated, that if he would embrace Islamism, he should have all his goods as well as his family, and a present of 100 camels besides. By this promise, Malec was brought over to be so good a Mussulman, that he had the command given him of all his countrymen who should at any time be converts; and was very serviceable against the Thakishites.

The prophet, after this, made a holy visit to Mecca, where he appointed Otab, son of Osaid, governor, though not quite twenty years of age; Maad, son of Jabal, Imam, or chief priest, to teach the people Islamism; and direct them in solemnizing the pilgrimage. Upon his return to Medina, his concubine, Mary, brought him a son, whom he named Ibrahim; celebrating his birth with a great feast. The child, however, lived but fifteen months.

In the ninth year of the Hejira, envoys from all parts of Arabia, came to Mohammed at Medina, to declare the readiness of their several tribes to profess his religion. At this time also, Kaab, son of Zohair, who had been proscribed for writing some satirical verses upon Mohammed, came and made his peace, with a poem in his praise. It began thus:—

"Now does my happiness draw near;
Th' accepted day is in my view:"

Besides granting his pardon, Mohammed gave him his cloak off his back; which precious relic was purchased of his family by Moawiyah the caliph, at a high price, by whose successors it was worn on all solemn occasions, down to the irruption of the Tartars, in the year of the Hejira 656.

The same year, Mohammed, with an army of 30,000 men, marched towards Syria, to a place called Tobuc, against the Romans and Syrians, who were making preparation against him; but, upon his approach, retreated. The Mussulmans, in their march back towards Medina, took several forts of the Christian Arabs, and made them tributaries. Upon his return to Medina, the Thakishites, having been blockaded in the Taïf by the Mussulman tribes, sent deputies offering to embrace Islamism, upon condition of being allowed to retain a little longer an idol to which their people were bigotedly attached. When Mohammed insisted upon its being immediately demolished; they desired to be at least excused from using the Mussulman' prayers, but to this he answered very justly, "That a religion without prayers was good for nothing." At last they submitted absolutely.

During the same year, Mohammed sent Abubeker to Mecca, to perform the pilgrimage, and sacrifice in his behalf twenty camels. Presently afterwards, he sent Ali to publish the ninth chapter of the Koran, which, though so placed in the present confused copy, is generally supposed to have been the last that was revealed. It is called Barat, or Immunity; the purport of it is, that the associators with whom Mohammed had made a treaty, must, after four months' liberty of conscience, either embrace Islamism, or pay tribute. The command runs thus:—"When those holy months are expired, kill the idolaters wherever ye shall find them." Afterwards come these words, "If they repent, and observe the times of prayer and give alms, they are to be looked upon as your brethren in religion." Thus we find the impostor, who at first pretended only to persuade, as soon as he thought himself sufficiently strong to compel men into his religion, declaring it not only lawful, but necessary to make converts by force of arms. For the publication of this doctrine, he could not have found a fitter instrument than his vizir Ali. The same chapter also orders, "That nobody should, not having on the sacred habit, perform the holy circuits round the Kaaba; and that no idolater should make the pilgrimage to Mecca." In consequence, no person except a Mohammedan may approach the Kaaba, on pain of death.

The following account of Mohammed's farewell pilgrimage, is from Jaber, son of Abdallah,* who was one of the company:—"The apostle of God had not made the pilgrimage for nine years; (for when he conquered Mecca he only made a visitation.) In the tenth year of the Hejira, he publicly proclaimed his intention to perform the pilgrimage, whereupon, a prodigious multitude of people (some make the number near 100,000) flocked from all parts to Medina. Our chief desire was to follow the apostle of God, and imitate him. When we came to Dhul Holaifa,† the apostle of God prayed in the mosque there; then mounting his camel, he rode hastily to the plain Baida, where he began to praise God in the form that professes his unity, saying, 'Here I am, O God, ready to obey thee, thou hast no partner,' &c. When he came to the Kaaba, he kissed the corner of the black stone, went seven times round,—three times in a trot, four times walking,—then went to the station of Abraham, and coming again to the black stone, reverently kissed it. Afterwards he went through the gate of the sons of Madhumi to the hill Safa, and went up it, till he could see the Kaaba; when, turning towards the Kebla, he professed again the unity of God; saying, 'There is no God but one, his is the kingdom, to him be praises, he is powerful above every thing,' &c. After this profession he went down towards the hill Merwan, I following him all the way through the valley; he then ascended the hill slowly till he came to the top of Merwan; from thence he ascended mount Arafa. It being towards the going down of the sun, he preached here till sunset; then going to Mosdalefa, between Arafa and the valley of Mena, he made the evening and the late prayers, with two calls to prayer, and two risings up. Then he lay down till the dawn, and having made the morning prayer, went to the inclosure of the Kaaba, where he remained standing till it grew very light. Hence he proceeded hastily, before the sun was up, to the valley of Mena; where, throwing up seven stones, he repeated at each throw, 'God is great,' &c. Leaving now the valley, he went to the place of sacrifice. Having made free sixty-three slaves, he slew sixty-three victims* with his own hand, being then sixty-three years old; and then ordered Ali to sacrifice as many more victims as would make up the number to 100.† The next thing the apostle did was to shave his head, beginning on the right side of it, and finishing it on the left. His hair, as he cut it off, he cast upon a tree, that the wind might scatter it among the people. Kaled was fortunate enough to catch a part of the forelock, which he fixed upon his turban; the virtue whereof he experienced in every battle he afterwards fought. The limbs of the victims being now boiled, the apostle sat down with no other companion but Ali, to eat some of the flesh, and drink some of the broth. The repast being over, he mounted his camel again and rode to the Kaaba; where he made the noon-tide prayer, and drank seven large draughts of the well Zemzem, made seven circuits round the Kaaba, and concluded his career between the hills Safa and Merwan.

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* Gagnier, Note in Abulfeda, p. 130.

† There are different places where the pilgrims from various parts put off their clothes, and put on the sacred habit; which, being a penitential one, consists, according to Sale, of two coarse woollen wrappers. Bobovius, however, says, "It is made like a surplice;" if so, it is only one large wrapper, for it must not be sewed.—Vide Pocock, Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 316.

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* Mohammed's victims were camels: Jannabi apud Gagnier, Vie de Mohammed, vol. ii. p. 265; they may, however, be sheep or goats, but in this case they must be male; if camels or kine, female.—Sale, Prelim. Dis. p. 120.

† Ludovicus Patricius Romanus, who, feigning himself a Mussulman, was present at a pilgrimage, says, "The remains of the sacrificed sheep, after those who furnished them had eaten, were given to the poor, who usually assembled here in great numbers."—Lib. 1. cap. 13.

"The ninth day of the feast, he went to perform his devotions on mount Arafa. This hill, situated about a mile from Mecca, is held in great veneration by the Mussulmans, as a place very proper for penitence. Its fitness in this respect is accounted for by a tradition, that Adam and Eve, on being banished out of paradise, in order to do penance for their transgression, were parted from each other; and after a separation of six score years, met again upon this mountain."

At the conclusion of this farewell pilgrimage, as it was called, being the last he ever made, Mohammed reformed the calendar in two points. 1. In the first place, he appointed the year to be exactly lunar, consisting of twelve lunar months, whereas, before, in order to reduce the lunar to the solar year, they used to make every third year consist of thirteen months. And secondly, whereas the ancient Arabians held four months sacred, wherein it was unlawful to commit any act of hostility, he took away that prohibition, by this command, "attack the idolaters in all the months of the year, as they attack you in all." Koran, chap. ix.

In the 11th year of the Hejira there arrived an ambassage from Arabia Felix, consisting of about one hundred who had embraced Islamism. The same year, Mohammed ordered Osama to go to the place where Zaid his father was slain at the battle of Muta, to revenge his death. This was the last expedition he ever ordered, for, being taken ill two days after, he died within thirteen days. The beginning of his sickness was a slow fever, which made him delirious. In his frenzy he called for pen, ink, and paper, and said, "He would write a book that should keep them from erring after his death." But Omar opposed it, saying the Koran is sufficient, and that the prophet, through the greatness of his malady, knew not what he said. Others, however, expressing a desire that he would write; a contention arose, which so disturbed Mohammed that he bade them all be gone. During his illness, he complained of the poisoned meat he had swallowed at Khaibar. Some say, when he was dying, Gabriel told him the angel of death, who never before had been, nor would ever again be so ceremonious towards any body, was waiting for his permission to come in. As soon as Mohammed had answered, "I give him leave;" the angel of death entered, and complimented the prophet, telling him, God was very desirous to have him, but had commanded he should take his soul or leave it, just as he himself should please to order: Mohammed replied, "Take it, then." [According to the testimony of all the Eastern authors, Mohammed died on Monday the 12th Reby 1st, in the year 11 of the Hejira, which answers in reality to the 8th June, 632, A.D.*]

On his death, there was great confusion among his followers: some said, "He was not dead, but only taken away for a season, and would return again as Jesus did;" and called out, "Do not bury the apostle of God, for he is not dead." Omar was so strongly of this opinion, that he drew his sword, and swore he would cut any body in pieces who should say the prophet was dead. Abubeker, however, came in and said, "Do you worship Mohammed, or the God of Mohammed? the God of Mohammed is immortal; but as for Mohammed he is certainly dead:" he then proved, by several places in the Koran, that Mohammed was to die as well as other men; and not to return to life till the general resurrection. From this it is plain, that it is only a vulgar error to suppose the Mussulmans look for Mohammed's return upon earth. This dispute was no sooner settled, than another and more violent contest arose about his burial. The refugees, who had accompanied him in his flight from Mecca, wished him to be buried there, in the place of his birth; the helpers or Medinians were for burying him at Medina, where he in his flight had been so kindly received. The dispute ran so high, that they were near coming to blows; when Abubeker put an end to it, by declaring, he had often heard Mohammed say, that prophets should be buried in the place where they died. Accordingly, his grave was dug under the bed whereon he lay, in the chamber of Ayesha. The Arabian writers are very particular to tell us every thing about the washing, and embalming his body; who dug his grave, who put him in, &c.*

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* "The mortal disease of the prophet was a bilious fever of fourteen days, which deprived him by intervals of the use of his reason. As soon as he was conscious of his danger, he edified his brethren by the humility of his penitence or his virtue. 'If there be any man,' said the prophet from the pulpit, 'whom I have unjustly scourged, I submit my own back to the lash of retaliation. Have I aspersed the reputation of a Mussulman? let him proclaim my faults in the face of the congregation. Has any one been despoiled of his goods? the little that I possess shall compensate the principal and interest of the debt.' 'Yes,' replied a voice from the crowd, 'I am entitled to three drachms of silver.' Mohammed heard, and satisfied the demand with interest, thanking, at the time, his creditor for having accused him in this world, rather than at the day of judgment. 'God,' he added, 'offers to mankind the enjoyment either of this world, or of the world come. I prefer eternal to temporal felicity.'"—*Abulfeda.*

The person of Mohammed is minutely described by them. He was of a middle stature, had a large head, thick beard, black eyes, hooked nose, wide mouth, a thick neck, flowing hair. They also tell us that what was called the seal of his apostleship, a hairy mole between his shoulders, as large as a pigeon's egg, disappeared at his death. Its disappearance seems to have convinced those who would not before believe it, that he was really dead. His intimate companion Abu Horaira said, he never saw a more beautiful man than the prophet. He was so reverenced by his bigoted disciples, they would gather his spittle up and swallow it.

The same writers extol Mohammed as a man of fine parts, and a strong memory, of few words, of a cheerful aspect, affable and complaisant in his behaviour. They also celebrate his justice, clemency, generosity, modesty, abstinence, and humility. As an instance of the last virtue, they tell us he mended his own clothes and shoes. However, to judge of him by his actions as related by these same writers, we cannot help concluding, that he was a very subtle and crafty man, who put on the appearance only of those good qualities; while the governing principles of his soul were ambition and lust. For we see him, as soon as he found himself strong enough to act upon the offensive, plundering caravans; and, under a pretence of fighting for the true religion, attacking, murdering, enslaving, and making tributaries of his neighbours, in order to aggrandize and enrich himself and his greedy followers: and without scruple making use of assassination to cut off those who opposed him. Of his lustful disposition, we have a sufficient proof, in the peculiar privileges he claimed to himself, of having as many wives as he pleased, and of whom he chose, even though they were within forbidden degrees of affinity. The authors who give him the smallest number of wives, own that he had fifteen; whereas the Koran allows no Mussulman more than four.* As for himself, Mohammed had no shame in avowing that his chief pleasures were perfumes and women.

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* Gagnier, Note in Abulfeda, p. 140. and Vie de Mahom. vol. ii. p. 299. There are many ridiculous stories told of Mohammed, which being notoriously fabulous, are not introduced here. Two of the most popular are: That a tame pigeon used to whisper in his ear the commands of God. [The pigeon is said to have been taught to come and peck some grains of rice out of Mohammed's ear, to induce people to think that he then received by the ministry of an angel, the several articles of the Koran.] The other is, that after his death he was buried at Medina, and his coffin suspended by divine agency or magnetic power, between the ceiling and floor of the temple.

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* Dr. Weil informs us in his Life of Mohammed, that according to the most authentic accounts, Mohammed left nine wives, for Kadija and Zainab had died before him; but others are mentioned in traditions, from whom he was either separated soon after marriage or before consummation. From Asma-bint-Numan, he refrained, because she was leprous; and from Amra-bint-Yezid, because when he was about to embrace her, she exclaimed, "I take my refuge in God in preference to thee;" for it seems she had been so recently converted to Islamism, that the approach of Mohammed made her shudder. The prophet replied to this speech by saying, "He who flies to God finds protection," and immediately returned her to her friends. Gagnier makes an incorrect statement in reference to this circumstance, for he tells us that the separation was caused by Amra's relapsing into idolatry, for which the prophet detesting her, sent her home, and afterwards said, "God, who protects me from evil, preserved me from her." Another writer tells us, that her extreme beauty attracted the jealousy of Mohammed's other wives, and they accordingly persuaded her to offer a long opposition to his advances, and to call God to her aid, pretending that this would increase the love of her husband, though they well knew that he excessively disliked such conduct. Abulfeda reckons altogether fifteen wives, four of whom, however, never shared connubial rites. Another writer says, that the apostle paid his addresses to thirty women, but with seven of these no marriage contract took place, and he only associated with twelve of the remainder. Mention is also made of one named Kuteila, who was brought from Hadramaut, by her brother, but did not reach Medina till after the death of Mohammed. Kuteila afterwards married a son of Abu Djahl's, and this being told to Abubeker, he was going to burn the house over her head, on account of the prophet having pro-

The Koran is held by the Mohammedans in the greatest veneration. The book must not be touched by any body but a Mussulman; nor even by a believer, except he be free from pollution. Whether the Koran be created or uncreated, has been the subject of a controversy fruitful of the most violent persecutions. The orthodox opinion is, that the original has been written from all eternity on the preserved table. Of this they believe, a complete transcript was brought down to the lower heaven (that of the moon), by the angel Gabriel: and thence taken and shown to Mohammed, once every year of his mission; and twice in the last year of his life. They assert, however, that it was only piece-meal, that the several parts were *revealed* by the angel to the prophet, and that he immediately dictated what had been revealed to his secretary, who wrote it down. Each part, as soon as it was thus copied out, was communicated to his disciples, to get by heart; and was afterwards deposited in what he called the chest of his apostleship. This chest the prophet left in the custody of his wife Hafsa. How the present book was compiled, partly out of these detached scraps, and partly out of the memories of his companions, may be seen in our author at the end of the reign of Abubeker.

When we consider the way in which the Koran was compiled, we cannot wonder that it is so incoherent a piece as we find it. The book is divided into chapters; of these some are very long; others again, especially a few towards the end, very short. Each chapter has a title prefixed, taken from the first word, or from some one particular thing mentioned in it, rarely from the subject matter of it; for if a chapter be of any length, it usually runs into various subjects that have no connexion with each other. A celebrated commentator divides the contents of the Koran into three general heads: 1. Precepts or directions, relating either to religion, as prayers, fasting, pilgrimages; or to civil polity, as marriages, inheritances, judicatures. 2. Histories—whereof some are

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hibited his wives from marrying after his death. Omar, however, preserved her, by telling Abubeker that she did not belong to the "mothers of the faithful," as the ambassador of God had never received her. Beside these wives, Mohammed lived with four female slaves. Two of these Makawkas sent him; one was a captive in war, and the other was given him by his wife Zainab.

taken from the scriptures, but falsified with fabulous additions; others are wholly false, having no foundation in fact. 3. Admonitions: under which head are comprised exhortations to receive Islamism; to fight for it, to practise its precepts, prayer, alms, &c.; the moral duties, such as justice, temperance, &c., promises of everlasting felicity to the obedient, dissuasives from sin, threatenings of the punishments of hell to the unbelieving and disobedient. Many of the threatenings are levelled against particular persons, and those sometimes of Mohammed's own family, who had opposed him in propagating his religion.

In the Koran, God is brought in saying, "We have given you a book." By this it appears that the impostor published early, in writing, some of his principal doctrines, as also some of his historical relations. Thus, in his Life, p. 16, we find, his disciples reading the twentieth chapter of the Koran, before his flight from Mecca; after which he pretended many of the revelations in other chapters were brought to him. Undoubtedly, all those said to be revealed at Medina must be posterior to what he had then published at Mecca; because he had not yet been at Medina. Many parts of the Koran he declared were brought to him by the angel Gabriel, on special occasions, of which we have already met with several instances in his biography. Accordingly, the commentators on the Koran often explain passages in it by relating the occasion on which they were first revealed. Without such a key, many of them would be perfectly unintelligible.

There are several contradictions in the Koran. To reconcile these, the Mussulman doctors have invented the doctrine of abrogation, i. e. that what was revealed at one time was revoked by a new revelation. A great deal of it is so absurd, trifling, and full of tautology, that it requires no little patience to read much of it at a time. Notwithstanding, the Koran is cried up by the Mussulmans, as inimitable; and in the seventeenth chapter of the Koran, Mohammed is commanded to say, "Verily if men and genii were purposely assembled, that they might produce any thing like the Koran, they could not produce any thing like unto it, though they assisted one another." Accordingly, when the impostor was called upon, as he often was, to work miracles in proof of his divine mission, he excused himself by various pretences, and appealed to the Koran as a standing miracle.* Each chapter of the Koran is divided into verses, that is, lines of different length, terminated with the same letter, so as to make a different

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* Mirza Ibrahim (translated by Lee) states, however, that the miracles recorded of Mohammed almost exceed enumeration. "Some of the doctors of Islamism have computed them at four thousand four hundred and fifty, whilst others have held that the more remarkable ones were not fewer than a thousand, some of which are almost universally accredited: as his dividing the moon into two parts; the singing of the gravel in his hand; the flowing of the water from between his fingers; the animals addressing him, and complaining before him; his satisfying a great multitude with a small quantity of food, and many others. The miracle of the speaking of the moon is thus related by Gagnier:—On one occasion Mohammed accepted a challenge to bring the moon from heaven in presence of the whole assembly. Upon uttering his command, that luminary, full-orbed, though but five days old, leaped from the firmament, and, bounding through the air, alighted on the top of the Kaaba, after having encircled it by seven distinct evolutions. She is said to have paid reverence to the prophet, addressing him in elegant Arabic, in set phrase of encomium, and concluding with the formula of the Mussulman faith. This done, the moon is said to have descended from the Kaaba, to have entered the right sleeve of Mohammed's mantle, and made its exit by the left. After having traversed every part of his flowing robe, the planet separated into two parts, as it mounted to the air. Then these parts reunited in one round and luminous orb, as before."

The following very elaborate miracle is detailed in the Book of Aga Acber, as translated by Professor Lee:—"On a certain day, four companies of Pagans suddenly surrounded Mohammed, and called upon him for miracles. The first asked for one like the deluge; the second, for a sign like that of Moses, who suspended Mount Sinai over the heads of his followers; the third, for a miracle like Abraham's, who was thrown in the fire and escaped unscorched; whilst the fourth begged for one like those of Jesus, who told what people had eaten or laid up in their houses. The prophet replied that the Koran was sufficient to confirm God's judgment against unbelievers, and added that he could not exceed the commission he had received from above. Suddenly Gabriel descended and promised him that God would accede to the wishes of the pagans. Accordingly, in obedience to his directions, Mohammed told the first company to proceed to the foot of Mount Kabis, where they should see the miracle of Noah; and when they found themselves in danger, they were to betake themselves to Ali and his two sons Hasan and Hosein, who would appear for their deliverance. The second, he desired to go to the plain of Mecca, where they should see the fire of Abraham; and if that affected them, they were to pray to a woman who would appear in the air. The third he directed to go to Kaaba, where they should behold the miracle of Moses, whilst Hamza would preserve them; and the fourth he persuaded to rhyme, but without any regard to the measure of the syllables.

The Mohammedan religion consists of two parts, faith and practice. Faith they divide into six articles: 1. A

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remain with him and Gabriel to hear the relations of their friends. Upon this communication three of the companies immediately dispersed. The first hastened to the foot of Mount Kabis, where suddenly several fountains boiled up under their feet, the rain fell in torrents, though the sky was cloudless, and the water soon rose to their chin. The affrighted pagans ascended the mountains, but the flood reached them there, and they momentarily expected drowning, when Ali and his sons appeared on the surface of the waters, and placed them in a place of safety. The deluge disappeared, and they returned to Mohammed, and entering his presence, they acknowledged the divinity of his mission, and embraced Islamism. In the meantime, the second company had departed for the plain of Mecca, which they had scarcely reached before the heavens were cleft asunder and the fire came down. The earth then opened, and clouds of flame ascended and spread till the whole world seemed enveloped. Every moment they expected to be consumed, when the form of Fatima appeared in the air, and letting down her veil, she directed them to hold by its slender threads, and upon obeying her commands, they were instantly borne away, and at length, let down in the court-yards of their own houses; whereupon they also returned to Mohammed and embraced his religion. In the same manner, the third company had betaken themselves to the Kaaba, and sat beneath its shade, when suddenly the temple was torn up from its foundations and suspended over their heads; they trembled with fear, but Hamza coming up, fixed his spear beneath the edifice, and commanded them to retire; and accordingly, they obeyed his orders, and the Kaaba returned to its proper position, whilst they themselves hastened to the prophet and declared their conversion to the true faith. As each of these companies returned, the prophet had addressed himself to Abu Jahl, one of the principal idolaters of the fourth company, who every time had required further proof of his miraculous powers. Accordingly, on the conversion of the third party, Mohammed again turned to Abu Jahl, and upon being asked for another miracle, he said, 'I will now tell you what you have eaten, what you have laid up, and what you did while you were eating; and if you then refuse to believe, you shall find contempt and infamy in this world, and everlasting perdition in the next. Observe, as you sat in your house, you took a mouthful of roast fowl; but your brother came to the door and desired admittance, whereupon your greedy disposition alarmed you, and you hid the fowl beneath your skirt, and waited for his departure, when you despatched one half of the bird and hid the other.' 'It is false,' said Jahl; but the prophet proceeded: 'You have two hundred ashrefs of your own and ten thousand dirhems belonging to others, which have been deposited with you; these you have placed in a bag, and, to cheat your friends, you have buried them in the earth.' 'This, too, is false,' said Jahl, 'the deposit was carried off by a thief.' 'Accuse not me with lying,' said Mohammed, 'the charge comes from above; Gabriel is at hand, and will belief in the unity of God, in opposition to those whom they call associators; by which name they mean not only those who, besides the true God, worship idols, or inferior gods or goddesses, but the Christians also, who hold our blessed Saviour's divinity, and the doctrine of the Trinity. 2. A belief of angels, to whom they attribute various shapes, names, and offices, borrowed from the Jews and Persians. 3. The Scriptures. 4. The prophets: on this head the Koran teaches that God revealed his will to various prophets, in divers ages of the world, and gave it in writing to Adam, Seth, Enoch, Abraham, &c.; but these books are lost: that afterwards he gave the Pentateuch to Moses, the Psalms to David, the Gospel to Jesus, and the Koran to Mohammed. The Koran speaks with great reverence of Moses and Jesus, but says the Scriptures left by them have been greatly mutilated and corrupted. Under this pretence, it adds a great many fabulous relations to the history contained in those sacred books, and charges the Jews and Christians with suppressing many

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bring forth the remainder of the bird.' In a moment the fowl appeared, and upon being commanded to speak, it opened its mouth and confirmed the words of the prophet. Jahl declared the whole to be an illusion, when Mohammed stretched forth his hand, and restored the life and limbs of the half-eaten fowl. Even this miracle failed to satisfy the idolater, when the prophet desired Gabriel to go and fetch the buried money. This was instantly done, and to the shame and astonishment of Abu Jahl, Mohammed dispensed the purses to their rightful owners, and then offered him the remainder upon condition of his belief. 'Never,' said Jahl, and endeavoured to seize the purse, but by the prophet's command, the roasted fowl seized the rebel, and mounting in the air, carried him away, and placed him upon the roof of his own house. Mohammed then divided the money among the poor of the faithful, and addressed his followers thus: 'Friends and companions, your God has afforded you this miracle through the perverseness of Abul Jahl. The bird which has been restored to life is one of the birds of paradise, which are as large as camels; and for your sake it shall for ever fly about in that delicious place. Now should any one of the faithful, who sincerely loves Mohammed and his posterity, wish to eat one of these birds, it shall instantly come down; the wings and feathers shall immediately be well plucked, and the flesh cooked for him without fire. One part shall be dressed with eggs, onions, &c.; the other nicely roasted. And when he has eaten as much as he wishes, and has said, Praise to God, the Lord of created beings, the bird shall be restored to life, and again fly about in paradise. Besides, the bird shall now plume itself upon its superior privileges, and shall say, Which of you is like me, of whom a friend of God has eaten a part?'"

prophecies concerning Mohammed (a calumny easily refuted, the Scriptures having been translated into various languages, long before Mohammed was born). 5. The fifth article of belief is the resurrection and day of judgment, while about the intermediate state Mohammedan divines have various opinions. The happiness promised to the Mussulmans in paradise is wholly sensual, consisting of fine gardens, rich furniture, sparkling with gems and gold, delicious fruits, and wines that neither cloy nor intoxicate; but above all, affording the fruition of all the delights of love in the society of women having large black eyes, and every trait of exquisite beauty, who shall ever continue young and perfect.* Some of their writers speak of these females of paradise in very lofty strains; telling us, for instance, that if one of them were to look down from heaven in the night, she would illuminate the earth as the sun does; and if she did but spit into the ocean, it would be immediately turned as sweet as honey. These delights of paradise were certainly, at first, understood literally; however Mohammedan divines may have since allegorised them into a spiritual sense. As to the punishments threatened to the wicked, they are hell-fire, breathing hot winds, the drinking of boiling and stinking water, eating briars and thorns, and the bitter fruit of the tree Zacom, which in their bellies will feel like boiling pitch. These punishments are to be everlasting to all except those who embrace Islamism; for the latter, after suffering a number of years, in proportion to their demerits, will then, if they have had but so much faith as is equal to the weight of an ant, be released by the mercy of God, and, upon the intercession of Mohammed, admitted into paradise.†

The 6th article of belief is, that God decrees everything that is to happen, not only all events, but the actions and thoughts of men, their belief or infidelity; that everything that has or will come to pass has been, from eternity, written in the preserved or secret table, which is a white stone of an immense size, preserved in heaven, near the throne of God. Agreeable to this notion, one of their poets thus expresses himself: "Whatever is written against thee will come to pass, what is written for thee shall not fail; resign thyself to God, and know thy Lord to be powerful; his decrees will certainly take place; his servants ought to be silent."

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* If we may believe the description of Ammianus Marcellinus, the impostor has here admirably adapted himself to the temper of his countrymen.

† For fuller descriptions of Mohammed's heaven and hell, see Sale's Koran, chaps. 55, 56, 77, &c.

Of their four fundamental points of practice, the first is prayer. This duty is to be performed five times in the twenty-four hours: 1. In the morning before sun-rise; 2. When noon is past; 3. A little before sunset; 4. A little after sunset; 5. Before the first watch of the night. Previous to prayer they are to purify themselves by washing. Some kinds of pollution require the whole body to be immersed in water, but commonly it is enough to wash some parts only, the head, the face and neck, hands and feet. In the latter ablution, called Wodhu, fine sand or dust may be used when water cannot be had; in such case, the palm of the hand being first laid upon the sand, is then to be drawn over the part required to be washed. The Mohammedans, out of respect to the divine Majesty before whom they are to appear, are required to be clean and decent when they go to public prayers in their mosques; but are yet forbidden to appear there in sumptuous apparel, particularly clothes trimmed with gold or silver, lest they should make them vain and arrogant. The women are not allowed to be in their mosques at the same time with the men; this they think would make their thoughts wander from their proper business there. On this account they reproach the Christians with the impropriety of the contrary usage. The next point of practice is alms-giving, which is frequently enjoined in the Koran, and looked upon as highly meritorious. Many of them have been very exemplary in the performance of this duty. The third point of practical religion is fasting the whole month Ramadan, during which they are every day to abstain from eating, or drinking, or touching a woman, from day-break to sunset; after that they are at liberty to enjoy themselves as at other times. From this fast an exception is made in favour of old persons and children. Those also that are sick, or on a journey; and women pregnant, or nursing, are also excused in this month. But then, the person making use of this dispensation must expiate the omission by fasting an equal number of days in some other month, and by giving alms to the poor. There are also some other days of fasting, which are, by the more religious, observed in the manner above described. The last practical duty is going the pilgrimage to Mecca, which every man who is able is obliged to perform once in his life. In the ceremonies of it they strictly copy those observed by Mohammed, described p. 58. A pilgrimage can be made only in the month Dulhagha; but a visitation to Mecca may be made at any other time of the year.

As an illustration of the Mohammedan Creed and Practice I have thought it advisable to insert their famous Doctor Algazáli's† interpretation of the Two Articles of their Faith, viz.:—"There is no God but God; Mohammed is the Apostle of God."

PRAISE be to God the Creator and Restorer of all things: who does whatsoever he pleases, who is master of the glorious throne and mighty force, and directs his sincere servants into the right way and the straight path; who favoureth them, who have once borne testimony to the UNITY, by preserving their confessions from the darkness of doubt and hesitation; who directs them to follow his chosen apostle, upon whom be the blessing and peace of God; and to go after his most honourable companions, to whom he hath vouchsafed his assistance and direction which is revealed to them in his essence and operations by the excellences of his attributes, to the knowledge whereof no man attains but he that hath been taught by hearing. To these, as touching his essence, he maketh known that he is ONE, and hath no partner: singular, without anything like him: uniform, having no contrary: separate, having no equal. He is ancient, having no first: eternal, having no beginning: remaining for ever, having no end: continuing to eternity, without any termination. He persists, without ceasing to be; remains without failing, and never did cease, nor ever shall cease to be described by glorious attributes, nor is subject to any decree so as to be determined by any precise limits or set times, but is the First and the Last, and is within and without.

* *What God is not.*] HE (glorified be his name) is not a body endued with form, nor a substance circumscribed with limits or determined by measure; neither does he resemble bodies, as they are capable of being measured or divided. Neither is he a substance, neither do substances exist in him; neither is he an accident, nor do accidents exist in him. Neither is he like to any thing that exists, neither is any thing like to him; nor is he determinate in quantity nor comprehended by bounds, nor circumscribed by the differences of situation nor contained in the heavens. He sits upon the throne, after that manner which he himself hath described, and in that same sense which he himself means, which is a sitting far removed from any notion of contact, or resting upon, or local situation; but both the throne itself, and whatsoever is upon it, are sustained by the goodness of his power, and are subject to the grasp of his hand. But he is above the throne, and above all things, even to the utmost ends of the earth; but so above as at the same time not to

be a whit nearer the throne and the heaven; since he is exalted by (infinite) degrees above the throne no less than he is exalted above the earth, and at the same time is near to every thing that hath a being; nay, † nearer to men than their jugular veins, and is witness to every thing: though his nearness is not like the nearness of bodies, as neither is his essence like the essence of bodies. Neither doth he exist in any thing, neither doth any thing exist in him; but he is too high to be contained in any place, and too holy to be determined by time; for he was before time and place were created, and is now after the same manner as he always was. He is also distinct from the creatures by his attributes, neither is there any thing besides himself in his essence, nor is his essence in any other besides him. He is too holy to be subject to change, or any local motion; neither do any accidents dwell in him nor any contingencies befall him, but he abides through all generations with his glorious attributes, free from all danger of dissolution. As to the attribute of perfection, he wants no addition of his perfection. As to being, he is known to exist by the apprehension of the understanding; and he is seen as he is by an ocular intuition, which will be vouchsafed out of his mercy and grace to the holy in the eternal mansion, completing their joy by the vision of his glorious presence.

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† Vide Pocock, Specimen Historiæ Arabum. p. 274.

* *His Power.*] He, praised be his name, is living, powerful, mighty, omnipotent, not liable to any defect or impotence; neither slumbering nor sleeping, nor being obnoxious to decay or death. To him belongs the kingdom, and the power, and the might. His is the dominion, and the excellency, and the creation, and the command thereof. The heavens are folded up in his right hand, and all creatures are couched within his grasp. His excellency consists in his creating and producing, and his unity in communicating existence and a beginning of being. He created men and their works, and measured out their maintenance and their determined times. Nothing that is possible can escape his grasp, nor can the vicissitudes of things elude his power. The effects of his might are innumerable, and the objects of his knowledge infinite.

* *His Knowledge.*] He, praised be his name, knows all things that can be understood, and comprehends whatsoever comes to pass, from the extremities of the earth to the highest heavens, even the weight of a pismire could not escape him either in earth or heaven; but he would perceive the creeping of the black pismire in the dark night upon the hard stone, and discern the motion of an atom in the open air. He knows what is secret and conceals it, and views the conceptions of the minds, and the motions of the thoughts, and the inmost recesses of secrets, by a knowledge ancient and eternal, that never ceased to be his attribute from eternal eternity, and not by any new knowledge, superadded to his essence, either inhering or adventitious.

* *His Will.*] He, praised be his name, doth WILL those things to be that are, and disposes of all accidents. Nothing passes in the empire, nor the kingdom, neither little nor much, nor small nor great, nor good nor evil, nor profitable nor hurtful, nor faith nor infidelity, nor knowledge nor ignorance, nor prosperity nor adversity, nor increase nor decrease, nor obedience nor rebellion, but by his

determinate counsel and decree, and his definite sentence and will. Nor doth the wink of him that seeth, nor the subtlety of him that thinketh, exceed the bounds of his will; but it is HE who gave all things their beginning; he is the creator and restorer, the sole operator of what he pleases; there is no reversing his decree nor delaying what he hath determined, nor is there any refuge to man from his rebellion against him, but only his help and mercy; nor hath any man any power to perform any duty towards him, but through his love and will. Though men and genii, angels and devils, should conspire together either to put one single atom in motion, or cause it to cease its motion, without his will and approbation they would not be able to do it. His will subsists in his essence amongst the rest of his attributes, and was from eternity one of his eternal attributes, by which he willed from eternity the existence of those things that he had decreed, which were produced in their proper seasons according to his eternal will, without any BEFORE or AFTER, and in agreement both with his knowledge and will, and not by methodising of thoughts, nor waiting for a proper time, for which reason no one thing is in him a hindrance from another.

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† Koran.

* *His Hearing and Sight.*] And HE, praised be his name, is HEARING and SEEING, and heareth and seeth. No †audible object, how still soever, escapeth his hearing ; nor is any thing visible so small as to escape his sight ; for distance is no hindrance to his hearing, nor darkness to his sight. He sees without pupil or eyelids, and hears without any passage or ear, even as he knoweth without a heart, and performs his actions without the assistance of any corporeal limb, and creates without any instrument, for his attributes (or properties) are not like those of men, any more than his essence is like theirs.

* *His Word.*] Furthermore, he doth speak, command, forbid, promise, and threaten by an eternal, ancient word subsisting in his essence. Neither is it like to the word of the creatures, nor doth it consist in a voice arising from the commotion of the air and the collision of bodies, nor letters which are separated by the joining together of the lips or the motion of the ttongue. The Koran, the Law, the Gospel, and the Psalter, are books sent down by him to his apostles, and the Koran, indeed, is read with tongues, written in books, and kept in hearts; yet as subsisting in the essence of God, it it doth not become liable to separation and division whilst it is transferred into the hearts and the papers. Thus Moses also heard the word of God without voice or letter, even as the saints behold the essence of God without substance or accident. And that since these are his attributes, he liveth and knoweth, is powerful and willeth and operateth, and seeth and speaketh, by life and knowledge, and will and hearing, and sight and word, not by his simple essence.

* *His Works.*] HE, praised be his name, exists after such a manner that nothing besides him hath any being but what is produced by his operation, and floweth from his justice after the best, most excellent, most perfect, and most just model. He is, moreover, wise in his works, and

just in his decrees. But his justice is not to be compared with the justice of men. For a man may be supposed to act unjustly by invading the possession of another; but no injustice can be conceived of God, inasmuch as there is nothing that belongs to any other besides himself, so that wrong is not imputable to him as meddling with things not appertaining to him. All things, himself only excepted, genii, men, the devil, angels, heaven, earth, animals, plants, substance, accident, intelligible, sensible, were all created originally by him. He created them by his power out of mere privation, and brought them into light, when as yet they were nothing at all, but he alone existing from eternity, neither was there any other with him. Now he created all things in the beginning for the manifestation of his power, and his will, and the confirmation of his word, which was true from all eternity. Not that he stood in need of them, nor wanted them; but he manifestly declared his glory in creating, and producing, and commanding, without being under any obligation, nor out of necessity. Loving-kindness, and to show favour, and grace, and beneficence, belong to him; whereas it is in his power to pour forth upon men a variety of torments, and afflict them with various kinds of sorrows and diseases, which, if he were to do, his justice could not be arraigned, nor would he be chargeable with injustice. Yet he rewards those that worship him for their obedience on account of his promise and beneficence, not of their merit nor of necessity, since there is nothing which he can be tied to perform; nor can any injustice be supposed in him, nor can he be under any obligation to any person whatsoever. That his creatures, however, should be bound to serve him, ariseth from his having declared by the tongues of the prophets that it was due to him from them. The worship of him is not simply the dictate of the understanding, but he sent messengers to carry to men his commands, and promises, and threats, whose veracity he proved by manifest miracles, whereby men are obliged to give credit to them in those things that they relate.

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* We are not to understand those words, *audible*, *visible*, as if it were necessary the things so designated should be so to us, but only in their own nature.

*The signification of the second article; that is, the Testimony concerning the apostle.**]—He, the Most High, sent Mohammed, the illiterate prophet of the family of the Koreish, to deliver his message to all the Arabians, and barbarians, and genii, and men; and abrogated by his religion all other religions, except in those things which he confirmed; and gave him the pre-eminence over all the rest of the prophets, and made him lord over all mortal men. Neither is the faith, according to his will, complete by the testimony of the Unity alone; that is, by simply saying, There is but one God, without the addition of the testimony of the apostle; i. e. without the further testimony, Mohammed is the apostle of God. And he hath made it necessary to men to give credit to Mohammed in those things which he hath related, both with regard to this present world and the life to come. For a man's faith is not accepted till he is fully persuaded of those things which the prophet hath affirmed shall be after death. The first of these is the examination of Munkir and Nakir. These are two angels, of a most terrible and fearful aspect, who shall place [every] man upright in his grave, consisting again both of soul and body, and ask him concerning the unity and the mission [of the apostle], saying, Who is thy Lord? and, What is thy religion? and, Who is thy prophet? For these are the searchers of the grave, and their examination the first trial after death. Every one must also believe the torment of the sepulchre, and that it is due, and right, and just, both upon the body and the soul, being according to the will of God.

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* Mohammed is the apostle of God.

He shall also believe in the balance with two scales and a beam, that shall equal the extent of the heavens and the earth; wherein the works [of men] shall be weighed by the power of God. At which time weights not heavier than atoms, or mustard-seeds, shall be brought out, that things may be balanced with the utmost exactness, and perfect justice administered. Then the books of the good works, beautiful to behold, shall be cast into the balance of light, by which the balance shall be depressed according to their degrees, out of the favour of God. But the books of evil deeds, nasty to look upon, shall be cast into the balance of darkness, with which the scale shall lightly ascend by the justice of the most high God.

He must also believe that there is a real way, extended over the middle of hell, which is sharper than a sword and finer than a hair, over which all must pass. In this passage of it, while the feet of the infidels, by the decree of God, shall slip, so as they shall fall into hell-fire, the feet of the faithful shall never stumble, but they shall arrive safely into the eternal habitation.

He shall also believe the pond where they go down to be watered, that is the pond of Mohammed (upon whom be the blessing and peace of God), out of which the faithful, after they have passed the way, drink before they enter into paradise; and out of which whosoever once drinketh shall thirst no more for ever. Its breadth is a month's journey, it is whiter than milk, and sweeter than honey. Round about it stand cups as innumerable as the stars, and it hath two canals, by which the waters of the [river] Cauthar flow into it.

He shall also believe the [last] account, in which men shall be divided into those that shall be reckoned withal with the utmost strictness, and those that shall be dealt withal more favourably, and those that shall be admitted into paradise without any manner of examination at all; namely, those whom God shall cause to approach near to himself. Moreover, he shall believe that God will ask any of his apostles, whomsoever he shall please, concerning their mission; of the infidels, and whomsoever he shall please, what was the reason why, by their unbelief, they accused those that were sent to them of lying. He will also examine the heretics concerning tradition, and the faithful concerning their good works.

He shall also believe that all who confess one God shall, upon the intercession of the prophets, next of the doctors, then of the martyrs, and finally of the rest of the faithful (that is, every one according to his excellency and degree), at length go out of the fire after they have undergone the punishment due to their sins.

And if besides these remain any of the faithful, having no intercessor, they shall go out by the grace of God; neither shall any one of the faithful remain for ever in hell, but shall go out from thence though he had but so much faith in his heart as the weight of an atom. And thus, by the favourable mercy of God, no person shall remain in hell who in life acknowledge the unity of the Godhead.

It is also necessary that every true believer acknowledge the excellency of the companions [of Mohammed] and their degrees; and that the most excellent of men, next to Mohammed, is Abubeker, then Omar, then Othman, and then Ali. Moreover, he must entertain a good opinion of all the companions, and celebrate their memories, according as God and his apostle hath celebrated them. And all these things are received by tradition, and evinced by evident tokens; and he that confesseth all these things, and surely believeth them, is to be reckoned amongst the number of those that embrace truth, and of the congregation of those that walk in the received way, separated from the congregation of those that err, and the company of heretics.

These are the things that every one is obliged to believe and confess that would be accounted worthy of the name of a Mussulman; and that, according to the literal meaning of the words, not as they may be made capable of any sounder sense; for, says the author of this Exposition, some pretending to go deeper, have put an interpretation upon those things that are delivered concerning the world to come, such as the balance, and the way, and some other things besides, but it is heresy.*

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* Vide Pocock, p. 222, Spec. Hist. Arab.

THE

HISTORY OF THE SARACENS

AND THEIR

CONQUESTS OF SYRIA, PERSIA, AND EGYPT.

ABUBEKER, FIRST CALIPH AFTER MOHAMMED.

Hejirah 11—13; A.D. 632—634.

MOHAMMED, the great impostor, and founder of the Saracenic empire, died at Medina, on Monday the 6th of June,* A.D. 632, being the twenty-second year of the reign of Heraclius the Grecian emperor. After he was dead, the next care was to appoint a successor; and it was indeed very necessary that one should be provided as soon as possible. Their government and religion being both in their infancy, and a great many of Mohammed's followers no great bigots, not having yet forgotten their ancient rites and customs, but rather forced to leave them for fear, than upon any conviction, affairs were in such a posture as could by no means admit of an interregnum. Wherefore the same day† that he expired the Mussulmans met together in order to elect a caliph or successor.‡ In that assembly there had like to have been such a fray, as might, in all probability, have greatly endangered, if not utterly ruined this new religion and polity, had not Omar and Abubeker timely interposed. For this false prophet of theirs having left no positive directions concerning a successor, or at least none that were known to any but his wives, who, in all probability might conceal them out of their partiality in favour of Omar, a hot dispute arose between the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina. Those of Mecca claimed most right in the prophet, as being his countrymen and relations, and as having embraced his religion first, and accompanied him in his flight to Medina, when persecuted at Mecca he was forced to make his escape with manifest hazard of his life. They urged that nothing could be of so great use to his person and cause, as this service of theirs, and consequently none could pretend to have so great a right of naming a successor. The inhabitants of Medina, with no less vehemency, urged that the prophet and their religion were as much obliged to them as to the others, because they had received him in his flight, and by their help and assistance put him in a capacity of making head against his powerful enemies; and that they had as much right in the prophet as any others whatsoever, for protecting him in the time of his adversity, and upon that score insisted upon the right of electing a caliph. In short, they came to daggers' drawing, and were just upon falling from words to blows, when one of the Ansars* or inhabitants of Medina, a man something more moderate than the rest, fearing the consequences of this disturbance, called out in the midst of the company, that they would have two caliphs, that is, one for each party. But Abubeker and the rest of the Mohajerins or inhabitants of Mecca, by no means approved of such an accommodation, being desirous that the whole government should remain in the hands of their own party. Abubeker then stepped forth and told them, that he would name two persons, and they should choose which of them both parties could agree upon: the one was Omar, the other Abu Obeidah. Upon which motion the company was again divided, and the contention renewed afresh, one party still crying out for the one, and the other for the other. At last Omar being wearied out, and seeing no likelihood of deciding the matter, was willing to give over, and bade Abubeker give him his hand, which he had no sooner done than Omar promised him fealty. The rest followed his example, and by the consent of both parties Abubeker was at last saluted caliph, and being acknowledged the rightful successor of their prophet Mohammed, became the absolute judge of all causes both sacred and civil. Thus, after much ado, that difference was at last composed, which had like to have proved fatal to Mohammedanism. And certainly it was a very great oversight in Mohammed, in all the time of his sickness, never to have named a successor positively and publicly. If he had done so, without question, his authority would have determined the business, and prevented that disturbance which had like to have endangered the religion he had planted with so much difficulty and hazard.

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* Elmakin, chap. i. In Milman's Gibbon, this date is shown to be a mistake of Ockley's. The 6th of June of this year fell on a Saturday, and not on a Monday; we should therefore read the 8th of June. Ockley appears to have confounded the lunar with the solar year in his calculations.

† Elmakin. Abulfaragius.

‡ Caliph, or properly khalifah, signifies a successor or vicar, and was originally given to the universal sovereigns of the Mussulman Arabs, as signifying "successor of the prophets," but afterwards, in a more exalted sense, as "vicar of God." This title has since been used for Mohammedan sovereigns, as the caliphs of Spain, of Africa, and Egypt, and the caliphs of Bagdad.—See *Lane's Arab. Nights.*

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* Arabic, "The helpers," because they helped Mohammed when he fled to Medina.

One author * tells us, that Mohammed, when he was sick, commanded those about him to bid Abubeker say prayers publicly in the congregation. This desire to have Abubeker officiate in his place, looks very much as if he designed he should succeed him. And it was so understood by his wives Ayesha and Hafsa, who were both present when Mohammed gave this order, and tried every means to get it revoked. For as soon as Mohammed had spoken, Ayesha told him that if Abubeker went into his place (meaning the pulpit from which he used to speak to the people) the congregation would not be able to listen to him for weeping, and entreated him to order Omar to go up instead. Upon his refusing, Ayesha spoke to Hafsa to second her.† The importunity of both put the prophet into such a violent passion, that he told them they were as bad as Joseph's mistress, and again commanded them to send to Abubeker. To which Hafsa answered, "O apostle of God, now thou art sick, and hast preferred Abubeker." He answered, "It is not I that have given him the preference, but God."

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* Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abdi Rabbihi, M.S. Arab. Huntington. No. 554.

† "This account of Ayesha's opposing the substitution of her father in the place of the apostle seems improbable in itself, and is unnoticed by Abulfeda, Al Jannabi, and Al Bochari."—*Gibbon.*

The contest, however, which happened immediately after his decease, makes it evident that these words of the dying prophet had no influence in the election of Abubeker, but that the latter chiefly owed it to Omar's resignation; for notwithstanding that Omar was the first to propose Abubeker to the assembly, and to acknowledge him as caliph, he did not afterwards approve of that choice which necessity had suggested at that critical juncture. This appears from what he said, namely, "That he prayed to God to avert the ill consequences which it was to be feared would follow upon such an indiscreet choice. That the man who should do such a thing would deserve death; and if any one should ever swear fealty to another without the consent of the rest of the Mussulmans, both he that took the government upon him, and he that swore to him, ought to be put to death."* These and similar expressions were evident signs of his dislike; but the thing being done and past, there was no remedy but to sit down and rest contented.

Now though the government was actually settled upon Abubeker, all parties were not equally satisfied, for a great many were of opinion that the right of succession belonged to Ali, the son of Abu Taleb. Upon which account the Mohammedans have ever since been divided; some maintaining that Abubeker, and Omar and Othman, that came after him, were the rightful and lawful successors of the prophet; and others disclaiming them altogether as usurpers, and constantly asserting the right of Ali.† Of the former opinion are the Turks at this day; of the latter, the Persians. And such consequently is the difference between those two nations, that notwithstanding their agreement in all other points of their superstition, yet upon this account they treat one another as most damnable heretics. Ali had this to recommend him, that he was Mohammed's cousin-german, and was the first‡ that embraced his religion, except his wife Kadija and his slave Zaid, and was besides Mohammed's son-in-law, having married his daughter Fatima. Abubeker was Mohammed's father-in-law, by whom he was so much respected that he received from him the surname of Assiddic, which signifies in Arabic, "a great speaker of truth,"* because he resolutely asserted the truth of that story which Mohammed told of his going one night to heaven.† On many occasions Mohammed had expressed the liveliest esteem for him.‡ Once as he saw him approaching, he said to those near him: "If any one takes delight in looking upon a man who has escaped from the fire of hell, let him look upon Abubeker. God, whose name be blessed, hath given man his choice of this world or that which is with Him, and his servant (meaning Abubeker) hath chosen that which is with God." Such marks of esteem as these must needs have procured for their object the respect of those who looked upon Mohammed as a person inspired, and the apostle of God; and without question facilitated his promotion to the dignity of caliph.

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* Abulfaragius.

† Those who assert the rights of Ali are called Shiites or *Sectaries*, whilst those who consider the caliphs preceding Ali as the rightful successors of Mohammed, are called Sonnites or *Traditionists*.

‡ Elmakin.

Ali was not present at this election, and when he heard the news was not well pleased, having hoped that the choice would have fallen on himself. Abubeker sent Omar§ to Fatima's house, where Ali and some of his friends were, with orders to compel them by force to come in and do fealty to him, if they would not be persuaded by fair means. Omar was just going to fire the house, when Fatima asked him what he meant. He told her, that he would certainly burn the house down unless they would be content to do as the rest of the people had done. Upon which Ali came forth and went to Abubeker, and acknowledged his sovereignty,‖ though he did not forget to tell him, that he wondered he should have taken such a step without consulting him. To which Abubeker answered, that the exigency of the matter was such as would by no means admit of deliberation, since in the case of delay there was reason to fear that the government would have been wrung out of their hands by the opposite party. And, to make things slide the more easily, he pretended to be desirous of quitting his charge and resigning the government. Ascending the pulpit openly, and before them all, he begged that they would give him leave to resign, and confer that charge upon some more worthy person. But Ali, fearing the ill will of the people,* whose minds he perceived he had estranged by having already stood it out so long, and being loath to make any new disturbance, positively refused to hear of it, and told him that they would neither depose him themselves, nor permit him to resign. Thus things were pretty well accommodated, and the people of Medina, as well as those of Mecca, consented to acknowledge Abubeker as the true and rightful successor of their prophet. But though Ali made no stir, he looked upon himself as injured;† and there is a tradition, which is reported to have originated with Ayesha, that Ali did not submit to Abubeker till after the decease of his wife Fatima, who lived six months after the death of her father.‡

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* Elmakin.

† Koran, chap. xvii. 1.

‡ Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dokmak, Arab. M.S. Laud. No. 806. ii.

§ Ismael Abulfeda Kitab Almoctaser phi Achari'lbashar. M.S. Arab. Pocock. No. 330.

‖ Abulfaragius.

Abubeker§ being thus settled in his new government, had work enough to maintain it; for the Mohammedan religion had not as yet taken such deep root in the hearts of men but that they would very willingly have shaken it off had they known how. Accordingly the Arabians, a people of a restless and turbulent disposition, did not neglect the opportunity of rebelling, which they thought was fairly offered them by the death of Mohammed. Immediately taking up arms, they refused to pay the usual tribute, tithes, and alms, and no longer observed the rites and customs which had been imposed upon them by Mohammed.‖ Abubeker, and his followers at Medina, took the alarm, and fearing a general revolt, and expecting no less than to be beset on every side, began to consider which way they might best provide for the security of themselves and their families. Accordingly, disposing of their women and children, and such others as were not able to bear arms, in the clefts and cavities of the rocks and mountains, they put themselves in a posture of defence. In the meantime, to oppose the rebels, Abubeker sent Kaled Ebn Walid, with an army of four thousand and five hundred men, who, having routed them in a set battle, brought off a great deal of plunder, and made slaves of their children.

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* Elmakin, chap. ii.

† Abulfeda.

‡ "There are some writers, however, who have accused Ali of a precipitancy in his demonstrations of submission to Abubeker almost too ludicrous to repeat; of so much eagerness and anxiety to do him homage, that he forgot one of the most necessary appurtenances of dress."—*Price.* According to Dr. Weil, Abu Sofian, and other relations of Ali, offered to assist him in maintaining his rights by the sword; but Omar's threats seem to have been more powerful. Abu Sofian, however, continued his opposition till his son Yezid was created general of a division of Abubeker's forces, and then he became one of the warmest adherents of this caliph.

§ Abulfaragius.

‖ Dr. Weil quotes an account by Omar, in which he relates that "the Arabians offered to say their prayers, but refused to pay the tax. Omar went to Abubeker, and said, 'Oh, caliph! deal gently with these people,

The chief of those who refused to pay the zacat,* or that part of a man's substance which is consecrated to God, as tithes, alms, and the like, and the payment of which is strictly enjoined by the Mohammedan law, was Malec Ebn Noweirah. He was a person of considerable figure in those days, being the chief of an eminent family among the Arabs, and celebrated for his skill in poetry, as well as his manly qualities and horsemanship. Abubeker having sent Kaled to him to talk with him about it, Malec replied, that he could say his prayers without paying the zacat. Kaled asked him if he did not know that prayers and alms must go together, and that the one would not be accepted without the other. "What! does your master say so?" says Malec. "Then you don't own him for your master?" said Kaled; and swore that he had a good mind to strike his head off. They disputed the matter for a time, and, at last, Kaled told him he should die. "Did your master say so?" says Malec. "What, again?" says Kaled, and resolved upon his death, though Abdallah Ebn Amer and Kobadah interceded for him in vain. When Malec saw there was no way for him to escape, he turned him about, and looked upon his wife, who was a woman of admirable beauty, and said, "This woman

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for they are on the brink of becoming wild animals.' To which Abubeker answered, 'Thou hero in heathenism but coward in Islamism, I expect thy assistance, and now thou givest me false counsel! How shall I win these people? By means of lying verses, or inventions of magic? Far be this from me; the prophet is dead, and revelation has ceased. By heaven! I will war with them as long as my hand can hold the sword, even though they refuse to pay me a camel a year!' 'On this occasion," continues Omar, "I found Abubeker more decided than I was myself."

* Abulfeda.

has killed me." "Nay," says Kaled; "God has killed thee, because of thy apostacy from the true religion." "I profess the true religion," says Malec, meaning the Mohammedan. The word was no sooner out of his mouth, than Kaled ordered Derar Ebn Alazwar, a person we shall see more of hereafter, to strike his head off. His murder greatly displeased Abubeker, who would have put Kaled himself to death if Omar had not interceded for him. Indeed, whether from his great zeal, or for some other reason, he certainly had exceeded the limits of his commission: for Mohammed himself would have pardoned an apostate, provided he had been very well assured of his repentance.*

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* Major Price gives a different account of this transaction. He says, that immediately after this execution of Malec, Kaled espoused the beautiful widow of his murdered prisoner; he also adds, that Omar was a friend of Malec's, and instead of interceeding for Kaled, was so indignant at his conduct, that he complained of it to Abubeker in terms of the severest censure; and called upon him, by every consideration of justice and policy, to remove the general from his command. Abubeker, however, was deaf to any complaints against the conduct of the "Sword of God," and it was only at the urgent and repeated entreaties of Omar that he was at length induced to send messengers requiring his presence at Medina. In obedience to the summons Kaled set off without loss of time; and, when within a short distance of the city, forwarded a present of two golden dinars to the caliph's porter, requesting that when he applied for admission no one else should be permitted to enter. The bribe was accepted, and Kaled was hastening to the palace, when Omar suddenly met him; and, after reviling him in the most reproachful terms, broke to pieces the two arrows, which, as was the custom of Arabian warriors, Kaled wore in his turban. To all this he made not the smallest reply, but hurried on to the mansion of the caliph, where the porter gave him immediate admittance, but informed Omar that he had received orders to admit no one but the general. On entering the presence of Abubeker, Kaled was asked if he was not the murderer of one of the faithful, and a violator of his harem; a question which he evaded by asking if the caliph was not present when the prophet bestowed on him the appellation of the "Sword of God;" and upon being answered in the affirmative, desired to know if the sword of the Almighty was destined to fall lightly on the necks of the infidel and hypocrite. On a further explanation, Abubeker indicated his satisfaction, and Kaled withdrew from his presence highly elated at the result of his visit. Upon his return, observing Omar seated at the entrance of a neighbouring mosque, he called to him in a voice of contempt and defiance, and by the name of left-handed dotard dared him to come near. From the same authority we learn, that Kaled still further incensed Omar by the following act. At the destruction of Yemana, the seat of Moseilama and his followers, amongst other prisoners was a distinguished inhabitant of the place named Mujaia. Immediately after the surrender, Kaled, unaffected by the scenes of blood,

Having thus been brought to notice this celebrated man, Kaled, we must not pass him by without some account of his character. He was the best general of his age, and it was chiefly to his courage and conduct that the Saracens owed the subduing of the rebels, the conquest of Syria, and the establishment of their religion and polity. His love and tenderness towards his own soldiers were only equalled by his hatred and aversion to the enemies of the Mohammedan religion. Of both he has given the most signal instances. To those who, having embraced the Mohammedan religion, afterwards apostatized, he was an irreconcilable and implacable foe; nor would he spare them, though they evinced the greatest signs of unfeigned repentance. For his great valour, the Arabs called him "the Sword of God;" which surname of his was known also to his enemies, and is mentioned as well by Greek as Arab authors.* If at any time (which was not often) his courage carried him beyond the bounds of discretion, it always brought him off safe again. He never, in the greatest danger, lost his wonted presence of mind, but could as well extricate himself and his men from present difficulties as prevent future ones.

The rebels being subdued by Kaled, the Mohammedans were in some measure eased of their immediate fears. Other difficulties, however, still remained in store for them. About this time several persons, perceiving the success and prosperity of Mohammed and his followers, set up also for prophets too, in hope of meeting the like good fortune, and making themselves eminent in the world. Such were Osud Alabbasi and Tuleihah Ebn Khoweiled, with several others, whose attempts however quickly came to nothing. But the most considerable of these impostors was Moseilama, who

returned to the indulgence of his appetites, and with as little ceremony as feeling demanded of Mujaia his daughter in marriage. The reluctant father endeavoured to elude the request by delineating the extreme indecency or insulting the memory of so many slaughtered victims by the introduction of festivity and mirth; but Kaled was inexorable. Mujaia then fixed the sum of one million of dirhems as the price of his daughter's hand, equivalent to about £23,000, but then considered an enormous dowry. The sum, however, was paid on the spot, and the marriage consummated without further delay. These no doubt were some of the causes which induced Omar, when he became caliph, to deprive Kaled of his commission.

* Theophanes, p. 278. edit. Paris.

had been the rival of Mohammed even in his life time, and trumped up a book in imitation of the Koran.* He had formerly been an associate of Mohammed's, and professed himself of his religion, and might have been a partner with him in his imposture; but considering that to be beneath him, he renounced all further friendship and correspondence with him, and resolved to set up for himself, which he did the year before Mohammed died.† He had now gathered together a very considerable body of men in Yemama, a province of Arabia, and began to be so formidable, that the Mussulmans began to feel alarmed at his growing greatness, and no longer thought it consistent with prudence to neglect him, knowing very well, that as soon as he should be strong enough, they and their religion would quickly come to nothing. They therefore thought it most advisable to begin the attack, and rather to hazard the event of a battle at the beginning, when he was comparatively weak, than by suffering him to go on till he had gathered more strength, and render doubtful the hope of victory. They therefore urged Abubeker to send a sufficient force against Moseilama, under the conduct of some experienced commander. Abubeker forthwith despatched Akramah and Sergil‡ with an army, ordering them to march direct to Yemama, and sent Kaled after them, the scourge of rebels, apostates, and false prophets. Upon the junction of these several forces, they had an army of forty thousand Mussulmans.§ Moseilama, in the meantime, was not idle, and knowing that his life and reputation were now at stake, prepared to give them battle. The Mussulmans ‖ encamped at a place called Akreba; and Moseilama with his army, took up a position opposite them. They drew near as fast as they could, and Moseilama charged his enemies with such fury, that, unable to hold their ground against him, they were forced to retire with a loss of twelve hundred men. The Mussulmans, provoked rather than discouraged by this defeat, presently renewed the fight, and then began a most bloody battle. Moseilama, after displaying great bravery in the fight, was at last, by a black slave, thrust through with the same javelin* that Hamza, Mohammed's uncle, was killed with. Upon his death, the victory quickly inclined to the Mussulmans. The latter having slew the false prophet, and ten thousand of his men, obliged the survivors to turn Mohammedans, and returned to Medina, the seat of the caliph, richly laden with spoil.†

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* Abulfeda.

† Sale, however, states that Moseilama, having formed a considerable party, began to think himself upon equal terms with Mohammed, and sent him a letter offering to go halves with him, in these words: "From Moseilama, the apostle of God, to Mohammed the apostle of God. Now, let the earth be half mine and half thine." But Mohammed, believing himself too well established to need a partner, wrote him this answer: "From Mohammed the apostle of God, to Moseilama the liar. The earth is God's: he giveth the same for inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth; and the happy issue shall attend those who fear him."

‡ Or rather Serjabil.

§ Elmakin.

‖ Abulfaragius.

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* Abulfeda.

† Another of the false prophets of this period was a woman named Sejaj, of whom the following amusing particulars are recorded by Major Price. "Sejaj was a Christian with extraordinary talents and eloquence, and being prompted by an aspiring ambition, she announced herself a prophetess, and uttering her string of rhapsodies in rhyme, declared that they came inspired from above. Struck by her success, and alarmed at the approach of Kaled, Moseilama thought it advisable to temporize with her, and accordingly sent agents intimating his consent to a division of the earth, and inviting her to a private conference. She gave the messengers a very courteous reception, and after some preliminary arrangements, Moseilama and Sejaj came to an interview in a garden where he had caused some tents to be pitched for her reception. Here he soon discovered that the virtue of the prophetess was not proof against voluptuous advances. Perceiving that she was sufficiently softened by some glowing representations, which he thought fit to delineate, of the enjoyments to be derived from a tender intercourse of the sexes, he adventured to ask, since they were already united in the sacred functions of the prophecy, what should impede their coalescing in other respects? And without further apology, proposed, that, by entering into conjugal engagements with him, she should resign her person and pretensions to his disposal. Already fascinated by the charms of an engaging exterior, for he is said to have been one of the handsomest men in Arabia, she could only entreat his forbearance until the descent of divine inspiration. To remove her scruples in this respect required no extraordinary compass of invention on the part of Moseilama. Immediately throwing himself into a violent fit of agitation, under pretence that it was the inspired moment, he found no great difficulty in persuading Sejaj on his recovery, by such ambiguous phrases as he had composed on the spot, that they had the dispensation of heaven to consecrate their impure and unhallowed indulgence. She attempted no longer to defend the approaches of female modesty, and the triumph of the artful Moseilama was complete. Having thus forfeited all pretensions to that purity, which is the highest attribute of her sex, the prophetess fell from

This same year, being the first of Abubeker's reign, Al Ola was sent with a considerable army to reduce the rebels in Bahrein. This he accomplished without any great difficulty, killing a great many of them, and seizing their effects, so that numbers chose rather to return to the Mohammedan superstition, which upon the death of Mohammed they had forsaken, than to expose themselves, by obstinately standing out, to all the miseries and calamities of war.

It is strange and surprising to consider from how mean and contemptible beginnings the greatest things have, by the providence of God, been raised in a short time. Of this the Saracenic empire is a remarkable instance. For if we look back but eleven years, we shall see how Mohammed, unable to support his cause, routed and oppressed by the powerful party of the Koreishites at Mecca, fled with a few desponding followers to Medina to preserve his life no less than his imposture. And now, within so short a period, we find the undertakings of his successor prospering beyond expectation, and making him the terror of all his neighbours; and the Saracens in a capacity not only to keep possession of their own peninsula of Arabia, but to extend their arms over larger territories than ever were subject to the Romans themselves. Whilst they were thus employed in Arabia, they were little regarded by the Grecian emperor, who awoke too late to a sense of their formidable power, when he saw them pouring in upon them like a torrent, and driving all before them. The proud Persian, too, who so very lately had been domineering in Syria, and sacked Jerusalem and Damascus, must be forced not only to part with his own dominions, but

her proud pre-eminence, and became a mere debased, contaminated woman. Three days and as many nights had been consumed in this licentious intercourse, in what the Arabs tell us was at this time denominated the garden of mercy, but at a subsequent period, the garden of death, when Sejaj thought proper to return to her camp. Moseilama, however, refused to make her his wife, and the Arab chiefs of her party, finding it impossible to reconcile the scandal of her interview with her exalted professions of sanctity, embraced the first opportunity of separating to their several homes. On perceiving the dispersion of her followers, she made the best of her way from Arabia, and escaped to Mossule, accompanied by about four hundred of the natives, who continued faithful to the last; and at a subsequent period she found it convenient to enrol herself among the proselytes of the Koran."

also to submit his neck to the Saracenic yoke. It may be reasonably supposed, that, had the Grecian empire been in the flourishing condition it formerly was, the Saracens might have been checked at least, if not entirely extinguished. But besides that the western part of the empire had been rent from it by the barbarous Goths, the eastern also had received so many shocks from the Huns on the one side, and the Persians on the other, that it was not in a situation to stem the fury of this powerful invasion.* In the reign of the Emperor Maurice the empire was reduced to pay tribute to the chagan or king of the Huns.† And after Phocas had murdered his master, such lamentable havoc followed among the legions, that when Heraclius, hardly more than seven years after, came to muster the army, only two soldiers were left alive, of all those who bore arms when Phocas first usurped the empire. Heraclius, indeed, was a prince of admirable courage and conduct, and did all that was possible to restore the discipline of the army, and was very successful against the Persians, not only driving them out of his own dominions, but even wresting from them a part of their own territories. But the empire seemed to labour under an incurable disease, and to be wounded in its very vitals. No time could have been more fatally adverse to its maintenance, nor more favourable to the enterprises of the Saracens, who seem to have been purposely raised up by God to be a scourge to the Christian church, for not living in accordance with their most holy religion.‡

Abubeker had now set affairs at home in pretty good order. The apostates who upon the death of Mohammed had revolted to the idolatry in which they were born and bred, were again reduced to subjection. The forces of Moseilama, the false prophet, being dispersed and himself killed, there was now little or nothing left to be done in Arabia. For though there were a great many Christian Arabs, as particularly the tribe of Gassan, yet they were generally employed in the service of the Greek emperor. The next business, therefore, that the caliph had to do, pursuant to the tenor of his religion, was to make war upon his neighbours, for the propagation of the truth (for so they call their superstition), and compel them either to become Mohammedans[*] or tributaries.[†] For their prophet Mohammed had given them a commission of a very large, nay, unlimited extent, to fight, viz., till all the people were of his religion. The wars which are entered upon in obedience to this command, they call holy wars, with no greater absurdity than we ourselves give the same title to that which was once undertaken against them by Europeans. With this religious object, Abubeker sent at this time a force under Kaled into Irak or Babylonia; but his greatest longing was after Syria, which delicious, pleasant, and fruitful country being near to Arabia, seemed to lie very conveniently for him.[‡] After he had fully resolved to invade it, he called together his friends. Making a formal speech to them, he showed the great success they had already met, and told them that the prophet (Mohammed) had before his decease assured him that their religion should make great progress, and their territories be vastly enlarged, and that he had thoughts himself of invading Syria. However, it had pleased God to prevent the prophet's designs by taking him away; and, therefore, as he was left his successor, he desired their advice. They answered unanimously that they were all at his service, and ready to obey to the utmost of their power whatever commands he should be pleased to lay upon them. Upon this he sent circular letters to the petty princes of Arabia Felix, and other Mohammedan officers and prefects, and in particular to the inhabitants of Mecca, ordering them to raise the utmost of their forces, and with all possible speed repair to him at Medina. The contents of the letter were as follow:—

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* Theophylactus Simocatta, Hist. Maurician.

† Theophanes, in the Life of Heraclius. ‡ Prideaux's Life of Mohammed, p. vii.

"In the name of the most merciful God.

"Abdallah Athik Ebn Abu Kohafa,[§] to the rest of the true believers; health and happiness, and the mercy and blessing of God be upon you. I praise the most high God, and I pray for his prophet Mohammed. This is to acquaint charge, he went back to Medina, and the army marched on towards Syria.

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[*] Koran, chap. ix.

[†] Ib. chap. viii. 40.

[‡] Photouhoshon, i. e. The Conquests of Syria, written by Abu Abdallah Mohammed Ben Omar Alwakidi. M.S. Arab. Laud. No. A. 118. And there is another copy of it among Dr. Pocock's MSS. No. 326. Whatever relates to Syria has, for the most part, been taken out of this author.

[§] These were Abubeker's surnames.

The news of this preparation quickly came to the ears of the Emperor Heraclius, who forthwith called a council, in which he inveighed against the wickedness and insincerity of his subjects, telling them that these judgments were come upon them because they had not lived answerably to the rules of the gospel. He represented to them, that whereas in former times, powerful princes, as the Turk and Persian, had not been able to overcome them, they were now insulted by the Arabs, a pitiful, contemptible people. Heraclius despatched a force with all possible speed to check the advance of the Saracens, but with ill success; for the general, with twelve hundred of his men, was killed upon the field of the battle, and the rest routed, the Arabs losing only one hundred and twenty men. A number of skirmishes followed, in most of which the Christians came off the worst. The Arabs, being enriched with spoil, resolved to make the caliph a present of all they had taken, with the exception of arms and ammunition, as the first-fruits of their expedition. Abubeker, on receiving the spoil, sent a letter to the inhabitants of Mecca, and the adjacent territories, in which he acquainted them with the good success of his forces, and called upon them not to be behindhand in fighting for the cause of God. The good success of their brethren gave them such encouragement, that they obeyed the invitation with as much cheerfulness as if their being called to war had been nothing else than being invited to partake of the spoil. Whereupon they quickly raised an army, and waited upon Abubeker at Medina, who forthwith ordered them to join the forces which he had sent before into Syria. Of this army he had made Saïd Ebn Kaled general; but when Omar expressed his dislike of this appointment, the caliph was in a great strait, being loath on the one hand to take away Saïd's commission as soon as he had given it him; and not wishing, on the other hand, to disoblige Omar. In this difficulty he had recourse to the counsels of Ayesha (Mohammed's widow), whom, on account of her near relationship to their prophet Mohammed, all parties greatly respected, and after his decease used frequently to consult, supposing that she, as having been his most beloved wife, would be better acquainted than any other with

Yezid Ebn Abu Sofian, whom he had appointed general of these forces: "Yezid, be sure you do not oppress your own people, nor make them uneasy, but advise with them in all your affairs, and take care to do that which is right and just, for those that do otherwise shall not prosper. When you meet with your enemies, acquit yourselves like men, and do not turn your backs; and if you get the victory, kill no little children, nor old people, nor women. Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant or article, stand to it, and be as good as your word. As you go on, you will find some religious persons that live retired in monasteries, proposing to themselves to serve God that way: let them alone, and neither kill them nor destroy their monasteries. But you will also find another sort of people who belong to the synagogues of Satan, and have shaven crowns;* be sure you cleave their skulls, and give them no quarter, till they either turn Mohammedans or pay tribute."† When he had given them this charge, he went back to Medina, and the army marched on towards Syria.

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* "Even in the seventh century the monks were generally laymen; they wore their hair long and dishevelled, and shaved their heads when they were ordained priests. The circular tonsure was sacred and mysterious; it was the crown of thorns; but it was likewise a royal diadem, and every priest was a king," &c.—*Gibbon.*

† The following note on the Saracenic laws of war is quoted by Mills:—"Before a declaration of hostility, the Mussulmans invited the infidels to a confession of the true faith. But there appears to have been no necessity to make this invitation, for the faithful might exercise their pious trade of butchery without it. The male captives were put to death; the female ones sold for slaves. Children and old men were spared. The releasing of infidel captives in exchange for Mussulman captives was not lawful. Ambassadors were accounted sacred. The wells and springs of water were not to be poisoned until the last extremity. It is a singular fact in the history of the human mind, that community of possession was never thought of by the Saracenic enthusiasts. The gold and silver, the prisoners and cattle, the moveables and immoveables taken in war, were divided into five portions. One of them was applied by the caliphs to religious and charitable purposes; the sentinel of the camp, the soldier who fought, the retired veteran, and the widows and orphans of the slain, were entitled to an equal participation of the remainder; but the horseman always received a double portion. The Saracens had two very singular laws: one was, that death in an enemy's country was a preclusion of any right to a share in the plunder. The other was, that a man who received pay was neither entitled to plunder nor martyrdom."—*Hedaya*, b 9, chap. 2, 4. *Mishcat.* vol. ii. p. 244.

The news of this preparation quickly came to the ears of the Emperor Heraclius, who forthwith called a council, in which he inveighed against the wickedness and insincerity of his subjects, telling them that these judgments were come upon them because they had not lived answerably to the rules of the gospel. He represented to them, that whereas in former times, powerful princes, as the Turk and Persian, had not been able to overcome them, they were now insulted by the Arabs, a pitiful, contemptible people. Heraclius despatched a force with all possible speed to check the advance of the Saracens, but with ill success; for the general, with twelve hundred of his men, was killed upon the field of the battle, and the rest routed, the Arabs losing only one hundred and twenty men. A number of skirmishes followed, in most of which the Christians came off the worst. The Arabs, being enriched with spoil, resolved to make the caliph a present of all they had taken, with the exception of arms and ammunition, as the first-fruits of their expedition. Abubeker, on receiving the spoil, sent a letter to the inhabitants of Mecca, and the adjacent territories, in which he acquainted them with the good success of his forces, and called upon them not to be behindhand in fighting for the cause of God. The good success of their brethren gave them such encouragement, that they obeyed the invitation with as much cheerfulness as if their being called to war had been nothing else than being invited to partake of the spoil. Whereupon they quickly raised an army, and waited upon Abubeker at Medina, who forthwith ordered them to join the forces which he had sent before into Syria. Of this army he had made Saïd Ebn Kaled general; but when Omar expressed his dislike of this appointment, the caliph was in a great strait, being loath on the one hand to take away Saïd's commission as soon as he had given it him; and not wishing, on the other hand, to disoblige Omar. In this difficulty he had recourse to the counsels of Ayesha (Mohammed's widow), whom, on account of her near relationship to their prophet Mohammed, all parties greatly respected, and after his decease used frequently to consult, supposing that she, as having been his most beloved wife, would be better acquainted than any other with all his thoughts, both of persons and things. When Abubeker propounded his difficulties to her, she replied, that as for Omar, he had acted for the best in giving the advice he had, and that she was sure he was not actuated either by hatred or ill will. Upon this Abubeker sends a messenger to Saëd, to demand from him the standard, which he very patiently resigned, saying, he cared not who had the standard; let whosoever will have it, he was resolved to fight under it for the propagation of religion. So vehement and earnest were those men whom God had raised up to be a scourge to the church, that no affront whatsoever could disoblige them so far as to make them renounce their obedience.

Whilst the caliph was in doubt how to dispose of this commission, Amrou Ebn Al Aas, a very good soldier, who afterwards conquered Egypt, went to Omar, and desired him to use his interest with the caliph, that it might be conferred upon him. But Omar, whether out of any antipathy to his person, or because he thought no man worthy of a charge that sought after it, positively refused to interfere at all in the matter. And when Amrou persisted, and was very urgent with him, Omar bade him not seek the superiority and dominion of this world; telling him, that if he was not a prince to-day, he would be one to-morrow; meaning thereby, in a future state. And now, when Amrou was out of all hopes of ever having a command, the caliph, of his own accord, unexpectedly made him general of this army, and bade him "to take care to live religiously, and to make the enjoyment of the presence of God and a future state the end and aim of all his undertakings; to look upon himself as a dying man, always to have regard to the end of things; remembering that we must in a short time all die, and rise again, and be called to an account. He was not to be inquisitive about men's private concerns, but take care that his men were diligent in reading the Koran, and not suffer them to talk about those things which were done in the time of ignorance (so they call all the time before Mohammed) because that would be the occasion of dissension among them. Lastly, he ordered him not to go where the other Mussulmans had been before him; but to march into Palestine, where, however, he was to take care to inform himself of Abu Obeidah's circumstances, and if necessary to assist him to the best of his power."

After he had dismissed Amrou, he sent Abu Obeidah to command the forces in Syria, and told him, that there was no need of saying any thing new to him since he had heard the charge he had given to Amrou. One of the Grecian emperor's generals having had the good fortune to beat the Mussulmans in Syria, Abu Obeidah, apprehensive of the emperor's power, durst not act offensively. The caliph was no sooner apprised of this, than he declared him unworthy of the post, and recalled Kaled from Irak to take his place. Kaled for his part had performed great things considering the short time he had been in command. He had taken Hirah by storm (afterwards the imperial seat of Alseffah), and several other places, unable to hold out against a siege, had submitted to him, and paid tribute. Elmakin says, that this was the first tribute that was ever brought to Medina. He had fought several battles with unfailing success, and without doubt would have pushed his conquest still further if he had not been recalled. When he came into Syria, he took very different measures from those which had been adopted by his predecessor; and the soldiers found a great difference between a pious and a warlike general. Abu Obeidah was patient, meek, and religious; Kaled courageous and enterprising. At that time when he came to the army, Abu Obeidah had sent Serjabil with four thousand horse towards Bostra, a city of Syria Damascena, and very populous, in which there were at that time twelve thousand horse. It was a great trading town, and much frequented by the Arabs. The governor's name was Romanus, who, as soon as he heard that the Saracens were upon their march, went to meet them, and having asked Serjabil the reason of his coming, put to him several questions about Mohammed and his successor. Serjabil told him, that he had come to give them their choice of becoming Mohammedans or tributaries; adding that they had already taken Aracah, Sachnah, Tadmor, and Hawran, and would not be long before they attacked Bostra. The governor, hearing this melancholy story, went back, and would have persuaded the people to pay tribute. They utterly refused it, and prepared themselves for a vigorous defence. Serjabil continued his march till he came before Bostra; upon which the inhabitants sallied out, and gave him battle. Before Serjabil gave the command to advance he offered the following prayer: "O thou eternal Being! O thou Creator of heaven and earth! O thou who art great and munificent! who hast promised us victory by the tongue of thy prophet Mohammed, and the conquest of Syria, Irak, and Persia! O God, confirm our hopes, and help those who assert thy unity against those that deny thee. O God, assist us as thou didst thy prophet Mohammed. O Lord, endue us with patience, and keep our feet sure,* and help us against the infidels." In this engagement the Christians had greatly the advantage, and the Saracens were like to have been totally routed, but for the seasonable appearance of Kaled. His arrival turned the fortune of the day, and the Bostrans were forced to retire into the city. Then Kaled asked Serjabil, what he meant by attacking with such a handful of men a town like Bostra, which as being the market-place of Syria, Irak, and Hejaz, and consequently a place of great resort, was garrisoned with many officers and soldiers? Serjabil told him, that he did not go of his own accord, but by Abu Obeidah's command. "Abu Obeidah," said Kaled, "is a very honest man, but understands nothing of military affairs." Kaled's first care was to refresh his men, for they were all extremely fatigued, as well those that had marched that day with him, as those that had fought under Serjabil. Having ordered them all to rest, he himself took a fresh horse, and rode about all night, sometimes going round the city, and sometimes round the camp, for fear the besieged should make a sally, whilst his men were tired and out of order. In the morning, about break of day, he came into the camp, and the Mussulmans arose, and, according to their custom, purified themselves. For this rite of purification those who could not conveniently furnish themselves with water, rubbed themselves with sand, a substitute which is in cases of necessity allowable, and is frequently used by the Mohammedans when travelling in desert countries, where water is scarce. The morning-prayer having been said by their general, Kaled, they immediately took horse. For the besieged having taken an oath to be true to one another, and to fight it out to the last man, had set open the gates of the city, and marched out into the plain. When Kaled perceived this, he said, "These villains come out now, because they know we are weary. However, let us go and fight them, and may the blessing of God go along with us." The two armies being set in battle array, Romanus the governor who thought it best to secure himself and his wealth, even at the expense of honour, soul, and conscience, took an opportunity to let Kaled know, that he had more friends than he was aware of. Riding out of the ranks, with a loud voice he challenged the Saracen general, who quickly advanced to the parley. Romanus told him, that he had for a long time entertained a favourable opinion of the Mohammedan religion, and was quite willing to renounce his own, upon condition of life and property being secured to him. Kaled having readily promised this, he added, that upon Serjabil's first setting down before the town, he had advised the inhabitants to submit to the Mussulmans, and pay tribute; but that instead of being heard, he had only purchased the ill will of the citizens by his prudent counsel. In short, he said whatever he thought was likely to ingratiate him with the Saracen, and proffered his service to return, and persuade the besieged to surrender. Kaled told him, that it would not be safe for him to go back again, without having first fought with him, because that it would look as if they had a secret understanding together, and might occasion him further danger from his own people. So, to colour the matter the better, they agreed to make a show of fighting, and after a while Romanus, as being beaten, was to run away.

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* Koran, iii. 141.

The armies on both sides were witnesses of their conference, but were quite ignorant of its purport. As soon as this mock combat began, Kaled laid on so furiously, that Romanus, being in danger of his life, asked Kaled, whether that was his way of fighting in jest, and if he designed to kill him? Kaled smiled, and told him, no, but that to prevent suspicion, it was necessary for them to show something of a fight. Romanus at last made his escape; and indeed it was high time, for the Saracen had handled him so roughly, that whosoever had seen him after the combat, would have had little reason to suppose it was not really fought in earnest, for he was bruised and wounded in several places. Upon his return, the citizens asked him what news? He told them what a brave soldier Kaled was, and extolled the valour and hardiness of the Saracens, and desired them to be ruled and advised in time, before it was too late; concluding that it would be altogether in vain to make any opposition. But this did but enrage the besieged, who thereupon asked him, if he could not be content with being a coward himself, without trying to make them the same? And but for fear of the emperor's displeasure, they would certainly have put him to death. However, they confined him to his own house, and charged him at his peril not to meddle nor interpose in their affairs, and told him, that if he would not fight, they would. Romanus, upon this, went home divested of all power and authority; but he still comforted himself with the hopes of being secured and exempted from the common calamity, if as he expected the Saracens should take the town. The townspeople having deprived him of his command, elected in his place the general of troops, which the emperor had sent to their assistance, and desired him to challenge Kaled to single combat. This he did; and when Kaled was preparing himself to accept it, Abdarrhaman, the caliph's son, a very young man, but of extraordinary hopes, begged to be allowed to answer the challenge. Having obtained permission, he mounted his horse, and took his lance, which he handled with admirable dexterity, and when he came near the governor, he said, "Come, thou Christian dog, come on." The combat having begun with great fury, the governor after a while finding himself defeated, ran away, and having a better horse than the Saracen, made his escape to the town. Abdarrhaman, greatly annoyed at the escape of his enemy, fell upon the rest, charging now upon the right wing, and now upon the left, making way where he went. He was quickly followed by Kaled and the other officers, and the battle grew hot on all sides. The Saracens fought like lions, and Kaled their general still cried out, "Alhamlah, Alhamlah, Aljannah, Aljannah;" that is "Fight, fight, paradise, paradise." The miserable inhabitants of Bostra, on their part, fought with the courage of desperation, for they were at their last struggle for their fortunes, their liberty, their religion, and whatsoever was dear to them, having now seen the last day dawn, in which they were ever to call anything their own, without renouncing their baptism. In the town itself all was uproar, the bells ringing, and the priests and monks running about the streets, making exclamations, and calling upon

God, but all too late. His afflicting providence had determined to deliver them into the hands of their enemies. Kaled and Serjabil (for the Saracens could pray as well as fight, and England as well as Arabia has had some that could do so too) cried, "O God! these vile wretches pray with idolatrous expressions, and take to themselves another God besides thee; but we acknowledge thy unity, and affirm, that there is no other God but thee alone; help us, we beseech thee, for the sake of thy prophet Mohammed, against these idolaters." The battle continued for some time; at last the poor Christians were forced to give way, and leave the field to the victorious Saracens, who lost only two hundred and thirty men. The besieged retired as fast as they could within the gates, and set up their banners and standards, with the sign of the cross upon the walls, intending to write speedily to the Grecian emperor for more assistance.

And now we must leave the poor inhabitants of Bostra in their melancholy circumstances, and come to Romanus, the deposed governor, who was extremely well satisfied with the success of the Saracens, and was now going to act a masterpiece of villainy. As the Saracens, who kept watch in their camp all night, were going their rounds, they saw a man come out of the city, with a camlet coat on, wrought with gold. Abdarrhaman, who happened to be that night upon the watch, was the first that met him, and set his lance to his breast. "Hold," said the man; "I am Romanus, the governor of Bostra; bring me before Kaled the general." Upon this, Abdarrhaman went with him to the general's tent. As soon as Kaled saw him he knew him, and asked him how things went with him. "Sir," said he, "my people have been disobedient, and mutinied; they have deposed me, and confined me to my house, threatening me with death if I intermeddle with any of their affairs. Wherefore, that I may chastise them according to their deserts, I have ordered my sons and servants to dig a hole in the wall (his house stood upon the wall of the town), and if you please to send such persons as you can trust, I will take care to deliver the town into your hands." Upon this, Kaled immediately despatched Abdarrhaman with a hundred men, and ordered him, so soon as he had taken possession, to fall upon the Christians, and open the gates. Romanus, having conducted them to the wall, received them into his house; where, after he had entertained them, he brought every one of them a suit of clothes, similar to what the Christian soldiers wore, and disguised them. Upon this, Abdarrhaman having divided his men into four companies, of five-and-twenty each, ordered them to go into different streets of the city, with orders, that as soon as they heard him, and those that were with him, cry out, "Allah Acbar,"* they should do so too. Abdarrhaman now asked Romanus where the governor was which fought with him, and ran away from him? Romanus proffered his service to show him, and away they marched together to the castle, attended with five-and-twenty Mussulmans. When they got there, the governor asked Romanus what he wanted. Upon his answering that he had no business of his own, but only came in attendance upon a friend of the governor's that had a great desire to see him. "Friend of mine!" says the governor, "what friend?" "Only your friend Abdarrhaman," said Romanus, "who is come to send you to hell." The unhappy governor, finding himself betrayed, endeavoured to make his escape. "Nay, hold," says Abdarrhaman; "you ran away from me once in the day-time, but you shall not serve me so again;" and striking him with his sword, killed him at one blow. As he fell, Abdarrhaman cried out "Allah Acbar." The Saracens which were below hearing it, did the same, as did those also who were dispersed about the streets, till the whole city rung with the cry "Allah Acbar." Presently, the Saracens, who were disguised, having killed the guards, opened the gates, and let in Kaled with his whole army. The town being now entirely in their hands, the conquering Saracens fell upon the inhabitants, killing or making prisoners of all they met with. At last, the chief men of the city came out of their houses and churches, and cried, "Quarter, quarter." Upon this Kaled immediately commanded them to kill no more; "for," said he "the apostle of God used to say, If any one be killed after he has cried out 'quarter,' it is none of my fault."

Thus was the condition of Bostra altered on a sudden, and they which had before been a wealthy and flourishing people, were now brought under the Saracenic yoke, and could enjoy their Christian faith upon no other terms than paying tribute. The next morning, when some of the inhabitants asked Kaled who it was that betrayed the city to him, from unwillingness to expose the person that had done him such signal service, he remained silent; but Romanus, the traitor, with most unparalleled impudence, started up himself and said, "O you enemies of God, and enemies of his apostle, I did it, desiring to please God." And when in reply to this they demanded in astonishment, "What, are not you one of us?" "No," said he; "I have nothing to do with you, either in this world or that which is to come. I deny him that was crucified, and whosoever worships him. And I choose God for my Lord, Mohammedanism for my religion, the temple of Mecca for the place of my worship,* the Mussulmans for my brethren, and Mohammed for my prophet and apostle. And I witness that there is but one God, and that he has no partner, and that Mohammed is his servant and apostle, whom he sent and directed into the right way and the true religion, that he might exalt it above every religion, in spite of those who join partners with God." After Romanus had given such an ample testimony, and made so full a confession of his faith, he was received among the Mussulmans; and, as he durst not venture himself any longer in Bostra, after having been guilty of such unexampled villainy, Kaled appointed some men to take care of his effects.

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* "God is most mighty."

Kaled now wrote to Abu Obeidah, to acquaint him with his success, and withal to command him to bring whatever forces he had with him, that they might march together to the siege of Damascus. He then put a garrison of four hundred horse into Bostra, and sending Abubeker the news of his victory, apprised him of his intention to besiege Damascus.

There were at this time in Palestine seven thousand Saracens with Amrou Ebn Aas; and with Abu Obeidah, thirty-seven thousand, which had been raised at several times out of Hejaz, Yemen, Hadramaut, the sea-coasts of Amman, and the territories of Mecca and Taïf. Kaled's force consisted only of fifteen hundred horse, which he had brought with him out of Irak. Heraclius, the Grecian emperor, was now at Antioch, and being informed of the havoc which the Saracens had made in his dominions, thought it high time to look about him. He could not endure to think of losing Damascus, but sent five thousand men to defend it, under a general named Calous. Calous came first to Hems, formerly called Emessa, being the chief city of the adjacent territory which is called by the same name. It lies between Aleppo and Damascus, distant five days' journey from each of them; and is a place of a most healthful and pleasant air, encompassed with beautiful gardens and fruitful orchards, which are plentifully watered by a rivulet drawn from the river Orontes (called by the Arabian geographers Alasi), which passes the city at the distance of about half a mile. This place he found well provided both with soldiers, and with arms and ammunition; for the conquests of the Saracens had struck such a terror into all the country, that every place had fortified itself to the best of its power. At Hems he stayed a day and a night, and from thence passed to Baalbec. As he came near this city, a mixed multitude of men and women came out to meet him, with their hair about their ears, weeping and wringing their hands, and making most pitiful lamentation. Calous asked them what was the matter? "Matter!" said they, "why the Arabs have overrun all the country, and taken Aracah, and Sachnah, and Tadmor, and Hawran, and Bostra, and are now set down before Damascus." Upon this he demanded of them the name of the general of the Saracens, and the number of his men. They told him that his name was Kaled, and that he had but fifteen hundred horse. Calous, despising so inconsiderable a number of men, bade the people be of good cheer, and swore, that when he came back again he would bring Kaled's head along with him upon the point of his spear.

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* Arab. Kebla, which signifies the place towards which they turn themselves when they say their prayers. For as the Jews, though in captivity, used to turn their faces towards the temple of Jerusalem when they prayed, so do the Mohammedans towards the temple at Mecca. And there are books in Arabic (one of which I have seen in the Bodleian library) teaching how to determine mathematically the zenith or vertical point of the Kebla, or temple of Mecca; in order that, let a Mussulman be where he will, he may know which way to set his face when he says his prayers.

As soon as he came to Damascus, he produced the emperor's letter, and told the people that he expected to have the entire command of the town. Accordingly he required that Israil, the former governor, should be sent out of the city. But the Damascenes by no means approved of that, for they liked their old governor very well, and would not hear of parting with him in such a time of extremity, when they had as great occasion for men of courage as ever they had since they were a people. Upon this they were divided into factions and parties, and continued wrangling and quarrelling one with another, at the very time when there was the greatest need of unity and a good mutual understanding. For the Saracens were expected every moment, and it was not long before they came.

Upon their arrival the Christians went forth to meet them, and both armies were drawn up in order of battle. When both were ready to fight, Kaled called out to Derar Ebn Alazwar, and said, "Now, Derar, quit thyself like a man, and follow the steps of thy father, and others of thy countrymen, who have fought for the cause of God. Help forward religion, and God will help thee." Derar was mounted upon a fine mare, and Kaled had no sooner spoken than he immediately charged the horse and killed four troopers, and then wheeling off, fell upon the foot and killed six of them, and never left charging them till he had broken their ranks and put them into disorder. At last they assailed him with a shower of stones, and pressed upon him so hard, that he was forced to retire among his own men, where he received due thanks. Then Kaled called out to Abdarrhaman, the caliph's son, whom we have mentioned before, who did the like. Kaled himself insulted the Christians, and gave them reproachful language, and challenged any of them to fight with him. Upon this, Izrail, calling to Calous, told him that it was proper for him, who was the protector of his country, and whom the emperor had sent on purpose to fight, to answer the challenge. Calous, however, would have stayed behind but for the importunity of the people, who in a manner compelled him to go. At last, then, with much ado, he arms himself and goes forward; and, having a mind to parley with his adversary, takes an interpreter along with him. As they proceeded together, Calous began to shake in his harness for fear of the Saracen, and with large promises would fain have persuaded the interpreter to take his part, if the Saracen should fall upon him. The interpreter begged to be excused, telling him that, as far as words would go, he was at his service, but he did not care for blows; "and therefore," says he, "look to yourself, sir; for my part I shall not mix myself up with the quarrel. For if I should meddle, and be knocked on the head for my pains, what good, I pray, would all your fair promises do me?" When they came to Kaled, the interpreter began after this manner: "Sir," said he, "I will tell you a story. There was a man had a flock of sheep, and he put them to a negligent shepherd, and the wild beasts devoured them; which, when the owner perceived, he turned away the shepherd, and got another, who was a man of vigilance and courage. So when the wild beast came again, the good shepherd killed him. Have a care that this does not prove to be your case. You Arabians were a contemptible, vile people, and went about with hungry bellies, naked and barefoot, living upon barley bread, and what you could squeeze out of dates. Now since you are come into our country, and through the negligence of our governors have managed to fare better, you begin to rebel. But now, the emperor has taken care to send to us a man that is a soldier indeed, and therefore it concerns you to look to yourselves. He it is that, out of compassion to you, has brought me along with him to talk with you." "Prithee," says Kaled, "tell me none of thy stories. As for what thou sayest of our country, it is true enough. But you shall find that times are amended with us, and that instead of the barley bread and coarse fare you twit us withal, all your wealth and good things, nay, your persons, and wives, and children too, shall soon be ours. And as for this same great man thou speakest of, why dost talk of great men to me, who have taken Tadmor, Hawran, and Bostra? Let him be as great as he will, if he be the support of your kingdom, so am I of our religion." Calous did not at all like the mien and behaviour of his adversary, and bade the interpreter to ask him to defer the combat till the next day, intending, if he once made his escape, never again to come so near him. But the Saracen did not intend to part with him so easily; but saying that he would not be fooled, immediately got between him and the Christian army, to prevent his running away, and began to lay about him most vehemently with his spear. They both fought bravely for a while, and in the meantime the interpreter perceiving them engaged, moved off, and escaped to the Christian camp. At last Calous, growing weary, began to stand altogether upon the defensive part, and the Saracen perceiving that he stood upon his guard, left off pushing him, and dexterously shifting his spear from his right hand to his left, closed with him, and drawing him to himself, flung him from his saddle to the ground. At this sight the Saracens immediately shouted, "Allah Acbar," which made the whole camp echo, and the poor Christians tremble. Kaled, having placed his prisoner in safety, and changed his horse for a fresh one, which the governor of Tadmor had presented to him, went into the field again. Derar would have had him stay behind, "For," says he," "you have tired yourself with fighting with this dog, therefore rest yourself a little, and let me go." To which Kaled answered, "O Derar, we shall rest in the world to come; he that labours to-day shall rest to-morrow," and rode forwards. He was but just gone, when Romanus, the treacherous governor of Bostra, called him back, and told him, that Calous wished to speak with him. When he came back, Calous (who, even in those calamitous circumstances, could not lay aside his resentment), after giving him an account of the difference which had been between him and Izrail, the governor of Damascus, told him, that to overcome him would be of the greatest moment towards taking the city. He advised him therefore to challenge Izrail to single combat, and kill him if he could. Kaled told him, that he might be sure he would not spare any infidel or idolater.

Calous being now a prisoner, his five thousand men, whom he had brought to the relief of Damascus, were very urgent with Izrail to go out, and answer Kaled's challenge. For a long time he refused to listen to them. Afterwards, however, when they threatened him with death if he persisted in his refusal, he told them that the reason why he refused at first was not because he was afraid, but because he had a mind to let their master, Calous, try his valour first. Then having armed himself, and mounted upon a good horse, he rode up to the Saracen, who, amongst other discourse, asked him his name. When he answered, "My name is Izrail" (which is the name of the angel who the Mohammedans suppose takes care of the departed souls), Kaled laughed, and said, "Well, your namesake Izrail is just ready at your service, to convey your soul to hell." Izrail, on his part, having asked Kaled what he had done with his prisoner, Calous, he told him that he had him safe bound. "Why did you not kill him?" said Izrail. "Because," said the Saracen, "I intend to kill you both together." Then the combat began, and was managed on both sides with great dexterity and vigour. Izrail behaved himself so well, that Kaled admired him. At last the victory inclined to Kaled, when Izrail finding that he was overmatched, but that he had the better horse of the two, turned his back, and rode away. Kaled pursued him as fast as he could, but could not overtake him. Whereupon Izrail, perceiving that his adversary kept at a distance, and imagining that this slackness of his proceeded from an unwillingness to fight, resumed his courage, and faced about, hoping to take him prisoner. Kaled perceiving this, alighted from his horse, preferring to fight on foot; and striking at the legs of Izrail's horse as he rushed upon him, brought him to the ground, and took him prisoner. Having now in his possession both the general and the governor, he asked them if they were willing to renounce their Christianity, and turn Mohammedans; which they firmly refusing to do, were both beheaded instantly. Kaled having ordered the heads to be brought to him, took them, and threw them over the walls into the town.

Several battles were fought before Damascus, in which the Christians for the most part were beaten. At last, when they saw that by sallying out they had many men killed and taken prisoners, they determined to save the remainder for the defence of the walls, and expose themselves no more to the hazard of a field-fight. They therefore shut up themselves within the town, and Kaled pitched his tents over against the east gate, and Abu Obeidah set down before the gate which they call Aljabiyah. The city being thus closely besieged, and the inhabitants not daring to depend altogether upon the forces which they had at present, resolved to despatch a messenger with all haste to the Grecian emperor, Heraclius, who was then at Antioch. So they wrote a letter to him, in which they acquainted him with all that had passed, detailing the deaths of Calous and Izrail, and the conquests which the Saracens had made on that side of the country. When they had closed the letter, they delivered it into the hands of a fit trustworthy messenger, whom they let down on the outside of the wall in the night. The messenger managed his business so well, that although the Saracens were very far from negligent in their watch, he contrived to pass through their lines. When he came to Antioch, and delivered his letter, the emperor was extremely concerned, and sent Werdan with a hundred thousand men, to relieve Damascus.

Werdan refused at first to accept of this commission, as thinking himself slighted, because the emperor had not employed him at the beginning of the war. But at length he undertook the command of that army, the emperor having given him particular charge to take care to cut off all supplies from the Saracen army, which was with Kaled and Abu Obeidah; and after the emperor and some of the nobility, who went part of the way with him, had taken their leave, he marched with all possible speed towards Damascus.

Within a short time after, the Saracens heard that the emperor's army was upon its march against them, and had reached Ajnadin. Kaled immediately went to Abu Obeidah, to advise with him what was proper to be done in this case. Kaled was for raising the siege, and advancing in full force against the Grecian army; and then, if they got the victory, they might, he said, return again to the siege. But Abu Obeidah told him that he was by no means of that opinion, because the inhabitants of Damascus were already in a very great strait, and if they now went away they would only give them an opportunity of getting into the town a fresh supply both of arms and provisions, and enable them to prolong the siege. With this answer the general was very well satisfied.

Werdan's army was very slow upon their march, and the poor besieged Christians were now in great distress. Finding no assistance arrive from the emperor, they proposed terms to the general, offering him a thousand ounces of gold, and two hundred suits of silk, if he would raise the siege. To which he answered, that he would not raise the siege unless they would either become tributaries or Mohammedans. If neither of these conditions pleased them, they must be content to fight it out. About six weeks after this, the Saracens heard an unusual noise in the city, and great exclamations and expressions of joy. They could not imagine what should be the meaning of it, but in a very short time they were satisfied, for their scouts brought them word that the emperor's army was at hand. Kaled again wished to go to meet them, but Abu Obeidah would by no means consent that the siege should be raised. At last they agreed to choose some good soldier, and send him with part of their forces to create a diversion, and to keep the emperor's army employed, that it might not come and disturb the operations of the siege. The officer that Kaled pitched upon to have the management of this expedition, was Derar Ebn Alazwar, an excellent soldier, and the mortal enemy of the Christians, as indeed, with the single exception of Abu Obeidah, all of them were. Derar very cheerfully accepted of this post, and cared not how many or how few men he had with him, provided he might be employed in some glorious action against the Christians. But Kaled told him, that though they were obliged to fight for their religion, yet God had commanded no man to throw himself away, and therefore bade him to accept willingly of such assistance as his superiors should think fit to send along with him; and ordered him, in case of danger, to retire upon the main body of the army. Derar immediately prepared to go; and as they were upon their march, the emperor's vast army drew near. When the Saracens saw such a multitude, they were afraid, and would willingly have retired; but Derar swore, "That he would not fall back a single step without fighting." And Rafi Ebn Omeirah told them, "That it was a common thing for the Mussulmans to rout a great army with a handful of men." The armies drew near, and notwithstanding the vast disproportion of numbers, Derar advanced, without showing the least token of fear or concern, and when they closed, he always fought most where Werdan the general was. And first of all he killed his right-hand man, and then the standard-bearer. The standard had in it the sign of the cross, and was richly adorned with precious stones. As soon as Derar saw it fall, he commanded the Saracens to alight, and take it up, whilst he defended them. They obeyed immediately, he, in the meantime, laying about him so furiously, that none durst come within his reach to save the standard. Werdan, the emperor's general, had a son that was his father's lieutenant in Hems, who, when he heard that his father was going against the Mussulmans, marched with ten thousand men to join him, and had the fortune to come up whilst the two armies were engaged. Observing Derar's activity, and what execution he did among the Greeks, he watched his opportunity, and wounded him in the left arm with a javelin. Derar turned himself about, and struck him so violently with his lance, that on drawing it back again, he left the point of it sticking in the bones. Notwithstanding which, he made as vigorous a defence as could be expected from a man disarmed; but the Greeks pressed hard upon him, and succeeded, though with great difficulty, in taking him prisoner. When the Saracens saw that their captain was taken, they fought as long and as fiercely as they could, in hopes of recovering him, but all in vain. Upon this they were so much discouraged that they had like to have run away. But Rafi Ebn Omeirah perceiving this, called out to them with a loud voice, and said, "What! don't you know, that whosoever turns his back upon his enemies, offends God and his prophet? Has not the prophet declared that the gates of paradise should be open to none but such as fought for religion? Come on! I'll go before you. If your captain be dead or taken prisoner, yet your God is alive, and sees what you do." With these words he restored the battle. In the meantime news came to Kaled that Derar was taken. Upon which he immediately consulted Abu Obeidah as to what was best to be done. Abu Obeidah sent him word, that he should leave some one in his own place, and go himself to rescue Derar. Upon this, leaving Mejsarah Ebn Mesrouk with a thousand horse to defend his post, and taking a considerable force along with him, he marched with all possible speed to relieve the Saracens. When those that were engaged saw this reinforcement come up, they fell on like lions; and Kaled charged in the thickest part of the enemy, where there were most banners and standards, in hopes of finding Derar prisoner there, but all in vain. At last a party of those that had come with Werdan's son from Hems deserted to Kaled, and begged of him protection and security for themselves and their families. Kaled told them that he would consider that when he came to Hems, and not in this place. Then he asked them, if they knew what was become of Derar? They replied that as soon as he was taken prisoner, he had been sent by Werdan, with a guard of a hundred horse, to Hems, as a present to Heraclius the emperor. Kaled was glad to hear this news, and immediately despatched Rafi Ebn Omeirah with a hundred horse, to retake Derar. Taking the direct road to Hems, they made all possible haste, and at last they overtook the escort, and having killed or routed the men, they recovered their friend Derar, and then hastened back to join Kaled, who by this time had entirely defeated the Grecian army. The Saracens pursued the Greeks as far as Wadil Hayat, and after carrying off what plunder, and horses, and arms they could, returned to the siege of Damascus, which had now but little hopes of holding out much longer.

The emperor Heraclius, not willing to part with Syria without another effort, sent to Werdan again, and gave him the command of seventy thousand men at Ajnadin, with orders to go and give the Saracens battle, and, if possible, raise the siege of Damascus. When the news of this preparation came to Kaled's ears, he again went to consult Abu Obeidah on the measures to be taken in this emergency, who told him, that as most of their great men were absent,* it would be best to send for them as soon as he could, calling upon them to unite their armies, so that they might with their combined force give the emperor's army battle. Yezid Ebn Abu Sofian was then in Balka, a territory upon the confines of Syria, Serjabil Ebn Hasanah in Palestine, Mead in Harran, Noman Ebn Al Mundir at Tadmor, and Amrou Ebn Al Aas in Irak. Upon this Kaled wrote the following letter:—

"In the name of the most merciful God.

"From Kaled Ebn Al Walid to Amrou Ebn Al Aas, health and happiness. Know that thy brethren the Mussulmans design to march to Ajnadin, where there is an army consisting of seventy thousand Greeks, who are come against us, that they may extinguish the light of God with their mouths;† but God preserveth his light in spite of the infidels. As soon therefore as this letter of mine shall come to thy hands, come with those that are with thee to Ajnadin, where, if it pleases the Most High God, thou shalt find us."

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* Arab. Kobarao Ashhab Resoul Allah, i. e. "The great men of the companions of the apostle of God."

† These words are a text of the Koran. See Koran, chap. ix. 32, and lxi. 8.

Having sent copies of this letter to the rest of the generals, he immediately gave orders for the whole army to march with bag and baggage. Kaled himself led the van, and Abu Obeidah brought up the rear. The Damascenes, perceiving the siege raised, and their enemies upon their march, took courage, and ventured out upon them with an army of six thousand horse, and ten thousand foot; the horse under the command of Paul; the foot, of Peter. As soon as Paul came up, he fell upon Abu Obeidah, and kept him employed whilst Peter went to seize the spoil; for all their baggage, and wealth, and women, and children were in the rear. Peter brought off a good part of it, and some of the women; and taking a guard both of horse and foot, returned towards Damascus, leaving his brother Paul with the rest of the army to engage the Mussulmans. Paul behaved himself so well that he beat Abu Obeidah, and those that were in the rear, who now wished at his heart that he had taken Kaled's advice, when he urged him to march in the front, and leave Kaled to bring up the rear himself. The women and children made grievous lamentation, and all things went ill on that side; upon this, Saïd Ebn Sabahh, being well mounted, rode as hard as he could to the front of the army, where Kaled was, and gave him an account how matters went; and desired him with all possible speed to succour Abu Obeidah. "Well," said Kaled, "God's will be done; I would have been in the rear at first, but he would not let me; and now you see what is come on it." Immediately he despatches Rafi with two thousand horse, to relieve the Saracens in the rear, and after him Kais Ebn Hobeirah with two thousand more; then Abdarrhaman with two thousand more; then Derar Ebn Al Azwar with two thousand more; the rest of the army, he brought up himself. When Rafi, Derar, and Abdarrhaman came up, the state of the matter was quite altered; and the Christians, who previously had the better of it, were now driven back on all sides, and their standards and colours beaten down. Derar pursued Paul the general, who was afraid to encounter him; for he had seen how he behaved himself at the siege of Damascus, and heard how he had fought against Werdan. Derar, after turning himself about to say to Obeidah, "Did not I tell you that this devil would not stand me?" followed closely upon him. Paul being thus hard pressed, flung himself off from his horse, and endeavoured to get away on foot. Derar alighted too, and having overtaken him, was just going to despatch him; when Paul cried out, "Hold! for in saving me you save your wives and children which we have taken." Derar upon this forbore, and took him prisoner. The Christians were all routed; of the six thousand horse which came out of Damascus, only one hundred escaped, as the Saracens were afterwards informed, when the city was taken.

Among the captives whom Peter had taken, was Caulah, Derar's sister, a brave virago, and a very beautiful woman. Derar was extremely concerned for the loss of his sister, and made his complaint to Kaled, who bade him be of good cheer; "For," says he, "we have taken their general, and some other prisoners, which we shall exchange for our own; and there is no question but we shall find them all at Damascus." However, they resolved to go and try if they could recover them before they got thither. Kaled, Rafi, Meisarah, and Derar, went in search of the captives; and ordered Abu Obeidah to march on slowly with the army. Peter, when he had got his prisoners and plunder at some convenient distance, did not make haste to convey them to Damascus, but stayed by the way, being desirous, if possible, to hear of his brother Paul's success before he went home. Whilst they rested, they took an account of the women, and what else they had gotten; and Peter chose Caulah, Derar's sister, for himself, and told his men, that she and no other should be his, and nobody's else. The rest chose each of them one as long as the number lasted. The Greeks went into their tents to refresh themselves, and in the meantime the women got altogether. Among them were some of the Hamyarites (a tribe so called amongst the Arabs), whom the Arabians suppose to be descended from the ancient Amalekites. These women are used to ride on horseback, and fight as the Amazons did of old. Caulah now addressed them: "What! will you suffer yourselves to be abused by these barbarians, and become handmaids and slaves to those idolaters? Where is your courage? For my part, I will sooner die than suffer any of these idolatrous slaves to touch me." Opheirah, who was one of them, replied, that their patience was not the effect of cowardice, but necessity. "For," says she, "we are defenceless; we have neither sword nor spear, nor bow, nor any thing else." "But cannot we," says Caulah, "take each of us a tent-pole, and stand upon our guard? Who knows but that it may please God to give us the victory, or deliver us by some means or other? If not, we shall die, and be at rest, and preserve the honour of our country." Opheirah swore that Caulah was in the right, and the rest instantly resolved to follow her counsel, and providing themselves with staves, appointed Caulah commander-in-chief. "Come," says she, "stand round in a circle, and be sure you leave no space between you for any of them to come in and do us mischief. Strike their spears with your staves, and break their swords and their sculls." Having giving these orders she moved forwards a step, and striking one of the guards that stood within her reach, shattered his scull. Immediately there was a great uproar, which brought the Greeks running out of their tents to see what was the matter. When they came in they found the women all up in arms. Peter called out to Caulah, "What is the meaning of this, my dear?" "Woe be to thee," said she, "and to all of you, thou Christian dog. The meaning of it is, that we design to preserve our honour, and to beat your brains out with these staves: come, why don't you come to your sweetheart now, for which you reserved yourself? It may be you may receive something at her hands, which may prove worth your while." Peter only laughed at her, and ordered his men to compass them round, and not do them any harm, but only take them prisoners, giving them an especial charge to be careful of his mistress. They endeavoured to obey his commands, but with very ill success; for when any horseman came near the women, they struck at the horse's legs, and if they brought him down, his rider was sure to rise no more. When Peter perceived that they were in earnest, he grew very angry, and alighting from his horse, bid his men do so too, and fall upon them with their scimitars. The women stood close together, and said one to another, "Come, let us die honourably, rather than live scandalously." Peter looked with a great deal of concern upon his mistress, and when he viewed her beauty and comely proportion and stature, felt loath to part with her, and coming near, gave her good words, and would fain have persuaded her to desist from her enterprize. He told her, that he was rich and honourable, that he had a great many fine seats, and the like, which should all be at her service, and desired her to take pity on herself, and not to be accessary to her own death. To which she answered, "Thou infidel, scoundrel, vile rascal, why dost not come a little nearer, that I may beat thy brains out?" This effectually nettled him; so he drew his sword, and bid his men fall upon them; telling them, that it would prove a scandal to them, in all the neighbourhood of Syria and Arabia, if they should be beaten by these women. The women,. who held out with great bravery, were now reduced to the last extremity, when, fortunately for them, Kaled and his party came up. When as they approached they saw the dust flying and the swords glittering, they wondered what was the matter. Kaled having sent Rafi to reconnoitre; who riding forward in great haste, quickly returned, and gave him an account how things stood; Kaled said, he was not at all surprised, for the women of those tribes were used to it. As soon as Derar heard the news, clapping spurs to his horse, he pushed on in all haste to help the women. "Softly, Derar, softly," said Kaled; "not so fast: a man that goes leisurely about his business, will more surely gain his point, than he that goes to work rashly." Derar answered, "This is not a matter for patience, I must go and help my sister." Kaled upon this set his men in order, and commanded them, as soon as they came up; to encompass their enemies. As soon as Caulah saw the Saracens appear, she cried out, "Look ye, my girls, God has sent us help now." But the Greeks, when they saw the Saracens approaching, gave themselves up for lost, and began to look upon one another very sorrowfully. Peter now thought of nothing but how he should secure his own safety, and called out to the women, "Hearken ye," said he, "I pity your condition, for we have sisters and mothers, and wives of our own; therefore for Christ's sake I let you go freely: wherefore, when your people come up, let them know how civil I have been to you."

Having thus spoken, he turned towards the Saracens, and saw two horsemen coming apace before the rest. One of them, Kaled, was completely armed, the other, Derar, naked, with a lance in his hand, and riding upon a horse without a saddle. As soon as Caulah saw her brother, she called out, "Come hither, brother, though God is sufficient without thy help." Hereupon Peter called out to her, saying, "Get thee to thy brother, I give thee to him," and turned away to get off as fast as he could. But Caulah mocked at him, and said, "This ficklenes of yours is not like the manner of us Arabians: sometimes you are wonderfully fond of me, and express a great deal of love, and then again you are as cold and indifferent as may be." To this taunt Peter could only reply, "Away with thee; I am not so fond of thee now as I was before." "Well," says she, "I am fond of you, and must have you by all means." Then she ran up to him, closely followed by Kaled and Derar. As soon as Peter saw Derar, he called out to him, and said, "There's your sister, take her, and much good may she do you; I make a present of her to you." Derar answered, "I thank you, sir, I accept of your kind present; but I have nothing to return you in lieu of it, but only the point of this spear, therefore be pleased to accept of it." At the same time, Caulah struck the legs of his horse, and brought him down. Derar rushed upon him as he fell, and having run him through, cut off his head, and put it upon his lance. The attack now became general, and the Saracens fought till they had killed three thousand men. The rest ran away, and were pursued to the gates of Damascus by the Saracens, who returned laden with plunder, horses, and armour. Kaled now thought it high time to return to Abu Obeidah, fearing that Werdan might have attacked him in his absence. They marched forthwith, and as soon as the army saw Kaled and his company, they shouted out Allah Acbar, which Kaled returned. When they came up with the main body, they gave them a particular account of their whole adventure, especially of the battle of the women, with which they made themselves very merry. Then Kaled called for Paul, who was taken prisoner before, and told him to turn Mohammedan, or else he would serve him as he had done his brother. "How is that?" said Paul. "Why," says Kaled, "I have killed him, and here is his head." When Paul saw his brother's head he wept, and said, that he had no wish to survive him, upon which Kaled commanded him to be beheaded.

The captains of the Saracens to whom Kaled had written, bidding them meet him at Ajnadin, as soon as they had received the letter, made immediate preparations to comply with it; and what was very remarkable, though they were at different distances from the place of meeting, they nevertheless all happened to reach it on the same day, Friday, the 13th of July, A.D. 633. This coincidence they all interpreted as a singular providence. The two armies presently afterwards came within sight of one another, and the confidence of the Saracens was somewhat checked, when they perceived the strength of the emperor's forces, which amounted to no less than seventy thousand. Those who had been in Persia, and seen the vast armies of Cosroes, confessed that they had never beheld an enemy equal to the present, either in number or military preparation. They sat down in sight of one another that night, and early the next morning prepared for battle. Before they engaged, Kaled rode through the ranks encouraging his men, and telling them, "That they now saw before them the largest army of the Greeks that they were ever likely to be opposed to. That if they now came off conquerors, all was their own, and nothing would be able to stand against them for the time to come. Therefore," said he, "fight in good earnest, and take religion's part; and be sure that you do not turn your backs, and so be damned for your pains.* Stand close together, and do not charge till you hear the word of command, and then go to work steadily; and have your wits and your hearts about you." Nor was Werdan, on the other side, negligent in encouraging his men to do their best. Calling his officers together, he thus addressed them:—"You know that the emperor has entrusted the greatest interests to your courage and bravery, and if you should shrink, now you come to face your enemies, and lose the field, such a blow will be struck as can never be recovered, and these Arabs will take possession of all, and make slaves of your wives and children. All is now at stake; therefore be firm, and give no ground, but fight unanimously and courageously.

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* Koran, chap. viii. 15, 16.

Besides, for your comfort, we are three to one; and if we call upon Christ, he will help us." Kaled was naturally alarmed at the superior force of the enemy, and therefore was determined to omit no precaution that prudence might suggest. Being anxious, therefore, to get an account of their order and number, he publicly invited his men to volunteer to go and reconnoitre the Christian army; upon this, Derar, who was never backward in anything that belonged to a soldier, proffered his service. "Well, then," says Kaled, "thou shalt go, and God go along with thee; but I charge thee, Derar, not to assault them, nor strike a stroke without my order, and so be accessary to thy own destruction." Away he went and viewed their order, their arms and standards, their banners displayed and colours flying. Werdan, having perceived him, and suspecting him to be a scout, sent a party of thirty horse to seize him. When they advanced, Derar ran away, and they after him. When he had drawn them some distance from the lines, he faced about, and fell upon them like a lion. First, he ran one through with his lance, and then another, and fought desperately, till of thirty he had unhorsed seventeen. Then the rest being seized with fear, fled before him, till they came pretty near the Grecian camp, when he turned off, and came back to Kaled. And when that general asked of him, "Did not I warn you not to fight without order?" he replied, "Nay, I did not begin first, but they came out to take me, and I was afraid that God should see me turn my back. Had I not disobeyed your order, I should not have come away as I did. Then, indeed, I fought in good earnest, and without doubt God assisted me against them, and I perceive already, that by his help, they will fall into our hands."

Then Kaled set his army in order of battle, giving to Mead Ebn Jabal and Naman Ebn Al Mokarren the command of the right wing, and to Saïd Ebn Amer and Serjabil Ebn Hasanah that of the left. Yezid Ebn Abu Sofian, with four thousand horse, guarded the baggage, women, and children. Caulah and Opheirah, and several other women of the highest rank and chief families of the Arabian tribes, with a great many more of inferior note, also prepared themselves for the battle. Kaled turned about to them, and said, "Noble girls, assure yourselves, that what you do is very acceptable to God and his apostle, and the Mussulmans; you will hereby purchase to yourselves a lasting memory, and the gates of paradise will be open to you. And assure yourselves, that I repose the greatest confidence in you. If any party of the Greeks fall upon you, fight for yourselves; and if you see any of the Mussulmans turn his back, stay him, and ask him whether he runs from his family and children; for by this means you will encourage the Mussulmans to fight." Opheirah told him that they were all ready to fight till they died.

Then he rode about, encouraging his men, and bidding them fight for the sake of their wives and children and religion, and to stand their ground: for if they were beaten, they had no place to escape to, nor anything left in which they could trust. After this he went into the centre of the army, and took his post there, together with Amrou Ebn Al Aas, Abdarrhaman, the caliph's son, Kais Ebn Hobeirah, Rafi Ebn Omeirah, and several other Saracens of note. The two armies covered all the plains. The Christians raised a great shout; and the Saracens repeated as fast as they could, "La I'laha illa Allah, Mohammed resoul Allah:" that is, "There is but one God; Mohammed is the apostle of God." Just before the battle began, there came out a grave old man from the Christian army, who went towards the Saracens, and inquired for the general. Kaled came forth to him, and the old man asked him if he was the general. "They look upon me as such," said Kaled, "so long as I continue in my duty towards God, and the observance of what he has left us by his prophet Mohammed, of blessed memory, otherwise I have no command or authority over them." The old man told him that they were come to invade a land which had been attacked oftentimes before, but with very ill success. That those who had attempted the conquest of it, had found their sepultures in that very place where they designed to establish their empire; that though they had lately obtained a victory over the Christians, yet they must not expect that the advantage would long continue on their side; that the emperor had sent against them a very numerous army; that although confident of victory, the Christian general had sent him to tell them, that if they would depart without any further acts of hostility, he would present every Saracen in the army with a suit of clothes, a turban, and a piece of money, while the general himself should receive ten suits, and a hundred pieces; and their master, Abubeker, the caliph, a hundred suits, and a thousand pieces. "No," said the Saracen, "no peace, unless you forthwith become tributaries, or else Mohammedans; otherwise the sword must determine the controversy betwixt us. And as for your great army that you speak of, we are promised the victory by our prophet Mohammed, in the book which was sent down to him. And then as to your vests, turbans, and money, which you offer us, we shall in a short time be masters of all your clothes, and all the good things you have about you."

When Mead was encouraging the Saracens with the hopes of paradise and the enjoyment of everlasting life, if they fought for the cause of God and religion. "Softly," said Kaled, "let me get them all into good order, before you set them upon fighting." And then when he had formed his men in order of battle, he said, "Look to it, for your enemies are two to one, and there is no breaking them, but by outwinding them. Hold out till the evening, for that is the time in which the prophet obtained the victory. Take care not to turn your backs, for God sees you."

The two armies being now come very near, the Armenian archers let fly their arrows, and killed and wounded a great many of the Saracens; but Kaled would not let a man stir, Derar, at last, impatient of delay, said, "What do we stand still for? The enemy will think we are afraid of him; prithee, give us the word of command, and let us go." Upon this Kaled gave him leave, and he began the battle. And now in a little time a great part of both the armies was engaged, and numbers fell on both sides, but more Christians than Saracens. Werdan, perceiving the great disadvantage his men laboured under, was in great perplexity, and advised with his officers what was best to be done; for no art of a general, nor any terms he could propose, were sufficient to encourage the Christians to fight as desperately as the Saracens, who cared not for their lives, being all of them fully persuaded, that whosoever was killed in fighting for the propagation of their religion, would certainly receive a crown of martyrdom. And it is most true, that nothing is like a spirit of enthusiasm to make men expose themselves undauntedly to the greatest dangers. It was agreed that the best thing they could do, would be to circumvent the general of the Saracens by some stratagem, which would extremely discourage the rest and facilitate the victory. This they attempted after the following manner:—A messenger was to be sent to Kaled, to desire him to sound a retreat, and let the battle cease for that day, and meet Werdan the next morning at a certain place within view of both the armies, where they, the two generals alone, might treat, in order to find out some expedient for the preventing the effusion of so much blood as must of necessity be lost on both sides, if the war continued. If he consented to come to the parley, an ambuscade of ten men was to be conveniently placed, so as to seize the Saracen. The delivery of this message was entrusted to one David, who was privy to the secret. When he had received his instructions he went forward and inquired for Kaled, who rode to him, and with a stern look, presented his lance. "Sir," said David, "I am no soldier, but have only a message to deliver to you; pray, therefore, turn your lance away whilst I am talking with you." Upon which Kaled laid his lance across upon the pommel of his saddle, and said, "Speak to the purpose then, and tell no lies." "So I will," says David, "If you will promise me security for myself and my family." Which Kaled had no sooner done, but he acquainted him with the whole plot. "Well," said Kaled, "go and tell him it shall be so." Presently after Abu Obeidah met Kaled, and observing an unusual briskness and gaiety in his countenance, asked him what was the matter? Kaled told him of the contrivance, and added, "I shall venture to go alone, and I engage to bring thee back all their heads with me." Abu Obeidah told him that he knew he was a person likely enough to do so; yet as the prophet had no where commanded them to expose themselves to unnecessary danger, he required him to take ten men with him to match his enemies.

Derar thought it the best way not to defer the matter till the morning, but was for going that evening to surprise that ambuscade. Having obtained leave, he went as soon as it was dark, to the place where Werdan had posted his ambuscade. When he came near, he ordered his men to stand still whilst he went to observe their posture. Then he put off his clothes (which he frequently used to go without) and, taking only his sword, crept along, till he came so near them that he could hear them snore, for they were all drunk and asleep, and their arms lay under their heads. Having so fair an opportunity, he could scarcely forbear killing them himself; but considering that one of them might possibly awaken the rest, he came back, and fetched his comrades, who took each of them his man, and despatched the ambuscade with all imaginable silence and secrecy. The next thing to be done, was to strip these men, and put their clothes on his own men, who were to take their places, for fear any of the Greeks should chance to come by the place, and seeing them in their Arabian habit, should make a discovery. Their success in this enterprise Derar told his men was a good omen, and that he did not at all question but that God would fulfil his promise to them.

About break of day, Kaled, having first said the morning prayer in the camp, drew up his army in order of battle. Then he put on a yellow silk vest and a green turban. As soon as the Christians saw the Saracens in order, Werdan sent a horseman, who rode up to the front of the Saracen army, and cried out, "Hark ye, you Arabians! is this fair play? Have you forgot your agreement you made with us yesterday?" "How!" said Kaled, "what! charge us with breach of promise?" "The general," answered the messenger, "expects you should be as good as your word, and meet him, in order to treat of a peace." "Go and tell him," says Kaled, "that I am just coming." Quickly after, Kaled saw Werdan go out upon a mule, very richly dressed, and adorned with gold chains and precious stones. "Ha!" says he, "this will be all ours by and by, if it please God." He then went to meet him; and when they came very near to each other they both alighted. When Werdan had drawn Kaled towards the place where the ambush lay, they sat down opposite to one another to discourse, but Werdan still kept his hand upon the hilt of his sword, for fear the Saracen should chance to fall upon him on a sudden. "Come," says Kaled, "now let us hear what you have to say; but be sure you deal fairly, and like a man, and tell no lies; for it does not at all become men in eminent stations to deal deceitfully, and use tricks." "Well, then," said Werdan, "what I desire of you is, that you would let us know what you would have, and come to some reasonable terms, that we may have peace, and live in quiet on both sides; and whatsoever you desire of us, we will give you freely, for we know that you are a poor sort of people, and live in a barren country, and in great scantiness and scarcity; therefore if a small matter will content you, we will give it you willingly." "Alas, for thee! thou Christian dog," said Kaled, "we bless God that he has provided a great deal better for us than to leave us to live upon your charity, and what you please to spare; for he has freely given to us all that you have; nay, even your wives and your children to be divided amongst us, unless you can say, 'LA ILAHA,' &c. 'There is but one God, Mohammed is the apostle of God.' Or if you do not like that, pay tribute. But if neither will do for you, then let the sword determine between us, and let God give the victory to which side he pleases. No other terms are to be had of us. And as for your talking to us of peace, we for our parts take more delight in war; and as for you saying that we are such a contemptible people, I would have you know that we reckon you no better than dogs. You see I do not talk like a man that is much inclined to peace; and if the meaning of your calling me hither was that you might have me alone, here we are in a place by ourselves, far enough both from my army and yours. Come and fight with me, if you dare." Immediately upon this, Werdan rose up, but trusting to the ambuscade, made no haste to draw his sword. Kaled seized him forthwith, and shaking him, turned him about every way. Then Werdan shouted, "Come out, my men, come hither; this Arab has seized me." As soon as the Saracens heard the cry, they came forth, and Werdan, at first sight, took them to be his own men; but when they came nearer, and he saw Derar at their head, shaking his sword at him, he began to be extremely uneasy, and said to Kaled, "I beg of you not to deliver me into the hands of that devil; I hate the sight of him, it was he that killed my son." Kaled swore by God, that when he came up he would kill him too. By this time Derar had approached them, and said, "Now, thou cursed wretch, what is become of thy deceit, with which thou wouldest have ensnared the companions of the apostle of God?" and was just going to kill him. "Hold," said Kaled, "let him alone till I give you the word." When he saw himself in the midst of his enemies, he fell upon the ground, and began to cry "quarter." But Kaled answered, "La Aman illa Beiman:' No quarter (or security) where there is no faith kept. You pretended peace, and at the same time treacherously designed to murder me." The word was no sooner out of his mouth, but Derar struck his head off. Then they stripped him, and put his head upon the point of Kaled's lance, and marched towards the army. As soon as the Christians espied them, they thought they had been their own men, and that Werdan had brought the Saracen's head along with him. The Saracens thought so too, and were under great concern for Kaled. But as soon as they came near, they charged the Christians, and Abu Obeidah (who commanded in Kaled's absence) recognized them, and told his men. Then they moved forward, and engaged in all parts with all imaginable vigour. The fight, or rather the slaughter, continued till evening. The Christian army was entirely routed and defeated. The Saracens killed that day fifty thousand men. Those that escaped fled, some of them to Cæsarea, others to Damascus, and some to Antioch. The Saracens took plunder of inestimable value, and a great many banners, and crosses made of gold and silver, precious stones, silver and gold chains, rich clothes, and arms without number; which Kaled said he would not divide until Damascus was taken.

Upon this victory, Kaled sends a messenger with the following letter to Abubeker the caliph:—

"In the name of the most merciful God.

"From the servant of God, Kaled Ebn Walid, to the successor of the apostle of God, upon whom be the blessing of God. I praise God, who is the only God, and there is none other besides him; and I pray for his prophet Mohammed, upon whom be the blessing of God. I praise him, and give thanks to him still more, for his delivering the true believers, and destroying the idolaters, and extinguishing the light of those that err. I acquaint thee, O emperor of the faithful, that we met with the Grecian army at Ajnadin, with Werdan the prefect of Hems; and they swore by Christ that they would not run away, nor turn their backs, though they were killed to the last man. So we fell upon them, calling upon

God, and trusting in him, and God supported us, and gave us the victory, and our enemies were decreed to be overcome, and we slew them on all sides, killing to the number of fifty thousand men. In the two battles we lost of the Mussulmans four hundred and seventy-four men. This letter is written on the fifth day of the week, being the thirtieth of the first Jomadah; and we are now returning to Damascus, if it please God. Pray for our success and prosperity. Farewell. The peace and blessing of God be upon thee and all the Mussulmans."

As soon as the messenger told the caliph the news, he fell down and worshipped God. Then he opened the letter, and read it over first to himself, and then to those that were about him. The news immediately flew through all the country; and the hungry Arabians came thronging to Medina, to beg leave of the caliph to go into Syria, all of them expecting great places and large possessions, and willing enough to exchange the uncultivated deserts of Arabia Petræa, for the delicacies of Damascus. Omar by no means approved of their motion, but said to Abubeker, "You know what sort of fellows these were to us formerly. When they were able to oppose us, and we were but few in number, they endeavoured, to the utmost of their power, to ruin our religion, and put out the light of God; and when they did turn, it was only to save themselves. And now that they see God has been pleased to bless our armies with victory, they are ready to share the spoil; but if they are allowed to go they will only make a disturbance among those who have got it with their swords. Therefore I pray let none of them go; but let those that have won it wear it." Abubeker was of the same mind.

As soon as the inhabitants of Mecca heard it, they were very indignant, and thought themselves very greatly injured. Some of the Koreishites (a noble tribe among the Arabs, which had violently opposed Mohammed at his first setting out, and drove him from Mecca to Medina) came in a body to make their complaint to Abubeker the caliph, whom they found sitting with some Mussulmans, with Ali on the right hand, and Omar on his left. When they had paid due reverence to the caliph, Abu Sofian accosted Omar after this manner: "It is true, in the times of ignorance,* there used to be clashing and difference amongst us; and we did what we could against you, and you the like to us; but now, since it has pleased God to direct us both into the true religion, all hatred and animosities ought to cease between us. For the faith destroys hatred and variance, as well as idolatry. And yet you still continue your hatred, notwithstanding we are your brethren in religion, and your near relations besides. What is the meaning of this spite both formerly and now? Is it not time to purify your hearts from envy? That you made the profession of the true religion before us we confess, and are willing, upon that ground, to pay you all the respect which is due." Having said thus, he held his peace, and Arak commended him, and seconded him. Then Abu Sofian desired the caliph and all the Mussulmans to bear witness that he freely took upon himself to fight for the cause of God. And the like was done by all the chiefs of Mecca that were present. This satisfied the caliph, and he was content to let them go. Upon which he prayed to God to confirm them in their good resolutions, and bless them with answerable success. He then wrote a letter to Kaled; in which he acquainted him, that he had received his with great satisfaction, and that he had sent to him some of the chief men of Mecca, and the adjacent country, particularly Amrou Ebn Maadi, and Malec Alashtar. In the next place he ordered him, as soon as he had conquered Damascus, to go on to Hems, Mearrah, and Antioch. After this he bid him be kind to the Mussulmans, and to think upon mortality, and so concluded. When he had finished the letter, he sealed it with Mohammed's seal, and delivered it to Abdarrhaman, who also had brought him the letter from Kaled.

When Kaled sent the letter to Abubeker, he was upon his march from Ajnadin to Damascus. The poor inhabitants had heard the lamentable news of the loss of the emperor's general and army. In the meantime, whilst the Saracens were absent, a great many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, to secure themselves, had retired into Damascus. The return of the Saracens was daily expected, and all manner of warlike preparation was made for sustaining a siege. Their engines were planted everywhere upon the walls, and banners displayed. In a little time their hearts ached, when they saw the Saracens appear with a formidable army, flushed with success, and enriched with the spoils of their countrymen and neighbours. Amrou Ebn Al Aas led the van, consisting of above nine thousand horse. After him came Abu Sofian with two thousand; then Serjabil Ebn Hasanah (who was one of Mohammed's secretaries when he wrote the Koran): after him arrived Omar Ebn Rebiyah. Kaled marched in the rear, and brought up the rest of the army under the standard of the black eagle.

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* So they call all the time before Mohammed.

When the whole body was within a mile of the city, Kaled called all the generals together, and gave them their respective charges, and said to Abu Obeidah, "You know very well the villainy and deceit of these people, and how they came and fell upon our rear, as we were in our march to Ajnadin. Be on your guard, therefore, and be not too confiding in them, nor agree too easily to give them security, for they will certainly play you some trick. Go and sit down before the gate Jabiyah, at a good distance, and assault them frequently, and let not the length of the time make you uneasy, for victory is the reward of patience." Abu Obeidah, following this advice, went there, and pitched his tent, which was made of hair; for he would by no means suffer them to set up one of those rich tents which they had taken from the Greeks at Ajnadin: "which," one author says, "proceeded from his great humility to God, and the shortness of his hope, having no wish to please himself with the gay things of this world, and the possessions of it. For they did not fight for dominion, but in hopes of receiving a reward from God, and having their portion in a future state. And they used to set those tents and spoil which they had taken, at a great distance from them; and if at any time they found any victuals of the Christians, they would not eat it, because the name of God was not mentioned over it when it was killed." Abu Sofian was placed over against the Little Gate, Serjabil Ebn Hasanah at St. Thomas's Gate, with 2000 horse; Amrou Ebn Al Aas at Paradise Gate; Kais Ebn Hobeirah sat down before the gate Kaisan. There was another, which was called St. Mark's Gate, where there never was any fighting (whether because of the incommodiousness of the place, or for what other reason, I know not), which upon that account was called Baobsalamah, "The Gate of Peace." After he had given his orders, he went himself and sat down before the East Gate. Then he called Derar to him, and gave him the command of two thousand horse, and ordered him to keep riding round about the camp, and never stand still long in one place, for fear any succours should come from the emperor, and surprise the camp. "And," says he, "if they be too hard for thee, send to me, and I will help thee." "I suppose then," said Derar, "that I am to stand still the meanwhile!" "No, no;" said Kaled, "I do not mean that." None of the Saracens were mounted besides those which were with Derar, whose business it was to ride round the camp, and guard it: for the Saracens fought for the most part on foot. Kaled having thus formed his plan of the siege, early on the next morning the besieged sallied out, and the fight continued till the evening. That same day Kaled received Abubeker's letter, and after the fight was over, sent it to the generals, who were posted at the several gates.

The poor inhabitants perceiving themselves now besieged in good earnest, began to think of coming to terms, and were ready to submit to pay tribute and secure their lives and fortunes, rather than by standing it out, to expose themselves to inevitable death. Their chief men having met to deliberate, a considerable part of them were very much inclined to surrender. But it happened that Thomas, the emperor's son-in-law,* lived then in Damascus, as a private man, not in any public commission or authority; for though the emperor had offered him honourable posts, he refused to accept of any employment; notwithstanding that he was a person of great courage, and an excellent soldier. Out of respect to his quality and abilities, the citizens thought it advisable to do nothing hastily, and without having first consulted him. When they came to his palace, he appeared to wonder, "That these vile Arabs, poor wretches, naked and barefoot, and far from completely armed, should be able to put them in such a consternation." He told them, "That the Arabs were masters of no courage, but what was wholly owing to their own fears; that there was the greatest deal of difference between them and the Damascenes in every respect, whether in number, or in arms, or in anything else that made an army considerable." Adding, "That the Damascenes had no reason to despair of the victory." The citizens told him, with submission, that he was under a great mistake; "For the late victories of the Arabs had furnished them very well with arms. Besides," said they, "they all fight like mad men; for they are ready to encounter us naked, or any way, and under ever such great disadvantages; for they stedfastly believe that every one of their own men that is killed passes immediately to Paradise, and every one of ours to hell; and this makes them invincible." To which Thomas answered, "That it was plain from thence that they had no true courage, who were forced to make use of such an artifice to encourage themselves to fight." "Well, sir," said they, "if you will be pleased to help us, and put us in a way to make a defence, we shall be at your service, otherwise we must surrender." Thomas, being fearful lest they should be in earnest, promised, after a short pause, to go out with them the next morning.

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* "Vanity prompted the Arabs to believe that Thomas was the son-in-law of the emperor. We know the children of Heraclius by his two wives; and his *august* daughter would not have married in exile at Damascus. Had he been less religious, I might only suspect the legitimacy of the damsel."—*Gibbon.*

They kept watch all the night, and supplied the absence of the sun with numberless lights placed in the turrets. The Saracens in the meantime were encouraging one another to do their utmost against the enemies of God, as they used to call all but themselves. In the morning the besieged prepared early for battle, and the Saracens got ready to make a general assault. All the generals said their prayers among their men, and Kaled bade them be firm, "for they should rest after death;" adding, "That is the best rest which shall never be succeeded by any labour." Thomas was ready in the morning, and just before he went out a crucifix was raised at the gate, and the bishop, attended with some of the clergy, brought the New Testament, and placed it at a little distance from the crucifix. As Thomas went out of the city, he laid his hand upon the cover of the Testament, and said, "O God! if our religion be true, help us, and deliver us not into the hand of our enemies; but overthrow the oppressor, for thou knowest him. O God, help those which profess the truth, and are in the right way." Serjabil heard him say something, but could not tell what; and when Romanus (who was the treacherous governor of Bostra, and used to be their interpreter) had explained it to him, he was very angry, and cried out, "Thou liest, thou enemy of God; for Jesus is of no more account with God than Adam. He created him out of the dust, and made him a living man, walking upon the earth, and afterwards raised him to heaven." The two armies having joined battle, Thomas fought bravely. Being an incomparable archer, he shot a great many of the Saracens, and among the rest he wounded Aban Ebn Saïd with a poisoned arrow.* Aban drew out the arrow, and unfolding his turban, bound up the wound. But he quickly felt the effects of the poison in his body, and finding his strength fail him, was carried into the camp, where his friends being very urgent to unbind the wound, and to dress it, he told them, if they did, he should die instantly. Which accordingly happened, for they had no sooner opened it than he immediately fainted; and when he could speak no longer, continued testifying, by signs, the stedfastness of his belief in God and Mohammed. He was newly married, having no longer ago than when the Saracens were at Ajnadin, taken to wife a brave virago, one of the fighting sort, who could use a bow and arrows very well. As soon as she heard the news of his death, she came running in great haste; and when she saw his corpse, she evinced admirable patience, exclaiming, "Happy art thou, my dear: thou art gone to thy Lord, who first joined us together, and has now parted us asunder. I will revenge thy death, and endeavour to the utmost of my power to come to the place where thou art, because I love thee. Henceforth shall no man ever touch me more, for I have dedicated myself to the service of God." Then they washed him (as is their custom), and buried him forthwith, with the usual solemnities. His widow never wept nor wailed, but with a courage above what could be expected from the weakness of her sex, armed herself with his weapons, and unknown to Kaled went into the battle. When she came into the field, she asked where it was that Aban was wounded. They told her, over against St. Thomas's Gate, and that Thomas, the emperor's son-in-law, was the man that shot him. Away she went towards the place, and with the first arrow shot the standard-bearer in the hand. The standard fell down, and the Saracens instantly snatched it up, and carried it off. Thomas was grievously concerned at the loss of the standard, and laid about him furiously, and ordered his men to look about them narrowly, to see if they could find it any where, and retake it, if possible. When the Saracens that had it saw themselves hard beset, they shifted it from one to another, till it came to Serjabil's hands. As the Damascenes followed Thomas with great courage and vigour, the engines all the while playing upon the Saracens from the walls, and throwing stones and arrows as thick as hail, the battle soon began to be fierce and bloody. They plied the engines so well from the walls, that the Saracens were forced to retreat, and fight out of the reach of their fire. Thomas having at last discovered the standard in Serjabil's hand, made up to him, and fell upon him like a lion. Upon which Serjabil threw the standard away, and engaged his adversary. Whilst they were fighting hand to hand, and every one admired Thomas's valour, Aban's wife saw him, and being told that it was he who had killed her husband, she aimed an arrow at him, and shot him in the eye, so that he was forced to retire into the city. The Saracens followed him close, and killed three hundred in the pursuit, which they would have carried further, but were afraid to come within range of the engines.

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* "Al Wakidi says, 'with poisoned arrows;' but this savage invention is so repugnant to the practice of the Greeks and Romans, that I must suspect, on this occasion, the malevolent credulity of the Saracens."—*Gibbon.*

Thomas had his eye dressed, but would by no means be persuaded to go to his house, though the inhabitants of the town pressingly entreated him, telling him, that no good would be gained by fighting against these Arabs, but that the best way would be to surrender the town. But, being a man of undaunted courage and resolution, he said, they should not come off so; that they should not take his standard, and put his eye out, unrevenged. He considered what a reflection it would be upon his honour, and how the emperor would look upon it, if he should suffer himself to be disheartened and daunted by the Arabs. The battle continued till night parted them; Thomas all the while continued in the gate, meditating revenge. When it was dark, he sent for the chief men of the city, and not at all daunted, said to them, "Look ye, you have to do with a people who have neither good manners, nor religion, nor any faith or honesty belonging to them; and if they should make any agreement with you, and give you security, they will never stand to their word, but lay the whole country waste. And can you bear to see what is dearest to you invaded, and your poor children made slaves, and yourselves turned out of house and harbour, and deprived of all the conveniences of life?" To this appeal they replied, "That they were ready at his service, either to fight upon the walls, or to sally." Upon this he ordered them every man to make ready with all possible speed and all the silence imaginable, that they might not give the least alarm to the Saracens. All the armed men were drawn up at the several gates, and upon a signal given by one single stroke upon a bell, the gates were all opened at the same instant; the Christians (some few only excepted, who were left to secure the gates and the walls) sallied out altogether, and poured in upon the Saracen camp like a torrent, in hopes of finding them wounded and tired, and altogether unprovided to receive so vigorous an attack. The whole camp was immediately alarmed; and as soon as Kaled knew it, he said, "O God, who never sleepest, look upon thy servants, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies." Then he ordered Feljan Ebn Zeyad to supply his place, and rode with four hundred men as fast as he could, for the tears lay upon his cheeks for the concern he had upon him for his dear Saracens. The care of Serjabil and Abu Obeidah made him very anxious, being well aware of Thomas's valour. When he came near the gate, he found how things stood; Thomas had fallen violently upon the Saracens, and before he came out, commanded his men to give quarter to none but the general; the engines playing all the while upon the camp, being worked by the Jews in Damascus. Thomas was again engaged with his former adversary Serjabil. Aban's wife was among Serjabil's men, and did great execution with her bow and arrows, till she had spent them all but one, which she kept to make signs with as she saw occasion: presently one of the Christians advanced up towards her; she shot him in the throat, and killed him, and was then taken prisoner. Serjabil at last struck a violent stroke, which Thomas receiving upon his buckler, Serjabil's sword broke. Thomas thought himself sure of him, and had certainly either killed him, or taken him prisoner, but Abdarrhaman, and Aban, the son of Othman, who was afterwards caliph, came up at that instant with a regiment of fresh horse, and rescued both him and Aban's wife. Thomas, perceiving the Saracens came in so fast upon him, retired into the city. Abu Obeidah, as we said before, was posted at the gate Jabiyah; he was in his tent when the Christians first sallied out, and immediately went to prayers. Afterwards, whilst his men were engaged, he took a party, and got between the Christians and the city; so that they were surrounded, and charged on both sides. They made a quick despatch of them, for never a man that went out at that gate, returned again. And though those that sallied at the other gates escaped something better, yet the Christians had no reason to boast of any advantage, having lost that night several thousand men.

The Christians, being now quite disheartened, came about Thomas, with repeated entreaties to surrender; they told him, they had lost above half their men, and what were left were not sufficient for the defence of the town. At last they told him in plain terms, that he might manage as he pleased for himself, but for their parts they were resolved to get as good terms for themselves as they could. Thomas, however, endeavoured to persuade them to wait till he should write to the Grecian emperor, which accordingly he did without delay. The Saracens continued vigorously to press the siege, and reduced the inhabitants to very great straits, who every day made a worse defence. For a while at last, they begged of Kaled to stay the assault, that they might have a little time to deliberate. But he turned a deaf ear to them, for he had rather take the town by force, and put the inhabitants to the sword, and let his Saracens have the plunder, than that they should surrender, and have security for their lives and their property. But Abu Obeidah was of a quite different disposition, a well-meaning, merciful man, who had rather at all times that they should surrender, and become tributaries, than be exposed to any extremity; and this the besieged knew very well. One night, therefore, they sent out a messenger that understood Arabic, through the gate where Abu Obeidah was posted, who, calling to the sentinels, desired safe conduct for some of the inhabitants of Damascus to come to their master Abu Obeidah, in order to confer upon a capitulation. As soon as Abu Obeidah was informed of this, he was very much pleased, and sent Abu Hobeirah to the Damascenes, to assure them that they should have free liberty to go where they pleased. They asked him whether or no he was one of Mohammed's companions, that they might depend upon him? He told them that he was, but that made no difference; for if the meanest slave among those of his religion had given them security, it would have been all one, for he would have performed it, because God had said, in the book which he sent to their prophet Mohammed, "Perform your covenant, for that shall be called to an account."* Upon this, about a hundred of the chief of the citizens and clergy went out, and when they came near the camp, some of the Saracens met them, and, taking off their girdles, conducted them to Abu Obeidah's tent; who used them very civilly, and bid them sit down, and told them that his prophet Mohammed had commanded them to pay respect to persons of rank and quality. They were very glad to find him so courteous, and when they came to talk of terms, they first desired that their churches might be secured to them, and not in any way alienated. He granted them seven churches, and gave them a writing, but did not set his own name to it, nor any witnesses, because he was not general. Then he went, attended with about a hundred men, to take possession. When he came to the gates he demanded hostages; which being delivered, he entered into the city.

Kaled was altogether ignorant of this transaction, and was, at the very same time when this business was concluded, making a sharp assault at the east gate, being especially provoked at the loss of Kaled Ebn Saïd (the brother of Amrou Ebn Al Aas, by the mother's side), whom one of the besieged had shot with a poisoned arrow. In the meantime, there came to Kaled from the town one Josias a priest, who told him, that having been long conversant with ancient writings and prophecies, and especially the prophet Daniel, he was abundantly satisfied of the future greatness of the Saracenic empire; and proffered his service to introduce him and his army into the town, upon condition that Kaled would grant him security for him and his. Whether any conviction that he had met with in reading that prophet, or the desire he had to preserve himself, was the prevailing motive with him, I shall not determine. Neither did Kaled much trouble himself on this head, but gave him his hand as a pledge that he would perform the required condition, and sent with him an hundred men, most of them Homerites, (a warlike tribe of the Arabs) whom he ordered as soon as they had entered the city to cry out as loud as they could Allah Acbar, and make themselves masters of the gates, and break the bolts, and remove the chains, that he with the rest of the army might march into the city without any difficulty. This was accordingly performed. The poor Christians, as soon as ever they heard the Tecbir (so the Arabs call the exclamation, *Allah Acbar*), knew at once that the city was lost; and were seized with such an astonishment, that their very weapons fell out of their hands. Kaled entered at the east gate with his Saracens, putting all to the sword, and Christian blood streamed down the streets of Damascus. Thus they went on murdering all they found, till they came to St. Mary's church, where they met with Abu Obeidah and his company. When Kaled saw Abu Obeidah and his men in their march, and the priests and monks before them, and all the Saracens with their swords by their sides, not so much as one drawn, he wondered what was the matter. Abu Obeidah perceived in him tokens of dislike, and said, "God has delivered the city into my hands by way of surrender, and saved the believers the trouble of fighting." At which Kaled was very angry, and said, that he had taken it by the sword, and they should have no security. Abu Obeidah told him, that he had given them an article in writing, which they had here to show: "And how," said Kaled, "came you to agree with them, without acquainting me first? Did not you know me? Did not you know that I am your general, and master of your counsels? And therefore I will put them every one to the sword." But Abu Obeidah remonstrated with him saying, "I did not think, that when I had made an agreement, or designed to do anything, you would ever have contradicted me, or have gone about to make it void. But you shall not make it void, for I have given all these people my protection, and that in the name of God and his prophet; and all the Mussulmans that were with me liked it, and approved it, and we are not accustomed to be worse than our word."

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* Koran, chap. xvii. 36.

There was a great noise made on both sides, and Kaled would not abate his fury. The greedy Arabs that were with him were eager to fall on, and thirsted after blood and plunder. The poor inhabitants were now in a very calamitous condition, and all of them would have been murdered or made slaves, if Abu Obeidah had not stood their friend; who, seeing the Arabs fall on, killing some and taking others prisoners, was extremely concerned, and called out in a passion, "By Allah,* my word is looked upon as nothing, the covenant which I make is broken." Then he turned his horse, and rode about among the soldiers, and said, "I adjure you, by the apostle of God, that you meddle with none of them, till you see how Kaled and I can adjust this matter." With much difficulty he made them forbear. At last, the other generals came up, and they all went together into the church to debate this affair. Several inclined to the most merciful side, for which they gave this very weighty reason, viz. That there were a great many cities still to be taken, and if it should once be reported about the country, that the Saracens had broken their engagement, after they had given security, they could never expect any other place to surrender, but all would make the most obstinate defence imaginable. At last, some advised that Kaled should have the disposal of that part of the town which he had taken by the sword, and Abu Obeidah of that which he had taken upon articles; at least till such time as they could appeal to the caliph, and be determined by his sentence. This was so reasonable a proposal, that Kaled could not refuse it; so at last he consented that the people should have their protection, but that no quarter should be given to Thomas and Herbis, nor any of their soldiers. Abu Obeidah told him, that they were all included, and begged of him not to make any further disturbance about it.

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* Arab. "Wallah," an oath frequently used by the Arabs, who do not account it any profanation of the divine name to swear by it; but rather an acknowledgment of his omnipotence and omnipresence: and therefore we find it used by the most religious among them.

And now we have seen Damascus, the most noble and ancient city of Syria, taken by the Saracens. We must now leave a while the conquerors in possession, and the miserable inhabitants in their deplorable circumstances, and take a view of affairs at Medina. Abubeker* the caliph died the same day that Damascus was taken,† which was on Friday the 23d of August, in A.D. 634, and of the Hejirah the 13th.‡ There are various reports concerning his death; some say that he was poisoned by the Jews, eating rice with Hareth Ebn Caldah, and that they both died of it within a twelvemonth after.§ But Ayesha says, that he bathed himself upon a cold day, which threw him into a fever, of which he died within fifteen days.‖

During Abubeker's sickness he appointed Omar to say prayers publicly in his place; and when he perceived himself near his departure, he called his secretary, and gave him directions to write as follows:¶—

"In the name of the most merciful God.

"This is the testament of Abubeker Ebn Abu Kohafa, which he made at that time when he was just going out of this world, and entering into the other; a time in which the infidel shall believe, and the wicked person shall be assured, and the liar shall speak truth;** I appoint Omar Ebn Al Khattab my successor over you; therefore hearken to him, and obey him. If he does that which is right and just, it is what I think and know of him. If he does otherwise, every man must be rewarded according to his works. I intend to do for the best, but I do not know hidden things; but those who do evil shall find the consequences of it. Fare ye well, and the mercy and blessing of God be upon you."

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* Alwakidi.

† Elmakin. Respecting the date of the capture of Damascus, authorities differ, some placing it in A.D. 634, and others in A.D. 635. The duration of the siege, too, is equally uncertain, Elmakin stating it to be six months, while Abulfeda gives seventy days.

‡ Abulfeda.

§ Ahmod Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abdi Rabbihi and Abulfeda.

‖ Dr. Weil, on the authority of the Zaban, says, that this latter account is the most probable, it being related by Ayesha and Abdarrhaman, the son and daughter of Abubeker.

¶ Author of the History of the Holy Land, MS. Arab. Pocock. No. 362.

** That is, the infidel and the wicked shall then be assured of the reality of those things relating to a future state, which they disbelieved and ridiculed in their lifetime.

When he designed to make Omar his successor, Omar desired to be excused, and said he had no need of that place. To which Abubeker answered, that "The place had need of him," and so appointed him caliph against his will. Then he gave him such instructions as he thought proper; and when Omar was gone out of his presence, he lifted up his hand, and said, "O God! I intend nothing by this but the people's good. I have set over them the best man among them; and yet I fear lest there should be a difference among them. They are thy servants: unite them with thy hand, and make their affairs prosperous, and make him a good governor; and spread abroad the doctrine of the prophet of mercy, and make his followers good men."

Elmakin says, that Abubeker was the first that gathered together the scattered chapters of the Koran, and digested it into one volume: for in Mohammed's time they were only in loose and dispersed writings. But when in the war which they had with Moseilama, of which we have already given an account, a great many of those who could read and repeat the Koran were killed, Abubeker began to be afraid lest any part of it should be lost. He therefore gathered together what was extant in writing, or what any of the Mussulmans could repeat, and making one volume of it, called it Mushaph, which in the Arabic tongue signifies a book, or volume.* This book was committed to the custody of Hafsa, Omar's daughter, and one of Mohammed's wives. But Joannes Andreas, who was himself a Moor by birth, and alfaqui, or chief doctor of the Mussulmans in Sciatinia, in the kingdom of Valencia in Spain, and afterwards converted to the Christian religion in the year of our Lord 1487, says, that this collection was not made till the time of Othman, the third caliph after Mohammed. Eutychius, in his annals, says the same. I believe them both to be mistaken, because I find in

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* Abulfeda.

Abulfeda,* that Othman, when he came to be caliph, observing the variety of different readings which had grown into the text, copied this book which had been delivered to Hafsa, and abolished and destroyed all other copies which differed from it; obliging all the Mohammedans to receive this copy as the only authentic Koran. And it was this action of his, I am fully persuaded, that gave occasion to the report, that Othman was the first who gathered the chapters into one volume: a work of so much importance, that it can scarcely be believed to have escaped the zeal and diligence of Abubeker and Omar. [See reign of Othman.]

As to the person and character of this caliph,† he was a tall, lean man, of a ruddy complexion, and a thin beard, which to make it look more graceful, he used to tinge with such colours as are frequently used in the eastern countries for this purpose. He never hoarded any money in the public treasury; but every Friday at night he distributed all that there was among persons of merit; to the soldiers first, and after them to those that were any other way deserving. His chastity, temperance, and neglect of the things of this life, were exemplary. He desired Ayesha to take an account of all that he had gotten since he was caliph, and distribute it among the Mussulmans; being resolved not to be enriched by his preferment, but serve the public gratis. And this resolution he kept to, never having taken out of the public treasury, in return for all his services, more than three drachmas (a piece of gold in use among the Arabs at that time, the true value of which is now unknown to us). The value of his whole inventory amounted to no more than five of those drachmas; which, when Omar heard, he said, that Abubeker had left his successor a hard pattern.

It is usual with some authors, when they give characters of great men, to mention some of their sentences, or wise sayings; the Arabs have not been deficient in this particular. Nisaburiensis (called so from Nisabour, the metropolis of Khorassan, as it is most common for Arabic authors to be distinguished by the place of their birth as much as by their names) has collected in a little book the grave and witty sayings of Mohammed and his successors, and some of the kings of Persia. Among some others which he has recorded of Abubeker, there are these two very remarkable ones: "Good actions are a guard against the blows of adversity." And this: "Death is the easiest (or least considerable) of all things after it, and the hardest of all things before it."

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* Kitab Almoctaser phi Abbari'l bashar.

† Elmakin.

He was sixty-three years old when he died, having reigned two (lunar) years three months and nine days.

OMAR EBN AL KHATTAB, SECOND CALIPH AFTER MOHAMMED.

Hej. 13—23, A.D. 634—643.

ABUBEKER having by his last testament taken care of the succession, all that disturbance was prevented which had happened on the death of Mohammed. We do not find in any author, that Ali or his party made any opposition; but the same day that Abubeker died, Omar was invested with the regal and the pontifical dignity, and saluted by universal consent, "The caliph of the caliph of the apostle of God;" that is, "The successor of the successor of Mohammed." But when they considered that this title was something too long; and that at the coming on of every new caliph, it would grow longer still, they invented another, which should serve for all the caliphs to come, and that was, "Amiro'l Mumenina;" "Imperator Credentium," "Emperor of the Believers." And this title was ever afterwards used by all succeeding caliphs, Omar being the first that was ever called by it.

Being thus confirmed in his new dignity, Omar ascended the pulpit to make a speech to the people. He did not say much; but the substance of it was, "That he should not have taken such a troublesome charge upon himself, had it not been for the good opinion that he had of them, and the great hopes which he had conceived of their perseverance in their duty, and doing that which was commendable and praiseworthy." With this speech the inauguration was concluded, and all men went home well satisfied. The ceremony itself was simple enough, as in a government which was yet in its infancy, and had not as yet attained to that grandeur at which it afterwards arrived.

Omar having taken upon him the government, was desirous of nothing more than to make some conquests in Irak. With this view, he sent Abu Obeidah Ebn Masud with an army, joining to him Al Mothanna, Amrou, and Salit, who marched with their forces till they came to Thaalabiyah, where they pitched their tents near the river. Hereupon, Salit, after duly considering all things, and justly fearing that the forces of the Persians were too great for them to encounter, did what he could to persuade Abu Obeidah Ebn Masud not to cross the river.* He reminded him that the Persians were evidently much superior in numbers, and therefore it would be more advisable to reserve themselves for a fairer opportunity, retiring, in the meanwhile, into the deserts, and there secure themselves as well as they could, till they had sent to the caliph for fresh supplies. But Abu Obeidah was so far from being persuaded by what he said, that he called him coward. At this, Mothanna took him up, and told him, that what Salit had said was not the effect of cowardice, but that he had only laid before him what he thought the best and most prudent course. He added that he also was of the same opinion himself, and he bade him therefore have a care how he passed over to the enemies' side, lest he should plunge himself, and all that were with him, into peril, from which he would find it difficult to extricate them. But Abu Obeidah, deaf to all good counsel, and impatient of delay, commanded a bridge to be immediately made, and marched over his army. Salit and Mothanna, though they did not at all approve of his conduct, yet having offered him their best advice, though in vain, went over after him. The soldiers followed with a heavy heart, grieved at the rashness of their general, which they had just reason to fear would prove fatal to them.*

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* Major Price informs us, that on the death of Abubeker, the Persian government commenced formidable preparations for attacking the force under Mothanna, who at that time presided over the interests of the new religion in Irak. About the same time an unknown person appeared to this commander in a dream, and presenting him with a standard, announced the dissolution of the Persian empire, and required him to proceed immediately to Medina, to demand the assistance of Omar. Accordingly Mothanna repaired to the caliph for reinforcement; and as a proof that his fortunes were become the peculiar care of providence, we are told, that whilst he and his followers were on a journey through the desert, they lost their way; but in the midst of their perplexity and alarm, were suddenly and miraculously relieved by the voice of an invisible guide, which chanting in a melodious measure the triumph of Islamism, and the prostration of the standard of infidelity, re-conducted them to their proper road.

As soon as they were over the bridge, Abu Obeidah put his men in battle array, as well as the shortness of the time would permit, the Persian archers firing on them all the while, and grievously harassing the Mussulmans. However, Abu Obeidah having got a part of his troops in tolerable order, charged the Persians so furiously, that, being unable to keep their ground, they ran away in disorder. Abu Obeidah pursued them in full assurance of victory. But the Persians rallying, renewed their charge, and having killed Abu Obeidah Ebn Masud, routed the Mussulmans. Those that remained of them made up to the bridge; Mothanna all the while, behaving himself like an experienced captain, fought in the rear, and brought them off with as little loss as could be expected. At last they got over the bridge, and Mothanna after them; who was no sooner over than, to prevent the pursuit of the Persians, he ordered the bridge to be cut down.†

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* Price relates an account of a victory obtained by Abu Obeidah over a body of the enemy stationed on the frontiers of Persia, under the command of Jaban, a general of distinction. During the battle Jaban was the foremost in the ranks, killing several of the Mussulmans with his own hands; till suddenly, an Arabian warrior brought him to the earth, and bestriding his bosom, prepared to sever his head from his body. The fatal blow was suspended by a sudden cry of "La Illah," &c., "There is no God but God," from the lips of Jaban, who seized the awful pause to offer his victor a male and female slave of surpassing excellence, if he would spare his life: the Arab assented, and, accompanied by Jaban, joined his companions, who made him acquainted with the rank and importance of his captive, and observed, that if he had demanded two hundred slaves for a ransom, they would have been freely granted. The gallant Saracen declared his determination of being faithful to his engagement, whilst the Persian general rewarded his generosity, by doubling his ransom, and presenting him with the addition of two thousand dirhems. Jaban then became an immediate convert to Islamism, and subsequently arose to a distinguished eminence amongst the believers in the prophet.

† Price gives the following account of the death of Abu Obeidah. "In the conflict, the Mussulmans appear to have been thrown into confusion by the elephants disposed along the front of the Persian line, and particularly by one which was conspicuous for its singular whiteness and enormous bulk. Abu Obeidah, after making himself acquainted with the most vulnerable parts, resolved to attack this noble animal. On its back was seated a Persian of rank, in a rich and splendid amhaurah, and accompanied by several attendants, who, however, offered no obstacle to the intrepid

Mothanna having now secured himself, sent the caliph an account of the whole matter, acquainting him with Abu Obeidah's rashness in passing the river, with so small a number, and contrary to the opinion of all his officers, together with the success which had followed so unadvised an undertaking. In the meanwhile he remained quiet on the near side of the river, expecting further orders. The caliph commanded him to secure himself in his camp as well as he could, and not to stir till he should receive the supplies which he would raise for him with all possible expedition. Mothanna obeyed the order; and, without loss of time, the caliph despatched special messengers to the tribes of the Arabs, commanding them to raise men for the service, which they speedily performed. The newly-raised soldiers were mustered at Medina, and Jarir Ebn Abdallah was appointed their general, and sent with orders to join Mothanna and the rest of the forces, and, as opportunity should serve, give battle to the Persians. When Jarir had arrived at Thaalabiyah, where the rest of the army was, the combined forces marched to Dir Hind, where they encamped, and made frequent excursions, plundering and destroying that part of Irak, which lies next the river Euphrates. Arzemidocht, queen of the Persians, perceiving the great damage which she every day received from the Arabian army, thought it high time to look about her, and having chose out of all the cavalry twelve thousand of the best horse, and appointed Mahran their general, she sent them to repress the insolences and outrages of the Arabs. They marched to Hirah; where the Arabians having called back those troops which were gone to forage, met them. The two armies immediately joined battle. Mothanna fought amongst the thickest of the Persians, and was carried into the midst of their army, but bravely recovered himself, and returned to his own men. The Persians behaved themselves

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Mussulman. His first object was to cut the ropes that secured the amhaurah, which brought the riders headlong to the earth; and the animal now directing its fury against the daring assailant, the latter with a dexterous sweep of his scimitar, struck off the proboscis or trunk of the elephant; but while endeavouring to withdraw, the foot of Abu Obeidah slipping, he came to the ground, and the animal thus mortally wounded falling on the same spot, crushed him to death with the weight of his enormous carcase." See also *Malcolm's History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 171.

so well, that some of the Saracens began to give ground. Mothanna perceiving his Arabs flinch, tore his beard, labouring as much as in him lay, to stay the flight of his men, and to restore the battle, which in a great measure he accomplished. And then began a most furious engagement, which lasted from noon till sunset, neither party giving way or retreating. It is hard to say which side would have prevailed, had not the death of Mahran determined the dreadful issue. Mothanna meeting him in the battle, they fought hand to hand. Mahran first struck at Mothanna, but his sword did not pierce his armour: then immediately Mothanna gave him such a blow upon his shoulder, that he fell down dead. The Persians, having lost their general, were quite disheartened, quitted the field, and fled to Madayen. The Arabs, contented with the victory, did not pursue them far, but returned to take care of their wounded, and to bury their dead.

The Persian nobility, perceiving that the Sāracens were every way too strong for them, and had now made themselves masters of the borders of their country, and were very likely to seize more of it, began to be very uneasy, and laid all the blame upon their queen, Arzemidocht. In those eastern countries it is very common to measure things by success; and if things go ill, neither the grand seignior himself, nor the sultan of Persia, nor the emperor of the Moguls is safe from the murmurs, and oftentimes mutinies of their subjects. Though things be managed with all the care and circumspection that human capacity can be master of, yet if the success does not answer the expectations of an Eastern people, they never fail to complain of the mal-administration, and represent their princes as persons unfit for government, either from want of abilities, or from being unfortunate, in which matter the Eastern nations are extremely superstitious. This the queen of Persia experienced. For after this battle was lost, and things went ill on all sides, the next thing the people said, was, "This we get by suffering a woman to rule over us;" as if all their misfortunes had been owing to her mismanagement; or, as if they might not have met with the same ill success under the government of the wisest prince in the world. However, they considered nothing of this, but resolved to depose the poor queen; which they did, and placed Yezdejird upon the throne in her stead, a young man of the royal family, descended from Cosroes the son of Hormisdas. But they did not much mend the matter, the government of this new king of theirs being even more inauspicious than that of the queen; for, in her reign the confines of the empire were only invaded, but in his, all was entirely lost, and the whole kingdom and country of the Persians fell into the hands of the Mussulmans.

Yezdejird* being king,† forthwith raised an army out of the several provinces of his kingdom, and made Rustam their

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* Sir John Malcolm places the accession of Yezdejird in Hej. 11. A.D. 632. But Major Price, whose chronology we have followed where Ockley is not explicit, fixes it in Hej. 14. A.D. 635.

† Malcolm, in his History of Persia, relates that one of the first acts of Yezdejird on coming to the throne, was to send an envoy to Saad Ebn Wakass, who was at that time the general of the caliph's forces, employed against Persia. Saad, in compliance with a request communicated by the envoy, sent a deputation in return, consisting of three old Arab chiefs. When these were seated in the presence of Yezdejird, that monarch addressed himself to the principal person among them in the following words:—

"We have always," said he, "held you in the lowest estimation. Arabs have hitherto been only known in Persia as merchants and beggars. Your food is green lizards, your drink salt water, and your covering garments made of coarse hair. But of late you have come in numbers to Persia; you have eaten of good food, you have drank of sweet water, and have enjoyed the luxury of soft raiment. You have reported these enjoyments to your brethren, and they are flocking to partake of them. But, not satisfied with all the good things you have thus obtained, you desire to impose a new religion upon us, who are unwilling to receive it. You appear to me," continued the monarch, "like the fox of our fable, who went into a garden where he found plenty of grapes. The generous gardener would not disturb him. The produce of his abundant vineyard would, he thought, be little diminished by a poor hungry fox enjoying himself: but the animal, not content with his good fortune, went and informed all his tribe of the excellence of the grapes, and the good nature of the gardener. The garden was filled with foxes; and its indulgent master was forced to bar the gates, and put to death all the intruders, to save himself from ruin. However," said Yezdejird, "as I am satisfied you have been compelled to the line of conduct which you have pursued, from absolute want, I will not only pardon you, but load your camels with wheat and dates, that when you return to your native land you may feast your countrymen. But be assured, if you are insensible to my generosity, and remain in Persia, you shall not escape my just vengeance." The firm and pious envoy heard, unmoved, a speech that at once displayed the extreme of pride and weakness in the monarch by whom it was made. "Whatever thou hast said," he replied, "regarding the former condition of the Arabs is true. Their food was green lizards; they buried their infant daughters alive; nay, some of them feasted on dead carcases, and drank blood; while others slew their relations, and general, who was descended of a noble family, and had years and experience sufficient to recommend him to such a post. Yezdejird gave him orders to march to Hirah, where the Arabs lay; and at the same time sent another great army, under the command of Alharzaman, a Persian nobleman, to Ehwas, where Abu Musa Alashari, another of Omar's captains, was foraging and spoiling the country. But all to no purpose. As if the end of their empire was at hand, the Persians could have no success, but were forced to yield before the rising greatness of the Saracenic power.* These two

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thought themselves great and valiant when, by such an act, they became possessed of more property. They were clothed with hair garments, knew not good from evil, and made no distinction between that which is lawful and that which is unlawful. Such was our state; but God in his mercy has sent us, by a holy prophet, a sacred volume, which teaches us the true faith. By it we are commanded to war with infidels, and to exchange our poor and miserable condition for that of wealth and power. We now solemnly desire you to receive our religion. If you consent to this, not an Arab shall enter Persia without your permission; and our leaders will only demand the established taxes which all believers are bound to pay. If you do not accept our religion, you are required to pay the tribute fixed upon infidels; and should you reject both these propositions, you must prepare for war." Yezdejird was still too proud to attend to such degrading conditions of peace. The embassy was dismissed, and the war renewed with all the vigour of which the declining empire was capable; and, after various vicissitudes, ended fatally for the Persians.

* The battle of Cadesia, in which the death of Rustam took place, is too important to be passed over unnoticed. Price informs us, that the Persian army amounted to 120,000 men, whilst the Arabs under Saad Ebn Wakass only numbered 30,000. For three days the victory remained undecided; the first was called the day of concussion; the second was styled the day of succours, as on that day the Arabs were unexpectedly reinforced; and the third, in allusion to the carnage, was called the day of cormorants; and such was the desperate obstinacy with which the conflict was maintained through this last day, that it was continued on both sides by the light of flambeaux, through the whole of the ensuing night. This nocturnal conflict received the whimsical, though descriptive name of the night of barking, from the discordant clamours of the troops, resembling the inarticulate sounds of ferocious animals. On the fourth morning, the battle was again renewed with a fury and animosity which neither fatigue nor want of rest seemed sufficient to abate; but, at the hour of meridian prayer, an impetuous whirlwind broke away the canopy under which Rustam, on a throne of state, was viewing the action. The Persian general, unable to endure the heat of the sun, and clouds of sand and dust, withdrew to his baggage mules, and seated himself on the ground for shelter behind one of the animals. At this moment the empty throne attracted

Persian generals were killed, and both their armies entirely routed and defeated.*

the attention of Kaukia the son of Amrou; and at the same time one of his followers named Hullaul approached the mule, and cutting the fastenings which secured his load, let fall one of the bags of treasure on the loins of the ill-fated Rustam, who compelled by pain and imminence of danger, threw himself into a neighbouring rivulet. Attracted by his rich coat of mail and splendid tiara, Hullaul immediately pursued him, plunged into the stream, seized him by the heels, and striking off his head, fixed it on the point of his lance; then mounting the throne, he from thence proclaimed the defeat of the Persians and victory of the caliph. The booty was immense. But what gave its chief importance to the action, was the capture of the famous Darufsh-e-Kawanee, or the royal standard of the Persian empire; an event which was deemed both by Persians and Arabians a certain presage of the result of the war. It consisted of a leathern apron of a blacksmith, who, in ancient times had arisen to be the deliverer of Persia; but this badge of heroic poverty had, in the course of time, become enlarged to the almost incredible dimensions of twenty-two feet in length, and fifteen in breadth, and was disguised and almost concealed by a profusion of precious gems. See also Malcolm's Persia, vol. i. Price places the date of this battle in Hej. 15. A.D. 636. He further records that such was Omar's anxiety respecting the issue of the contest, that he was accustomed to walk several leagues every day on the road towards Arabian Irak. On one of these excursions he met the messenger riding on a camel with extraordinary expedition towards Medina, from whom he learned that the believers were triumphant, and their adversaries in the dust. In the exultation of his heart, the caliph ran by the side of the courier till he entered the town, when discovering the name and quality of his inquisitive fellow traveller, the messenger delivered the letters to Omar, who immediately read them aloud to the people to their infinite joy and gratification.

* Amongst the Mussulmans that distinguished themselves at the battle of Cadesia, Abu Midjan is particularly mentioned. While his associates were engaged in the conflict, this chieftain was imprisoned in the house of Saad for singing a wine song; and as he was seated on a terrace, with fetters on his legs, he could view the battle from the distance, but of course without being able to participate in the achievements of his fellow soldiers. At length his ardour could be restrained no longer, and he succeeded in persuading the wife of Saad to procure him the horse and armour of her husband, he promising at the same time to resume his fetters if he lived till the evening. He was soon engaged on the field, where his singular valour, and impetuous and irresistible career, excited the admiration and astonishment of all parties. Saad, the general, was soon attracted by his extraordinary prowess, and began to think it must be the immortal Enoch, or St. John the Evangelist himself, whilst his astonishment was not a little increased by noticing that the unknown warrior was arrayed in his armour, and riding his horse. At the end of the conflict Abu Midjan went back to his prison, and resumed his fetters; whilst Saad, returning to his wife, told her how the battle would have been lost if an intrepid stranger, either a

And now the series of our history requires us to return to the Damascenes, whom we left just at that time when Abu Obeidah Ebn Al Jerath had with the greatest difficulty and most earnest entreaty prevailed on Kaled to ratify the articles which he had made with the besieged. Having at last with much ado succeeded in this, he told them that they were at their liberty to go where they pleased; but reminded them, that when they were out of the bounds of that part of the country which was taken by the Mussulmans, they were also out of their protection, and free from any article or agreement whatsoever. Not content with this, the Christians desired their protection for the space of three days, which way soever they went, and that none of the Saracens should pursue them during that time; after which they must be

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man or angel, had not been sent by the Almighty to their assistance, who had changed the fortune of the day. The wife of Saad then ventured to disclose to him the whole of the mystery, and the general rushing to the fettered chieftain, immediately released him, and presenting him with his horse and armour, promised never more to punish him for enjoying wine; whereupon Abu Midjan replied thus, "I drank as long as I knew that the scourge of an earthly magistrate could cleanse me of my sin, but now that I am consigned to the tribunal of God, I drink no more." It seems that a short time previously Omar had ordered Abu Midjan to be scourged for drinking wine, and banished him to an island, but he escaped from them, and fled to the army in Irak.

Musudi has preserved the song of Abu Midjan, which we thus translate from the German version of Dr. Weil :—

"When the angel of death shall close my eye
Let my grave be midst the vines on the hill;
For though deep in the earth my bones may lie,
The juice of the grape shall nourish them still.

"Oh, bury me not in unfruitful land,
Or death to me will be terror and gloom,
Whilst fearless and bold I shall wait his hand
If cheered by the hope of the vine's perfume."

Several years afterwards a son of Abu Midjan's once went to the caliph Moawyah, who said to him, "Art thou the son of that man who wished to be buried in a vineyard ?" repeating the above verses. "If you will allow me," the son replied, "I will read to you some very different verses of my father." Accordingly, with Moawyah's permission, he recited a poem in which he estimates virtue and courage above riches. It is related that upon Abu Midjan's grave three vine-trees were planted, which bore beautiful fruit.—See *Price's Mohammedan History;* and *Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen, &c.*

content to take their fortune. To which proposal Kaled consented, but told them withal, that they should carry nothing with them out of the city but provision; which provoked Abu Obeidah afresh, who answered, that to use them so would still be a breach of promise, he having engaged to give them leave to go out with bag and baggage. "Then," said Kaled, "if they have that, they shall have no arms." To which Herbis answered, that they must have arms, it being impossible for them to travel safely without. Abu Obeidah said, "Then let every one of them have something; he that has a lance shall have no sword, and he that takes a bow shall have no lance;" with which they were pretty well contented. Thomas and Herbis were the captains of this unhappy caravan, who had now lost all but what they could carry away; and instead of lofty and stately palaces, pleasant gardens, and delicious fare, must be glad to shift about where they can, and expose themselves to all the difficulties and hazards of a tedious journey, without any regard to age, sex, or degree. The tender and delicate lady, that once scarcely knew how to set her foot upon the ground, must now be forced to go through inhospitable deserts and craggy mountains, deprived not only of her superfluities, but of all the conveniences, and even the very necessaries of life. Thomas pitched a tent on the outside of the city, and ordered his men to bring the best of the things, the plate, jewels, silk, and the like, into it, in order to pack them up and carry them away. The Emperor Heraclius had then in Damascus a wardrobe, in which there were above three hundred loads of dyed silks and cloths of gold, which were all packed up. The poor miserable wretches took every one what they could any way carry, of the best things they had, and made all possible haste to be gone. Damascus, once their joy and delight, could now no more be thought on without regret. The emperor's daughter went out among the rest which followed Thomas and Herbis. Derar (who was vexed at the heart because Abu Obeidah had let them come off so well) stood by as they went out, and gnashed his teeth for spite and indignation. The princess thought that the reason of his anger was because of the spoil, and said to him as she passed by, "What is the reason, Derar, that you mutter thus? Do not you know that with God there are more and better things than these are?" Derar swore that it was not the plunder that he valued; but what vexed him was the people's escaping, and not being all murdered; adding, that Abu Obeidah had done a great injury to the Mussulmans in giving them quarter. Athi Ebn Ammar hearing him say so, answered, "That Abu Obeidah had done for the best in preventing the effusion of the blood of the Mussulmans (the most sacred thing under the sun), and giving them rest from their labours. Besides, God has made the hearts of the true believers the seat of mercy, and those of the infidels the seat of cruelty. And God has said in some of the inspired books, that he was most merciful; and that he would not show mercy but only to the merciful." Then he quoted a passage in the Koran, to prove that agreement was better.* Derar told him, that he talked like an honest man, but he swore that, for his part, he would never have mercy upon any that said that God had a son, and joined a partner with God. Those of the citizens who chose to stay behind, and be tributaries, having remained, the rest, which were by far the greater number, went away, Thomas and Herbis having paid Abu Obeidah what had been covenanted for, as the ransom of their lives and liberties. But we must leave this miserable company on their march for a short time, and prepare our ears for a very remarkable relation.

Kaled (O bloody and insatiable Saracen!), when he saw these poor wretches carry away the small remainder of their plentiful fortunes, felt a great deal of regret. So mortally did he hate the Christians, that to see one of them alive was death to him. What does he do? Why, he orders his men to keep themselves and their horses in good condition, telling them, that after the three days were expired (for so long only had they a safe conduct) he designed to pursue them. And he said his mind told him that they should still overtake them, and have all the plunder; "and," says he, "they have left nothing valuable behind them, but have taken along with them all the best of their clothes, and plate, and jewels, and whatever is worth carrying." Having thus prepared for his journey, another dispute arose between him and the townsmen that stayed behind, concerning a quantity of wheat and barley. The townsmen who had surrendered to Abu

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* Koran, chap. iv. 27.

Obeidah said that it belonged to them; Kaled said that it was his (and so indeed was everything of the Christians that he could lay his hands upon). Abu Obeidah, who was always more courteous to the Christians than could have been expected from a Saracen, took the citizens' part. The contention grew so high, that they had like once more to have fallen together by the ears, till at last it was settled that they should write to Abubeker about it, of whose death they had not yet received the news. This disturbance detained Kaled from pursuing the poor Damascenes. And as now four days and as many nights had passed since they went away, he had but little hopes of overtaking them; for he was well assured that they would as soon as possible secure themselves in some walled town. He would, therefore, have quite laid aside the thoughts of following them, had it not been for the following unfortunate circumstance.

The reader may be pleased to remember, that during the siege, Derar Ben Alazwar had two thousand men given him, with whom he was ordered to ride round about and survey the camp, lest they should be surprised, either by any succours from the emperor, or sallies from the town. It chanced one night, as some of these men were upon duty, they heard a horse neigh, which came out of the gate Keisan. They stood still, and let him alone till he came up close to them, and took his rider prisoner. Immediately after, there came another horseman out of the same gate, who called the man that was taken prisoner by his name. The Saracens bade him answer him, that he also might come up and be taken by them. But instead of this, the prisoner cried out aloud in Greek, " The bird is taken." The person he spoke to understood his meaning very well, and returned back into the city, but the Saracens could not tell what he said; all that they knew was, that by his means they had lost another prisoner. Upon which they had like to have killed him, but upon better consideration they resolved to carry him to the general Kaled, for him to dispose of him at his pleasure. Kaled asked him what he was. " I am," said he, " a nobleman; and I married a young lady, whom I loved as my life; and when I sent for her to be sent home to me, her parents gave me a very contemptuous answer, and said that they had something else to do. Wherefore I took a convenient opportunity of speaking with her, and we agreed to come out together in the evening, and for this purpose I gave a good round sum of money to him that was upon the guard that night. I coming out first, was surprised by your men, and to prevent her falling into your hands, I called out, 'The bird is taken;' she, apprehending my meaning, went back with the two servants that were with her; and who can blame me?" "Well," said Kaled, "and what have you to say to the Mohammedan religion? If you like that, when we take the city you shall have your wife; if not, you are a dead man." The poor wretch being surprised, and not having faith enough to die a martyr, renounced his Christianity, and made confession of his Mohammedanism in these words, "I testify that there is but one God; he has no partner; and Mohammed is the apostle of God." Then he was entirely theirs, and used to fight among them valiantly. When the city was surrendered, he went with all speed to find his beloved. Upon inquiry, he received information that she had shut herself up in a nunnery, which was true enough; for she never expected to see him more, after he was once fallen into the hands of the Saracens; and since all her joy and delight in this world was gone, she resolved to spend the rest of her days in the contemplation of a better one. He, however, goes to the church where she was, expecting to be received with abundance of joy; but in this he was very much deceived; for he no sooner made himself known, and acquainted her with the change of his religion, but she treated him with the utmost contempt and aversion, justly thinking that he, who had first renounced his Christianity, ought himself to be renounced by her; nor did the remembrance of former love, nor the consideration of the extremity which had obliged him to it, move her, nor beget in her one softer thought towards him; but she continued firm in her resolution to bid adieu to all the enjoyments of this present life, and never to converse with him any more. Wherefore, when Thomas and Herbis, attended with the rest of the miserable Damascenes, went away, she went along with them. Her departure wounded her husband (Jonas) to the heart; he very much pressed Kaled to detain her by force; who answered, that since they had surrendered themselves, it could not be done; but they must all of them have free liberty to go where they pleased. Here then is the main-spring of this action. As soon as Jonas understood that Kaled had a design of pursuing the Damascenes, he was very forward, and teased him to go, and proffered his service to be their guide. But, as we have said before, Kaled, who was willing to pursue them after three days were expired, was obliged to stay longer upon the account of the controversy concerning the corn; and therefore he thought four days too much advantage on their side, and would most certainly have laid aside all thoughts of it, if it had not been for the incessant importunity of this wretched apostate, who was resolved to gratify his own humour, though it were by betraying into the hands of merciless and unrelenting Saracens thousands of his innocent countrymen, women, and children, who had already suffered so grievously under the calamities and distresses of a consuming war. However, nothing would satisfy him but this woman; and when Kaled told him they were too far gone, he never ceased spurring him forwards, telling him that he knew all the country, and the nearest way to follow them; and whatever else he could think on to encourage the undertaking. Kaled, who of himself was never loath to go about anything that afforded the least prospect of success, yielded to his importunity, and so the journey was concluded upon.

Kaled chose out four thousand of the best horse, which Jonas ordered to be clothed in the habit of Christian Arabs, that, as they had to travel through the enemy's country, they might pass unsuspected. Then, committing the care of the town and army to Abu Obeidah, they departed. It was no hard matter to follow such a great multitude of people as went out of Damascus, for besides that the footsteps of their mules were visible enough, they scattered things enough in their hasty flight to direct the pursuit of those who came after. The Saracens kept riding night and day, and never stood still, but only in prayer time. For a long time together they could trace them very plainly, but at last there appeared no footsteps at all, nor any signs by which they might form the slightest guess which way they were gone. "What's the news now?" said Kaled to Jonas. "Oh," says he, "they are turned out of the great road, for fear of being pursued; you are in a manner as sure of them as if you had already taken them." So he turns them out of the high road, and leads them among the mountains, where travelling was wretchedly bad. The way was so extremely rough and uneven, that they could not ride without the greatest hazard. The horses struck fire at every step, or beat off their shoes, and battered their hoofs to pieces. It being absolutely unsafe for them to ride, they were forced to alight, and even then they could scarcely proceed on foot, and those who had strong boots on had the soles torn off from the upper leathers. The Saracens, though used to a great many hardships, began to murmur, and to wish themselves again in the right road. In short, every man, except the indefatigable lover, was heartily tired. Kaled himself could not tell what to think, but complained to Jonas, telling him that it was all his doing that they were in this unpleasant situation. At last, perceiving a great many footsteps, they felt confident that they were on the right track. Upon this Kaled called to his men to mend their pace, but they told him they were quite tired and worn out, and must of necessity stay a while and bait, before they proceeded any further. When, therefore, they had refreshed their horses, they went on, being mistaken by the country people wherever they passed for Christian Arabs. When, however, the guide brought them to Jabalah and Laodicea, they were afraid to pass through those towns, lest they should be discovered. At last Jonas inquired of a countryman about the fugitives, and was told that the emperor having heard that they were upon their march towards Antioch, and fearing lest by their coming, and giving a terrible account of the terrors of the siege and the courage of the Saracens, his own soldiers should be disheartened, had sent an express to forbid them to come any nearer to Antioch, and to command them to go to Constantinople. He told him also, that the emperor was raising forces to send to Yermouk.* When Jonas had received this intelligence, he was greatly at a loss what to do. Kaled now inquired of him the news, and he told him that there was no hope of overtaking the fugitives, and besides, that there was but one mountain between them and the place where the emperor's officers were raising forces to send against them. As soon as Kaled heard him mention the forces, he turned as pale as ashes. Derar, who in all his lifetime had never before observed in him any signs of fear, asked him what was the matter. "Alas," says he, "it is not that I fear death, or anything that may befall myself, but because I am afraid lest the emperor's forces should get to Damascus in my absence, and do our people some mischief. And I am the more anxious because of a dream which I had not long since, and cannot tell the meaning of." Upon this one of the men asked him what it was, and when he had told it, Abdarrhaman, soldier like, interpreted it in favour of the Saracens, and accordingly they continued their march. In the next night there fell much rain, which put them to a great deal of inconvenience, but the poor Damascenes to much more. In the morning, however, after a tedious march, the latter came upon a pleasant meadow, and the sun shone cheeringly upon them. Glad of the opportunity, they sat down to rest their weary limbs, and spread out their wet clothes to dry. A great many of them, quite tired and fatigued, lay down to sleep.

In this posture the pursuers found them. And to the Saracens also the sight of the meadow was so pleasant and diverting, especially after they had been so harassed with that dismal journey through the rocks and mountains, that they had like to have forgot what they came about. There they saw the purling streams, the fine flowers, and unspeakable variety of rich silks and all sorts of colours, curiously wrought, spread all over the meadow; all which together afforded them a very entertaining prospect, extremely delightful and refreshing. In preparation for the attack, Kaled divided his four thousand men into four regiments. The first was commanded by Derar Ebn Alazwar, the second by Rafi Ebn Omeirah, the third by Abdarrhaman, Abubeker's son. Kaled himself brought up the fourth, having first charged the officers that they should not make their appearance all at once, but follow one another at short intervals, as by this way they were most likely to strike terror into the Damascenes. This was a stratagem frequently used by the Saracens, both in their pitched battles and in their sieges. He next bade them not to begin till they had seen him fall on, and not to touch any of the plunder till the fight was over. After a short pause, Kaled, beginning the attack more like a lion or a tiger than a man, bade his men fall upon the enemies of God. The Christians quickly recognised them, but seeing but a few of them at first, they despised the smallness of their numbers, and prepared to fight. Thomas and Herbis having encouraged their men, and put them in as good order as the time would permit, the former engaged Kaled with five thousand men, and after a sharp conflict was killed, and his men routed. As soon as Abdarrhaman saw Thomas fall from his horse, he alighted, and cut off his head, and putting it upon the point of the standard of the cross, called out, "Alas for you, you Grecian dogs, here's your master's head."

Whilst they were thus engaged, it is no hard matter to guess what was become of Jonas. He too was engaged, but after a different manner, being among the women, in search of his lady. As Rafi Ebn Omeirah was riding along, he saw him at a distance fighting with his lady, and at last throw her violently against the ground, and take her prisoner. Whilst Rafi was making up to them, the women stood upon their defence, and assaulted him with a shower of stones. At last a young lady happened to hit his horse in the forehead, and killed it. Rafi ran after her with his sword drawn, and was just about to strike off her head, when she cried "Quarter," and he took her prisoner. She was a person of no less dignity than the emperor's daughter, and the wife of Thomas—a princess of incomparable features, richly dressed, and adorned with many jewels. When Rafi had safely disposed of this valuable prize, he came to the place where Jonas was, and found him bathed in tears, and his lady weltering in blood. Upon Rafi inquiring what was the matter, Jonas wrung his hands, and said, "Alas for me, the most miserable man in the world! I came to this woman, whom I loved above all things in this life, and would fain have persuaded her to return with me; but she continuing obstinate because I had changed my religion, and vowing she would go to Constantinople, and there end her days in a nunnery, I resolved therefore, as I could not persuade her by fair means, to make myself master of her by force; so I threw her down, and took her prisoner. When she saw that she was in my power, she sat quietly for a while, but then secretly drawing out a knife, she stabbed herself in the breast before I could be aware of her intention, and fell down dead immediately." Rafi, hearing this lamentable story, wept too, and said, "God did not design that you should live with her, and therefore has provided better for you." "What's that?" said Jonas. "I'll show you," answered Rafi, "a prisoner I have taken, a person of admirable beauty, and richly dressed, whom, to recompense you for your loss, I will present to you." When they came together, Jonas and the princess talked together in Greek, and Rafi freely gave her to him.

In the meantime Kaled was employed in searching for Herbis. At last, seeing a tall and powerful man richly dressed, and taking him at the moment to be the antagonist he was in quest of, he beat him down to the ground with his lance, saying, "Alas for thee, Herbis, didst thou think to escape me?" The man, who could speak Arabic, told him that he was not Herbis, but if he would spare him he would give him more than he was aware of. "No quarter," says Kaled, "unless you direct me to Herbis, that I may kill him; but if you do this, I will let you go your way without ransom." "Well," says the man, "I'll tell you; but first make a firm agreement with me, that if I show you where he is you will let me go." "Yes," says Kaled, "if he falls into my hands." "This is one of your tricks," said the Christian, "just as you gave us security and protection, and then afterwards followed us to this place, when we never expected any one should have pursued us; so in the same manner you now tell me that if Herbis falls into your hands, you will let me go. I can tell you where he is, but how can I promise that he shall fall into your hands?" At this Kaled was angry, and said, "Thou Christian dog! dost thou accuse us of breach of promise, who are the companions of the apostle of God? When we promise anything, we are as good as our word. We did not come out after you till the fourth day was expired." With this explanation the Christian being satisfied, desired him to get off from him, that he might show him where Herbis was, for Kaled, after he had once beaten him down, sat upon him all the while. Being permitted to rise, he looked about a while, and pointing out to Kaled a party of horse at a distance, told him that Herbis was among them. Kaled, upon this, called a Saracen to him, and bade him take care of the Christian, whom he assured that if Herbis was among that company, he should be let go, but if he was caught in a lie, he should lose his head. When Kaled reached the spot which had been pointed out to him, he dismounted, and betook himself to his sword and target; and whilst he was fighting among the thickest of the Christians, Herbis came behind him, and gave him such a blow that he cleaved his helmet through to his turban, but with the violence of the stroke his sword fell out of his hand. At this juncture Kaled's men came in to his assistance, and falling upon the Christians, cut them all to pieces. When they had thus slaughtered every one of those miserable creatures, who had escaped at the taking of Damascus, Kaled called for the man that had shown him the way to Herbis, and told him, that since he had performed what he had promised, the Saracens, on their part, would do the same to him; only they were obliged first to exhort and admonish him. Accordingly Kaled asked him whether he could find in his heart to become "one of the fasting and praying people, the followers of Mohammed?" Upon his refusing to change his religion, they dismissed him, and he took the road towards Constantinople. Of all the numerous train that followed Thomas and Herbis out of the gates of Damascus, he was the only one, so far as the Saracens knew, that escaped being killed or taken prisoner.

Kaled, when he came back, asked Jonas what was become of his wife; who gave him an account of that dismal story which we have already related. When he heard of the princess who had been taken prisoner, he commanded her to be brought into his presence; and when he beheld her excellent beauty, fair proportion, and agreeable mien, he turned away his head, and said, "Glory be to thee, O God! we praise thee, who createst what thou pleasest." Then he told Jonas that if the emperor did not redeem her, he should have her. Jonas thankfully accepted his present, and the same time reminded Kaled that they were in a difficult country, and that it was high time to be marching, for they might be sure that what they had done would be noised about the country, and that it would not be long ere they were pursued. And in fact, before they got back to Damascus, they saw a cloud of dust behind them. Upon which Kaled despatches a scout to reconnoitre the party that was following them. The scout having discovered the crosses in the colours, brought him word quickly that it was a body of Christians. Contrary, however, to the expectation of the Saracens, they had no hostile intentions; but an old man, advancing before the rest of his party, requested to be conducted to the general of the Saracens, whom he begged in the emperor's name to liberate the princess his daughter. Kaled, having advised with Jonas about it, consented to let her go; saying to the old man, "Tell your master that there will never be any peace between him and me till I have gotten every foot of land he has; and though I have sent him his daughter now, I hope one of these days to have himself in her stead."

Not long after this they reached Damascus, where they were the more welcome, the more their long absence had made their friends there despair of their return. Old Abu Obeidah was surprised at Kaled's valour. The latter, reserving a fifth part of the spoils to be sent to the caliph, and put into the public treasury, according to the precept in the Koran,* distributed the rest among the soldiers. He gave Jonas a good round sum to buy him a wife. But, in a very melancholy tone, Jonas assured him that he would never entertain any such thoughts again in this world, but his next wife should be one of those black-eyed women mentioned in the Koran.† He continued among the Saracens, and did them great service on many occasions, till at last, at the battle of Yermouk, he was shot through the breast. Thus fell the apostate. However, for the encouragement of proselytes, my author (for more sorts of people than one will lie for religion) tells us, that after he was dead, he was seen in a vision by Rafi Ebn Omeirah very richly clothed, and with gold shoes upon his feet, walking in a most beautiful verdant meadow; and on being asked by Rafi what God had done for him, he answered, that he had given him seventy young women, so bright and beautiful, that if any one of them should appear in this world, the sun and moon would be dimmed before the resplendency of her beauty. When Kaled heard of this vision, he said, "This it is to be a martyr, happy is he that attains to it."

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* Chap. viii. 15.

† Chap. lii. 19; lvi. 22.

Kaled, not having yet received advice of Abubeker's death, wrote a letter to acquaint him with the taking of Damascus, the controversy between him and Abu Obeidah, and the recovery of the spoil which the Damascenes had carried away. The messenger, being come to Medina, wondered to find Omar in Abubeker's stead; and Omar, on his part, finding the letter directed to Abubeker, was no less surprised that the Saracens in Syria should be still ignorant of the change in the government, and told the messenger that he had written to Abu Obeidah about it, and, superseding Kaled, had given him the chief command over the Mussulmans in Syria, though he believed that Abu Obeidah was not over-anxious for so responsible a post. The truth of it is, Abu Obeidah had received the letter, but kept it private; for being a very modest man, and one that had not the least spark of ambition in him, he was very unwilling to take the commission out of Kaled's hands. He therefore took no notice of it to Kaled, nor said anything to hinder his writing to the caliph upon his return from the pursuit of the Damascenes. Omar, in short, respected Abu Obeidah for his piety, but had no opinion at all of Kaled.

One day as the caliph was speaking to the people from the pulpit (for at this time it was usual for the caliphs to talk about all public concerns in a very familiar manner to the people), he mentioned his taking away Kaled's commission, and conferring that charge upon Abu Obeidah. Upon this a young man among those present took the liberty to tell him that he was surprised he should deprive a person like Kaled, who had been the instrument of such signal successes to the Mussulmans; and especially when Abubeker, though many about him urged him to depose Kaled, refused, answering, "That he would not lay aside nor sheath that sword which God had drawn for the assistance of the true religion." Lastly, the youth told Omar that if he did depose him, he must answer for it to God. Omar made but very little answer, but coming down from the pulpit, considered of it that night. The next day he came again, and told them, that since the care and charge of the Mussulmans was committed to him, he thought himself bound to take the best care of them he could, as one that must one day render account. For that reason he was resolved to dispose of places of trust to such as deserved them, and not to such as did not. Therefore he would give the command of the army to Abu Obeidah, whom he knew to be a man of a tender and gentle disposition, and one that would be kind to the Mussulmans. "He did not approve of Kaled," he said, "because he was prodigal and extravagant;" adding, "I would not have your enemies think that it is at all the better for them because I have deposed a fierce man, and put a mild one in his place, for God will be with him, to assist and strengthen him." Upon this he came down from the pulpit, and taking a sheet of parchment, wrote to Abu Obeidah a long letter, full of good advice. He told him that he had given him the chief command of the army, and hoped he would not be too modest, but accept the appointment, and bade him take care not to expose the Mussulmans to danger from any hope of getting plunder. (In these last words he very plainly implied his displeasure with Kaled for following the Damascenes into the enemy's country.) He then charged him not to be deceived with this present world, and by that means, like a great many before him, lose his soul: and bade him look upon those who had already gone the way of man, and assure himself that he must follow them. Then he went on to add, "As for the wheat and barley, it belongs to the Mussulmans, and so does the gold and silver, but there must be a fifth taken out of it.* As for the controversy between you and Kaled concerning the city having been surrendered or taken by the sword, it was surrendered. You must have it your way; you are commander-in-chief, and have the power of determining that matter. If, then, the townsmen did surrender upon condition that they should have the wheat and barley, let them have it. As for Kaled's pursuing the Damascenes, it was a rash enterprise, and if God had not been very merciful, he would not have come off so well. Then again the taking the emperor's daughter prisoner, and afterwards letting her go unransomed, was prodigally done. You might have had a large sum of money for her, which would have done much benefit to the poor Mussulmans. Farewell," &c.

Having sealed it up, he called Shaddad Ben Aus, and ordered him to proceed to the army, where, after publicly reading the letter, he was forthwith to cause the Mussulmans to proclaim him caliph in Damascus, upon which occasion he was to be his representative. Shaddad Ben Aus, accompanied by Amrou Ben Abi Wakkas, made all haste to get to Damascus, where he went at once to Kaled's tent, and having paid his respects, told him how the government was disposed of, and that he had a letter from the new caliph, which was to be read in the hearing of the Mussulmans. Kaled did not like that very well, for he knew that Omar was not well affected towards him. And while they all wept when they heard of Abubeker's death, Kaled swore "That as there was nothing upon the earth dearer to him than Abubeker, so there was none for whom he had a greater aversion than for Omar. However, since Abubeker was dead, and had appointed Omar his successor, he was quite willing to submit to God and to Omar." Then the letter was read, and the same day being the first of October, in the year of our Lord 634, Shaddad was proclaimed caliph at Damascus as Omar's representative. Upon this Kaled resigned his commission, and Abu Obeidah took upon himself the whole charge of the army, and all the affairs of the Mussulmans in Syria. Abu Obeidah was afraid that Kaled would have taken disgust at his removal, and (what is generally the effect of want of encouragement) have been remiss in his duties. But he fully allayed all such suspicion by his great achievements in the action at Dair Abi'l Kodas, or "The Monastery of the Holy Father."*

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* Koran, chap. viii. 15.

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* Major Price, who fixes the date of the capture of Damascus in Hej. 14. A.D. 635, informs us that the siege was proceeding at the time of Abubeker's death. The original authorities from whom he quotes also state, that in the heat of action with a very superior force of the enemy, a messenger from Medina privately announced to Kaled that Abubeker was no more. With that presence of mind which in the crisis of danger never forsook this daring and intrepid chief, he seized the opportunity of deriving from the incident the only advantage of which it was capable. He proclaimed to his followers, that the messenger announced the approach of a powerful reinforcement of twelve thousand of their gallant brethren; and whilst the intelligence circulated, and inspired fresh confidence through the army, he secretly demanded from the messenger who it was that had succeeded to the sovereignty of the Mussulmans, and was told that Omar was now caliph. "Then am I superseded," said Kaled; to which the messenger replied in the affirmative, and told him that the command of the army had devolved on Abu Obeidah. Notwithstanding, however, these

Dair Abi'l Kodas lies between Tripoli and Harran. In this place there lived a priest eminent to such a degree for his singular learning, piety, and austerity of life, that young and old, rich and poor, used to frequent his house, to ask his blessing, and receive his instructions. There was no person, whatsoever his rank or quality, that thought himself happy if he had not his prayers; and whenever a young couple among the rich and noble were married, they never failed to seek his blessing. Every Easter a great fair was kept at his house, where they sold rich silks and satins, plate and jewels, and costly furniture of all sorts. Now it happened that Abu Obeidah, being in possession of Damascus, was at a loss to decide whither he should go next. One time he had thoughts of turning to Jerusalem; another, to Antioch. Whilst he was thus deliberating, a Christian who was living under the protection of the Saracens, informed him of this great fair, which was held about thirty miles distant from Damascus. When he learned that the fair was usually held without any guards, the hopes of an easy conquest, and large spoil, tempted him. Looking round about upon the Mussulmans, he asked which of them would undertake to command the forces he should send upon such an expedition; and at the same time, cast his eye upon Kaled, but was ashamed to command him that had been so lately his superior officer. Kaled understood his meaning; but having been laid aside was a little envious, so that he would not proffer his service. At last Abdallah Ebn Jaafar (whose mother, after the death of his father Jaafar, who was killed in the wars, was remarried to Abubeker,) offered himself. Abu Obeidah accepted him cheerfully, and gave him a standard and five hundred horse, of whom there was never a man but had been in several battles. The Christian who had first informed them of this fair was their guide, and whilst they stayed to rest themselves in their march, he went forward to take a view of the fair. He brought back a very discouraging account; for there had never been such a fair seen before, "There," he told them, "was a most prodigious

unfavourable considerations, Kaled urged his troops with fresh ardour against the Greeks, and obtained a complete victory; after which he repaired to Abu Obeidah, apprized him of the succession of Omar and his own degradation, and quietly resigned his authority."

number of people, abundance of clergy, officers, courtiers, and soldiers." The occasion which had brought together this unusual concourse was, that the prefect of Tripoli had married his daughter to a great man, and they had brought the young lady to this reverend priest, to receive the communion at his hands. He added, that taking them altogether, Greeks, Armenians, Coptics, Jews, and Christians, there could be no fewer than ten thousand people, besides five thousand horse, which formed the lady's guard. Abdallah asked his friends what they thought of it? They told him that it was the best way to go back again, and not to rush headlong into certain destruction. To which he answered, "That he was afraid, if he should do so, God would be angry with him, and reckon him amongst the number of those who are backward in his service; and so he should be miserable. I am not," said he, "willing to go back before I fight; and if any one will help me, God reward him; if not, I shall not be angry with him." The rest of the Saracens hearing that were ashamed to flinch from him, and told him he might do as he pleased, they were ready at his command. "Now," says Abdallah to the guide, "come along with us, and you shall see what the companions of the apostle of God are able to perform." "Not I," answered the guide, "go yourselves; I have nothing to say to you." Abdallah persuaded him, with a great many good words, to bear them company till they came within sight of the fair. Having conducted them as far as he thought fit, he bade them stay there, and lie close till morning. In the morning they consulted which way to attack them to the best advantage. Omar Ebn Rebiyah thought it most advisable to wait till the people had opened their wares and the fair had been begun, and then to fall upon them when they were all employed. This advice was approved by all. Abdallah divided his men into five troops, and ordered them to charge in five different places, and not to regard the spoil, nor the taking of prisoners, but to put all to the sword. When they came near the monastery, they saw the Christians assembled around it in great numbers. The reverend father had begun his sermon, and they thronged on all sides to hear him. The young lady was in the monastery, and her guard stood round about it, with a great many of the nobility and officers richly clothed. When Abdallah saw this number of people, he was not in the least discouraged, but turned himself about to the Saracens, and said, "The apostle of God has said, that paradise is under the shadow of swords; either we shall succeed, and then we shall have all the plunder, or else die, and so, the next way to paradise." These words were no sooner out of his mouth, than he fell upon the crowd, and made a bloody slaughter. When the Christians heard the shouts of the Saracens, crying, "Allah Acbar," they were amazed and confounded, imagining that the whole Saracen army had come from Damascus, and fallen upon them; which put them at first into a most terrible consternation. But when they had taken time to consider and look about themselves a little, and saw that there was but a handful of men, they took courage, and hemmed them in round on every side, so that Abdallah and his party were like a little island in the midst of the ocean.* As soon as Abdallah Ebn Anis (the reader is desired to observe the distinction of names, for a great many of them are very much alike) perceived that Abdallah Ebn Jaafar was in so great danger, he immediately turned his horse, and rather flew than rode to Abu Obeidah, who asked him what news. Ebn Anis told him, that Abdallah, and all the Mussulmans with him were in imminent hazard of being lost; and if they were not instantly succoured, would infallibly be cut all to pieces. And now it was high time to look out for Kaled,—none like him and Derar in a case of extremity. So Abu Obeidah turned to him and said, "I beg of thee, for God's sake, not to fail me in this exigency, but go and help thy brethren the Mussulmans." Kaled swore, that if Omar had given the command of the army to a child, he would have obeyed him; adding, that he would not contradict him, but respected him as one that came into the profession of the Mohammedan religion before himself. All that were present were wonderfully pleased with Kaled's modest answer, which does indeed deserve to be particularly taken notice of, especially considering how lately he had been turned out of his commission. Abu Obeidah exhorted him to lose no time, and he immediately put on his armour, among which was the coat of mail which he had taken from Moseilama, the false prophet. Then he put on his helmet, and over that a cap, which he called the blessed cap, as it had received Mohammed's benediction;—on which account he valued it more than all his armour besides, and used frequently to attribute his security and success to it.

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* Arabic, "Were like a white spot in a black camel's skin." A camel being a creature very frequent and very serviceable in the Eastern countries, they often mention and allude to it in their proverbs.

Kaled's men were soon ready, and away they flew with all possible speed: and if we consider the circumstances, they had need make as much haste as they did; for that small number of Saracens which had made the first attack was quite lost and overwhelmed in that great multitude of Christians, and there was scarce any of them but what had more wounds than one. In short, they were at their last gasp, and had nothing left to comfort them but paradise. While they were thus fighting against such fearful odds, they saw about sunset a cloud of dust, and presently discerned a body of horsemen coming towards them at full speed, which at first did rather abate than add to their courage, for they imagined at first that they were Christians. At last Kaled appeared, fierce as a lion, with his colours flying in his hand, and immediately made up to Abdallah, who with much ado had borne up his standard all this while, and was now quite spent. But as soon as they heard Kaled's voice, and saw the Mohammedan banner, these sinking, drooping Saracens, who were scarcely able to hold their swords, as if they had had new blood and spirits infused into them, took fresh courage, and altogether rent the skies with a shout of Allah Acbar. And then Abdallah, on the one side, charged the guard which was posted round the monastery, and Derar Ben Al Azwar attacked it on the other. The prefect of Tripoli himself engaged with Derar, and got him down. As they struggled together, the prefect being uppermost, Derar secretly drew a knife, which he carried about him against such emergencies, and mortally stabbed him. Then mounting the prefect's horse, cried out, Allah Acbar. Whilst Derar was fighting with the prefect, Abdallah Ebn Jaafar had taken possession of the monastery, but meddled with nothing in it, till Kaled came back, who was gone in pursuit of those Christians he had beaten, and followed them to a river which was between them and Tripoli. The Greeks, having crossed the river, Kaled pursued them no farther. On his return, he found the Saracens in the monastery. For the spoil they seized all the silks, clothes, household stuff, fruits, and provision, that were in the fair; and all the hangings, money, and plate in the house; and made captives of the young lady the governor's daughter, and forty maids that waited upon her. So they loaded all their jewels, wealth, and furniture, upon horses, mules, and asses, and returned to Damascus, having left nothing behind them in the house but the old monks.

While the Saracens were thus driving off the spoil, Kaled called out to the old priest in the house, who would not vouchsafe him an answer. When he called a second time; "What would you have?" said the priest, "Get you gone about your business; and assure yourself, that God's vengeance will light upon your head, for spilling the blood of so many Christians." "How can that be," said Kaled, "when God has commanded us to fight with you, and kill you?* and if the apostle of God, of blessed memory, had not commanded us to let such men as you are alone, you should not have escaped any more than the rest, but I would have put you to a most cruel death." The poor monk held his peace at this, and answered him never a word.

Abu Obeidah was all the while waiting with great anxiety for the issue. When they returned, he received them with all imaginable expressions of kindness and affection, taking most particular notice of Kaled and Abdallah. Having reserved a fifth of the spoil;† he distributed the rest among the soldiers. He gave the prefect's horse and saddle to Derar Ebn Al Azwar, who made a present of them to his sister Caulah. She, as soon as she had them, picked out all the precious stones and jewels, of which there was a great number in the trappings and saddle, and divided them among the women of her acquaintance. Then they presented to Abu Obeidah the prisoners, among which was the prefect's daughter. Abdallah desired to have her for himself; but Abu Obeidah begged of him to stay till he could write to the caliph about it, and have his leave. Omar ordered him to let him have her, and he kept her till the reign of Yezid (which began in the year 679) who begged her of him, and had her. Among the spoil there were a great many rich clothes curiously wrought, and upon one of them was a representation of our blessed Saviour, which was carried with the rest into Arabia Felix, and sold for ten times its weight in gold. Whether the esteem they had for the person it represented, or the fineness of the work, raised it to such a price, my author does not enable us to determine; but I believe it was both. Then Abu Obeidah sent a letter to the caliph, in which he gave him a particular account of this last victory, and praised Kaled extremely; telling him how modestly and obediently he behaved himself, and how bravely he had fought, and desired that he would be so kind as to write to him, in order to encourage him. But I have nowhere found that the caliph paid any attention to this request, for the old gentleman always turned a deaf ear to every thing that was said in praise of Kaled. Whatever the reason was, it is most certain he did not like him.* Among other particulars of which Abu Obeidah wrote to the caliph, was a request that he might be permitted to go and besiege either Antioch, (then the seat of the Grecian emperor, who upon the taking of Damascus had removed thither from Hems)† or else Jerusalem, which he pleased. He also acquainted him with the fact, that the Mussulmans had learned to drink wine in Syria. The messenger went with the letter to Medina, and found Omar with his friends in the mosque. When Omar had read the letter, and came to that last particular, he showed it to Ali, afterwards caliph, and asked him what he thought of it? Ali gravely answered, that whoever drank wine, should have fourscore stripes upon the soles of their feet. Omar sent word to Abu Obeidah to deal with them accordingly, and swore, "That nothing would suit with those fellows, but poverty and hardship; whereas it would better become them to direct their intentions aright, and observe the commands of their most mighty Lord, and serve him, and believe in him, and give him thanks." Abu Obeidah, having received the letter, punished the offenders according to order; and he exhorted his men, if any of them were conscious of having been guilty of this fault, to come forward in testimony of the sincerity of their repentance, and voluntarily submit to this penance. Upon which a great many came forward, and freely submitted to the punishment, having no accuser but their own conscience. Then he acquainted them with his design of marching to Antioch, against *the Grecian dog*, for that was the best compliment they could afford the emperor. The Saracens, according to their custom, encouraged him to fight against the enemies of God, and assured him they were ready at his service. He told them, that he would go to Aleppo first, and then to Antioch. When they were ready to march, he called Kaled, and ordered him to lead the van, and take the flag which Abubeker had given him at first, viz., the black eagle. With him went Derar, Rafi Ebn Omeirah, and several others of note, with a considerable number of men. Then leaving in Damascus a garrison of five hundred horse, under the command of Sefwan Ebn Amir, he himself marched after them. When he came up with them, he ordered Kaled to ravage the country around Hems and Kennisrin, while he himself took the road to Baalbec, formerly called Heliopolis. As he was upon his march towards this place, and came near to Jushiyah, the governor of that town came out to meet him with a present, and made a truce with him for one whole year; stipulating to surrender to the Saracens as soon as they should have conquered Baalbec, Hems, and Labwah. To this Abu Obeidah consented, upon the further condition that he should pay him down four thousand pieces of gold, and fifty silk vests. This being done, he went forward on his route, and presently observed one upon a camel come riding towards him full speed. When he drew near, Abu Obeidah knew him to be Asamah Ebn Zeid; who, making his camel kneel, alighted; and, having paid his respects, delivered him the following letter.

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* Koran, chap. viii. 40.

† Id. chap. viii. 42.

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* See ante. p. 86, *note*.

† Though some writers say his residence was Antioch before the Saracens came into Syria.

"In the name of the most merciful God.

"From the servant of God, Omar Ebn Al Khattab, to his lieutenant, greeting. I praise the only God, besides whom there is no other; and I pray for his prophet Mohammed, upon whom be the blessing of God. There is no turning back the decree and determination of God; and he that is written an infidel in the secret book,* shall have no faith. My speaking thus is occasioned by Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham, of the tribe of Gassan, who came to us with his relations, and the chief men of his tribe, whom I received and entertained kindly. They made profession of the true religion before me; and I was glad that God has strengthened the true religion, and the professors of it, by their coming in, and knowing what was in secret. We went together on pilgrimage to Mecca, and Jabalah went round the temple seven times. As he was going round, it chanced that a man of the tribe of Fezarah trod upon his vest, so that it fell from his shoulders. Jabalah turned himself about, and said, 'Woe be to thee! Thou hast uncovered my back in the sacred temple of God.' The man swore that he did not intend it. But Jabalah boxed him, broke his nose, and beat out four of his fore teeth. The poor man hastened to me, and made his complaint, desiring my assistance. I commanded Jabalah to be brought before me, and asked him what moved him to beat his brother Mussulman after this fashion, and knock his teeth out, and break his nose. He told me that the man had trodden upon his vest, and uncovered his back; adding, that if it had not been for the reverence he bore to the holy temple, he would have killed him. I told him he had made a fair confession against himself; and if the injured person would not forgive him, I must proceed with him by way of retaliation.† He answered, that he was a king, and the other a peasant. I told him, no matter for that, they were both Mussulmans, and in that respect equal. Upon which he desired that his punishment might be deferred till the next day. I asked the injured person whether he was willing to stay so long. To which he gave his consent. In the night, Jabalah and his friends made their escape, and he is gone to the Grecian dog; but I hope in God that he will give thee the victory over him. Sit down before Hems, and keep close to it; and send thy spies towards Antioch, for fear of the Christian Arabs. Health and happiness, and the blessing of God, be upon thee and all the Mussulmans."

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* The Mohammedans believe that there is kept in heaven a register of all persons and things, which they call "Allauh ho'hnehphoud," "the table which is kept secret." In this book all the decrees of God, and whatsoever shall come to pass, are supposed to be written.

† Retaliation, or "lex talionis," according to which the offending person is to suffer the same hurt which he doth to another, was commanded the Jews, Exod. xxi. 24. "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot." It is also expressly enjoined by Mohammed, Koran ii. 173, who probably borrowed it, as he did a great many other things, from the Jews. The modern Rabbins interpret this command of the Mosaical law as inflicting nothing more than a pecuniary mulct. Don Isaac Abarbanel has a great many arguments to prove that it ought not to be understood in a literal sense. To instance in one or two: He asks, suppose the offending person should have but one eye, or one hand, ought he to be deprived of the one, because he had struck out an eye or cut off another man's hand that had two? Again, how would it be possible for a judge to inflict a punishment, which should be exactly the same with the injury, since that

What might not be expected from a government in which there flourished such impartial administration of justice? Abu Obeidah having read over the letter, first to himself and then to the Mussulmans, went on towards Hems (whither Kaled was gone before with a third part of the army), and sat down before it in November, in the year of our Lord 635. The governor of the town chanced to die that same day that Kaled came before it. The inhabitants had expected that the Saracens would have taken Baalbec in their way, before they came to Hems, and were consequently but ill provided for sustaining a siege. Upon this account, and in hopes of gaining an opportunity to augment their stores, they determined to apply to Abu Obeidah for a truce, telling him, that if the Saracens conquered Haleb (Aleppo), Alhadir, and Kinnasrin, and beat the emperor's forces, they would then open to him their gates. Abu Obeidah told them he was ready to make a truce with them for the space of one whole year, and no longer, which was to commence on the first day of Dulhagjah of the present year, and expire on the last day of the month Sjewal, in the following year, being the 15th of the Hejirah, upon condition that they paid him down ten thousand pieces of gold, and two hundred silk vests. The cessation of hostilities was no sooner concluded

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stroke might prove mortal to one man, which was not so to another; and so a man might pay for a wound which was not mortal, with the loss of his life? Thus far Abarbanel. But the practice of the Mohammedans is contrary. The injured person, however, may if he pleases accept of any other satisfaction; but if he comes to a judge, and demands retaliation, he *is obliged* to let him have it.

upon, than the Hemessens opened their gates, and came out and held a market in the Saracen camp. The Arabians, enriched with the spoils of the country, gave them whatever they asked, and never stood for a price; so that the citizens made a good thing of it. In the meantime the Arabian horse foraged all about the country, both far and near. Among the rest, Mesab Ebn Moharib brought in abundance of spoil, sheep and oxen, with a great many horses and camels laden with furniture, and four hundred captives, making most piteous lamentation for the calamity which had befallen them. Abu Obeidah, moved with compassion, asked them why they did not come into the profession of the Mohammedan religion, and by that means secure their lives and fortunes, wives and children. They told him that they were altogether surprised, not expecting any hostilities from the Saracens, from whom they were divided by so great a distance. Abu Obeidah, having asked advice of the Mussulmans, and they referring the matter wholly to his decision, set four pieces of gold upon every head, as Omar had instructed him to do in such cases, and laying tribute upon them, and having bound them, each one in their several respective capacities to assist the Mussulmans, should an opportunity occur, gave them all their cattle, furniture, wives, and children back again, having first entered their names, and the places of their habitation, in a book which he kept for that purpose. The poor people were overjoyed to find themselves in such a happy condition, after having been plunged into the depth of despair; and on their march, and upon their return home, acquainted their neighbours with the unexpected favour which they had received at the hands of the Saracens.

This conduct greatly facilitated the subsequent conquests of the Arabians; for whereas an unrelenting cruelty would have made every one desperate, and driven him to fight it out to the last drop of blood, now, when they saw there was a possibility of enjoying their religion, and a competency, by submitting themselves to those who would otherwise have taken all that they had by force, and either have murdered them every one, or at best made them slaves; a great many chose rather to embrace the former condition while yet it was open to them, than run the risk of incurring the latter. By this means the Saracens were greatly strengthened, for they made use of these people on all occasions. They served them for interpreters, for the guides of their marches, and for several other purposes. It was from them also that they received advice of all the movements of the Christians, and intelligence of whatever was meditated or attempted to their disadvantage. Quickly after the news of Abu Obeidah's gentle behaviour flew about the country, a great many of the Greeks came in upon the same terms, whose names he also entered in his book, and dismissed peaceably. The inhabitants of Alhadir and Kinnisrin hearing this, entertained some thoughts of following their example; and without the notice of their governor, Luke,* who was a warlike man, privately, resolved to make a vigorous resistance. This Luke had an antipathy against the governor of Aleppo, insomuch, that when Heraclius sent for them both to consult which was the best way to manage the war, and both of them had assured him they would do their best, they nevertheless would not join their forces together, but looked each man to the defence of his own province. As soon as Luke understood that his people were disposed to submit themselves to the Saracens, he was very much displeased; but, in hopes of preventing their design by stratagem, he dissembled his anger, and, calling a council, asked their advice. They told him, that they understood that the Arabs were a people that received into their protection such as came to them, and used to stand to their word. Thus, since they had come into Syria, their constant practice had indeed been to kill and make slaves of all who opposed them, but at the same time to protect all such as submitted in the peaceable enjoyment of their possessions: for which reason they thought it most advisable to follow the example of their neighbours. He answered, that they were in the right, and therefore he was ready to make a truce with the Saracens till the emperor's succours should arrive, and then they might oppress them when they least suspected it. Upon this he despatches Astachar, a priest, a very learned man, master of the Arabic tongue, and thoroughly versed in the Jewish and Christian theology, with a letter to the Saracen general. In this composition he magnified the greatness of the emperor, and the strength of the place; adding, that all attempts upon it would be in vain, not only upon the account of its being well fortified and furnished with plenty of military stores, but because the emperor was now raising a vast army in Europe, which would shortly be transported over the Bosphorus, and mustered at Tyre, for the relief of Syria. Notwithstanding all these advantages, they were nevertheless desirous to live at quiet, and were willing to have a year's truce, if the general of the Saracens would agree to set a mark at their bounds, that if any of the Saracen horse, in their foraging expeditions, came that way and saw the sign, they should go no further to do any mischief in their country. This truce, however, if agreed upon between them, must remain a secret, and must not be made known to Heraclius the emperor, for fear of his displeasure. With these instructions Astachar goes to Hems, where he found the Mohammedans at prayers. As soon as their orisons were concluded, Abu Obeidah admits him, and when he was about to bow down to the ground, would not suffer him. When Kaled had heard the contents of the letter, he did not like it, but shook his head, and said, that it did not look like the style of a man that desired peace in earnest; and would fain have persuaded Abu Obeidah not to hearken to him. "But," said he, "let us go to the place, and, by Mohammed, I will make that city a prey to the Mussulmans, if it please God, and a terror to the rest." "Softly!" said Abu Obeidah, "no man knows the hearts of men, but God only." "Well then," answered Kaled, "make no agreement with them, unless it be for good and all; and if they will accept of this, well and good; if not, let them alone. I hope, by the help of God, I shall be a match for them." Astachar was surprised at Kaled's roughness, and said, that the character which he had heard of the Arabs was not true; for the Christians had been informed that they were very gentle and courteous to all such persons as came to seek their protection. "But now," adds he, "I find the contrary; for I come to propose terms of peace, and you are not willing to accept them." To which Kaled answered, that they had great reason to suspect the sincerity of these overtures, and were not willing to be imposed upon. They feared that if there should come any assistance from the emperor, and the townspeople saw that the advantage was on their own side, they would then be the first to take up arms against the Saracens, notwithstanding their present pretended desire of peace. However, the Saracens were ready to contract a truce with them for a twelvemonth, upon condition, that if the Grecian emperor sent an army into the neighbourhood, the inhabitants of the city should keep themselves within their own walls. and not stir out to their assistance. This being consented to, Astachar asked for a copy of the agreement, which Abu Obeidah having given him, he next desired that his townsmen might be permitted to set up some sign at the limits of their territories, that when the Saracens saw it they might not forage in their country. Abu Obeidah said he would take care to have it done. But Astachar told him, he need not trouble any of his own men, for they intended, with his leave, to do it themselves. Accordingly, the Greeks erected at their boundaries a pillar,* upon the top of which was a statue of the Grecian emperor sitting upon his throne.

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* Some Arabic authors call him Matthias.

All things being thus made easy for a while between the Saracens and the governor of Kinnisrin, an unlucky accident had like to have occasioned a misunderstanding between them. Some of the Saracen horse passing that way, and observing the curious workmanship of the pillar, admired it. They spent some time in viewing it, riding past it backward and forward, and exercising themselves round about it. At last, as one of them, javelin in hand, rode by it in full career, the iron which was fastened in the lower end of the javelin, accidentally struck out one of the eyes of the carved emperor. This was no sooner known among the Greeks, than they misconstrued it into flagrant indignity offered to the emperor in effigy, and a manifest breach of the truce, and messengers were forthwith despatched to Abu Obeidah, who clamorously expostulated with him upon the injury, and insisted upon satisfaction. He assured them that it was his intention to keep his word inviolably, and that he was quite confident that whoever did it had no design to show any disrespect to the emperor; and to prove the sincerity of his professions, professed his readiness to make them any reasonable satisfaction in his power. Nothing would satisfy them but retaliation; the affront offered to the emperor must be returned upon the caliph. When in making this demand, their spokesman expressed himself unwarily, and talked of putting out one of Omar's eyes, the rude Saracens understanding his words literally, were so enraged, that they would have rushed upon them instantly, and killed them upon the spot, had not Abu Obeidah restrained them, by telling them that these people wanted sense, and must be borne with patiently. He then told the messengers that they might set up his own statue if they would, and do what they pleased with it. But nothing would serve but the statue of the caliph. To which, wearied out with their importunity, he at last consented. They having made a statue to represent Omar, and put two glass eyes in the head of it, ordered one of their men to strike out one of them with a lance. And thus, having received what they deemed sufficient reparation for the injury done them, they were pacified.

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* This same story is in Eutychius's Annals.

Abu Obeidah continued at Hems, sending out his horse to forage, and waiting with great impatience for the expiration of the truce, which had tied up his hands from committing any hostility within the territories of Hems, Alhadir, and Kinnisrin. Omar, in the meantime, wondered at Abu Obeidah's silence, and not having heard of any considerable action a long time, grew very angry. At last he wrote a short, snapping sort of a letter to Abu Obeidah, as follows :—

"In the name of the most merciful God.

"From Omar Ebn Al Khattab, to Abu Obeidah Ebn Al Jerahh, his lieutenant in Syria, greeting.—I praise God, besides whom there is no other: and I pray for his prophet Mohammed, upon whom be the blessing of God. I command thee to put thy trust in God; and I bid thee take heed that thou be not one of those concerning whom God* says :—

"Say, if your parents, or children, or friends, or wives, or families, or the riches you have gained, or the merchandise which you are afraid you should not sell, or the houses which you delight in, be dearer to you than God and his apostle, and the fighting for his service; stay till God shall accomplish what he has decreed. God does not direct those that do wickedly.'"*

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* So they quote the Koran, but when they mention any of Mohammed's sayings, they set down his name.

The Mussulmans had no sooner heard the letter, than they perfectly understood that it was intended to rebuke them for their negligence. As for Abu Obeidah, he heartily repented that he had ever granted a truce to the inhabitants of Alhadir and Kinnisrin, and all the Mussulmans wept for sorrow, because they had been so remiss in their duty; and asked Abu Obeidah why he sat still, and did not lead them forth to fight the battles of the Lord? desiring him at the same time to leave Kinnisrin and march either to Aleppo or Antioch, saying that by the time one of these should be taken, the truce would be expired. Upon this he set out for Aleppo, and having left Salmah with a party of horse at Hems, the first considerable place that he came to was Arrestan; from this town he marched to Hamah (afterwards the seat of the famous Abulfeda), and from thence to Shaizar. With all these places he made truce upon conditions. At Shaizar, he received information, that the governor of Kinnisrin, contrary to the articles of truce, had written to the emperor for fresh supplies, who had sent Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham to his assistance. Upon which, Abu Obeidah deferred his intended march to Aleppo, designing to fall upon Kinnisrin, as soon as the truce, which had now quite a month to run, should have expired. The governor of Kinnisrin having gone out to meet Jabalah, was intercepted by Kaled, who having ventured upon that undertaking with an inconsiderable number of men, was in the greatest danger, for the prefect of Ammouriyah having come to the assistance of the governor, he was on every side surrounded with the Christians. Though he had slain the prefect of Kinnisrin, in single combat, upon Rafi Ebn Omeirah saying to him, "Our time is come," he answered, "That he believed so, because he had forgot his cap, which used to do him such singular service, and which he should not have left behind him, if it had not been so decreed." Speedy relief, however, arriving from Abu Obeidah, contrary to all expectation, they safely escaped to the main body.

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* This is the twenty-fourth verse of the ninth chapter of the Koran, in which, as also in a multitude of other places, Mohammed introduces God speaking to him thus, "Say" [to the people], "if your parents," &c.

Abu Obeidah having now fully resolved to besiege Kinnisrin, sent forward a party of horse to forage and lay waste all the country round about. All the prisoners they took were sent to the caliph, and he took care to put the boys to the writing school, in obedience to the command of their prophet Mohammed; who, though he could neither write nor read himself, was very well sensible of the use of it. The inhabitants of Kinnisrin having lost their governor, and having no hopes of relief, sued for protection, and submitted to pay tribute, being first polled, according to Omar's order, at the rate of four ducats a head. Kinnisrin being taken, Abu Obeidah called his Mussulmans together, and said, "Come, now, and God's blessing be with you: give your advice; for God in the mighty book (meaning the Koran), has said to his prophet Mohammed, 'Ask their advice in a matter, and trust upon God;' and the apostle of God has said, 'He that takes advice is secure.' Now, then, what think ye; shall we go to Aleppo, or Antioch?" They answered, that as the time of the truce which he had made with the neighbouring places was almost expired, they were of opinion, that it would be most advisable to take them in their way, before they moved any further into the country. Especially they thought it expedient to reduce Baalbec, where they had reason to expect a vigorous opposition. Abu Obeidah hereupon, leaving Kaled to besiege Hems, marched himself to Baalbec. On their arrival before this city, the Saracens found they had not been at all wrong in their expectation; for the place was very well fortified, and stored with warlike provision. On their march to Baalbec, the Saracens having intercepted a caravan with four hundred loads of silks and sugars, Abu Obeidah put none of the merchants to death (as not bearing arms), but allowed them to ransom themselves. Some of them going to Baalbec, acquainted the inhabitants with the loss of the caravan, who, in hopes of recovering it, went out under the conduct of Herbis their governor, to the numbor of six thousand horse, attended with a multitude of the undisciplined rabble. For they imagined that the main body of the Saracen army still lay at Hems, and that the caravan had been plundered only by a party of foragers. Encountering therefore, Abu Obeidah with his whole force, at so manifest a disadvantage, they were overthrown and routed, Herbis their general receiving no less than seven wounds, and with great difficulty and hazard make good his retreat to the city. When Abu Obeidah came before it, he resolved to besiege it closely. Mead Ebn Jabal told Abu Obeidah that he knew the town was so crowded, that the people were almost treading one upon another, and he thought it could scarce contain them all; adding, "If we hold on against it, we hope, at last, God will deliver it into the hands of the Mussulmans; for God will not cease to give the earth for an inheritance to his servants the saints; because he has said, 'We have written in the Psalms, that my servants the saints shall inherit the earth.'"* The next day Abu Obeidah wrote a letter to the besieged, in which he put them in mind of the victories which God had already granted to the faithful over all their adversaries, and offered to make peace with them, paying tribute as others had done before them. This letter he gave to a countryman that was under their protection, adding a reward of twenty pieces of silver, saying, "That he was not one to make use of a man's service, and not pay him for it." The messenger coming to the wall, the townspeople let down a rope, by which, when he had tied it about his middle, they drew him up. The letter being read (for Abu Obeidah, when he wrote to the Greeks, made use of a Greek secretary); the besieged were divided in their opinions, a great many being disposed to surrender, which Herbis the governor was so adverse to, that he tore the letter in pieces, and threw it to the messenger, commanding him to be forthwith sent back to Abu Obeidah, which was all the answer he vouchsafed to give to him.

The Saracens, upon this, attempted to storm the city, but were bravely repulsed by the besieged, who from the walls did them a great deal of damage with their engines. The valour of the citizens, together with the extreme coldness of the weather, made the Saracens glad to draw off from the assault. The next morning, after prayers were over, a crier went round the camp, in the general's name, forbidding a man of them to stir, or to do anything else, before he got himself ready some hot victuals. The order was no sooner heard than obeyed, and every man went to work for himself. Whilst they were in the midst of their cookery, the besieged sallied. The Saracens were immediately alarmed. In the tumult, Ahmed Ebn Ased was just going to put his hand to his mouth, when Abu Obeidah struck him a good blow with a truncheon, and gave him a hearty curse into the bargain. The poor man started up on a sudden, and like one scared out of his wits, snatched up a tent-pole, and ran and charged the enemy, scarce knowing where he was, till he was got in the midst of them. The Saracens, surprized in this disorder, with much difficulty beat back the besieged, who nevertheless carried off some prisoners and plunder.

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* Koran, chap. xxi. 105.

In the evening the chief officers of the Saracens met at Abu Obeidah's tent, and said, "You see the courage of these people, What do you think to do in this case?" To which he answered, "That the damage they had sustained was all decreed by God, in order to fulfil his pleasure of bestowing on those persons who had fallen the honours of martyrdom." Then he commanded them to remove their tents to a greater distance from the city, that they might have a larger space for their horses to course in. Then he gave to Saïd Ebn Zeid the command of five hundred horse, and three hundred foot, with orders to go into the valley, and *keep the Greeks in play* at the gate which was opposite the mountains, that their forces might be divided. Derar was placed at the gate which looks towards Damascus, with three hundred horse and two hundred foot. The next morning about break of day, Herbis, the governor, sallied out with a strong body of men, by the gate where Abu Obeidah himself was posted. To encourage his men, he told them that the Saracens were afraid of them, and bade them remember that they were about to fight for their religion, wives, children, and fortunes; in a word, for all that was most dear to them. They answered him cheerfully, that though at first they were afraid of the Arabs, yet they were not so now, being a little better acquainted with their manner of fighting; besides, the Arabs were half naked; some of them fighting without armour, others with scarce clothes enough to cover them; whereas (said they) we have good helmets, breastplates, and coats of mail. On the other side, Abu Obeidah did not fail to tell the Saracens that they must have patience, "For God had promised good success to those that held out to the last." The Greeks, encouraged with yesterday's victory, charged the Saracens with great vigour, and the battle was obstinately maintained on both sides, but apparently to the advantage of the Greeks. In the midst of the fight it happened that Sohail Ebn Sabah, having received a wound in his right arm, which disabled him from holding his sword, alighted from his horse, and telling his friends that he could not defend himself any longer, retired from the field to a neighbouring height. Having ascended the hill, not without some pain and difficulty, he had a clear prospect of both the armies. The Greeks, as we said, having sallied out upon Abu Obeidah's quarters, there was nothing to do at those gates where Derar and Saïd Ebn Zeid were posted. Sohail observing this, and seeing that Abu Obeidah was forced to give ground, without any order from the general, or any person's knowing it, kindled a fire, and with some green sticks made a great smoke upon the top of the hill. As soon as Saïd and Derar saw the smoke, they imagined it to be a signal from the general for them to come up, for this was the usual signal among the Saracens by day, as fire was by night, when they had a mind to call those together who were posted at any distance. Upon this Derar and Saïd, with their men, rode full speed, and came seasonably to the relief of their brethren. And now the Greeks, who had thought themselves certain of the victory, being surrounded, found the case was quite altered, and they who a few minutes ago expected to win the field, now despaired of getting back to their own city. However, joining close together, they formed an impenetrable phalanx, and fighting bravely, they bore down all opposition, and gained the top of a hill, on which stood an old deserted monastery, into which Herbis and his men retired, and defended themselves behind its walls. Abu Obeidah, knowing nothing as yet of Saïd and Derar's having moved from the places where he had posted them, when he saw with what undaunted courage these men fought, imagined their retreat to be feigned, with a design of drawing the Saracens out of their lines. He therefore commanded his own men not to pursue them. But Saïd Ebn Zeid, having heard nothing of the general's order, followed them to the top of the hill. Thereupon, leaving the troops in command of one of his officers, with orders not to suffer a man to stir out of the house, he hastened with twenty of his men to acquaint Abu Obeidah with the news; who seeing him come with so few, was surprized, and asked him what was become of the rest. Saïd told him they were all safe and sound, and had beseiged the enemies of God (a compliment they very liberally gave to the Christians) in an old house, acquainting him with all the circumstances of the story. Then Abu Obeidah inquired of him and Derar what made them stir from their posts. Saïd swore that he did nothing contrary to order, for he never stirred till he saw the smoke. Abu Obeidah confessed that it was well they came, for he was afraid the Greeks would have seized their camp, and wished for them, but that he knew nothing of any smoke. Upon this Saïd, positively affirming a second time that there was a smoke, Abu Obeidah was astonished, and made proclamation throughout the camp, "Whoever be he that kindled the fire and smoke upon the hill, let him speak;" enforcing it with a solemn adjuration. Upon this Sohail came forward, and confessed it, and told the reason why he did it. Abu Obeidah was very glad it happened so well, but strictly charged them all never to attempt such a thing again, without first obtaining the permission of their general.

Whilst Abu Obeidah was talking to Sohail, a Saracen came with all speed from the mountain, and alarmed the whole camp. For Herbis, perceiving that the party by which he was held besieged in the house was so small, being now fewer than five hundred, took courage, and made a sally, in hopes of regaining the city. They fought bravely, and handled the Saracens so severely, that Mesab Ebn Adi, who had been present in most of the battles fought in Syria, said, that of all the men he ever beheld, none behaved themselves better, or stood closer to it, than those Greeks which were then with the governor. It was he that rode and gave notice to Abu Obeidah, who no sooner heard it, than despatching Saïd at once with an hundred archers, commanded Derar to support him. When they came to the hill, they found their friends in a pitiful condition, for there were no less than seventy Saracens upon the ground, killed or wounded, so lustily were the Greeks laying about them. But the latter, overpowered with the fresh numbers of their enemies, were forced once more to retire within their monastery, where they were watched with such a vigilant eye, that not one of them could so much as offer to look out than the Saracens let fly an arrow at him.

Abu Obeidah, leaving Saïd Ebn Zeid to watch the movements of the governor, drew up his men, and ordered them to pitch their tents about the city, "For," said he, "God has circumvented your enemy, and performed that promise which he made to us, to help us; and this is because God is a protector of those who put trust in him; but as for the infidels, they have no protector." Herbis, the governor, finding himself straitened, began to repent himself that ever he came into that old house. He considered, with great concern, that in a very short time he and his men must needs be forced to capitulate for want of provision. Nor could any about him, supposing they could have found a possibility of sending, think of any person capable of assisting them in these deplorable circumstances. For the Saracens having taken so many places already, had spread such a terror around the country, that those which remained were under too great a concern for their own preservation to be at leisure to lend a helping hand to their distressed neighbours. A great many others, by consenting to a truce, had bound themselves not to bear arms at that time against the Saracens. In this miserable state, without hope or prospect of relief, they were compelled by necessity to surrender to their conquerors. Herbis calls out aloud, and asks if there were any person that understood him. Being asked by an interpreter what he wanted, he begged that he might be secured from danger of the archers, and that Saïd would come near and talk with him. Saïd answered, that he owed him no such respect, but that if he had anything to say, he might come to him. Loath to venture himself, by means of the interpreter he got leave to send a messenger, who, coming before Saïd, was about to fall down upon his face by way of respect. Saïd made a sign to him to forbear, and the Saracens coming about him, held him from doing it. When he asked the reason of this, Saïd said to the interpreter, "Because both he and I are servants of God, and it is not lawful to use adoration and worship to any but God, who is the proper object of worship." Being examined about his errand, he said that he came to desire protection for Herbis and his men, which was accordingly granted, upon condition that they should lay down their arms, and surrender. The messenger asked whether that security was only from himself, or from the general too. Saïd told him, from all the Saracens. When Herbis heard this, he came out, and my author tells us that he has learned from persons worthy of credit, that Herbis, when he came out to surrender himself, put off all his silks, and exchanging with some of his men, dressed himself in woollen apparel, suiting his habit to the meanness of his present condition. Saïd, seeing him come along in this humble mien, fell down and worshipped God, saying, "Praised be God, who hath humbled their great ones before us, and given us dominion over their rulers." Then going to meet him, he bade him come nearer, and sit down by him, and then asked him whether that which he had on was his proper habit; to which he answered, "That he never had any woollen on before in his life, nor knew what it was to wear anything but silk." He demanding of Saïd whether he had power, or was willing to grant security, as well for those in the city as those present with him. Saïd told him "That as for those which were with him, he would grant them security upon two conditions, either that they should turn Mohammedans, and so have one common interest with them; or, if they chose rather to continue in the profession of their own religion, they must bind themselves never more to bear arms against the Mussulmans. But as for those in the city, they were at the general's disposal, to whom, if he was willing to go, he proferred his service to conduct him; and if they could agree upon any terms, well and good, if not he should, if he desired it, have free leave, with as many of his men as were willing to go back with him, to return to his monastery again, there to be besieged till God should determine the matter between them."

Being brought into the presence of Abu Obeidah, and taking a view of the Saracens about him, considering at the same time what a condition they had brought him and his men into, Herbis did nothing but shake his head, and bite his fingers' ends for vexation. Being asked the reason of this behaviour? he answered, "that he thought their number had been much greater than he found it was, now he was come among them." Upon this Abu Obeidah bade his interpreter tell him, that the number of the true believers seemed greater in the eyes of the idolaters than it really was; "because, such is the grace of God towards us, the angels help us as they did at the battle of Beder; and by this means God gives us the victory over your country, and makes your armies flee before us." For Mohammed, in the Koran,* has expressly told the Saracens that the angels helped him in battle; and they therefore believed and depended upon the same assistance themselves, and oftentimes attributed their success to it. Not that any of them ever pretended to have seen these auxiliary troops of militant angels; it being sufficient for their purpose that they were seen by their enemies. As a ransom for the whole city of Baalbec, Herbis offered one thousand ounces of gold, two thousand of silver, and one thousand silk vests. Abu Obeidah told him, "If they would have peace, they must double the sum, and add to it a thousand swords, and all the arms belonging to those men that were shut up in the monastery, and pay tax and tribute the next year, and never bear arms for the time to come, nor write to the emperor, nor attempt either directly or indirectly any thing against the Saracens, nor build any churches or monasteries." Herbis, complaining of the severity of the articles, as being all in favour of the Saracens, desired that the besieged might at least have this one article on their side; viz. "that whosoever shall be appointed lieutenant over Baalbec, should not come into the city, nor any of his men; but pitching his tents on the outside of the walls, should there receive the tribute imposed upon the inhabitants." This being granted, all was agreed upon, and nothing was now wanted but the townsmen's consent. But they, when they heard the articles, refused to ratify them, and said, they would never surrender the strongest city in Syria into the hands of the Saracens upon such terms. But when Herbis had remonstrated with them on the danger to which he and his men must be exposed, if there were not some agreement made, and explained to them the provision he had made for their repose and quiet, in excluding all the Saracens from once entering into the town; adding withal, that he would himself contribute a fourth part of what was imposed upon them, they at last consented. Upon this consent being intimated to him, Abu Obeidah sent Herbis alone into the city to raise the promised sum, and detained the rest of his men as hostages, till it should be paid. In twelve days' time he brought it; upon which Abu Obeidah dismissed the men, and calling for Rafi Ebn Abdallah, left him to take care of Baalbec with five hundred Saracens, giving him a most strict charge to do nothing but what was right and just, telling him that he had heard the prophet say, that God had given the same command to Moses and David. Particularly he bade him to prevent all disputes between his men and the inhabitants of the city, and to have an eye to the sea-shore, and to pillage all those places in the neighbourhood, which had not entered into articles. Having left him with this charge, he moved towards Hems; and on his road thither, he was met by the prefect of Jushiyah bringing him a present, which he accepted, and renewed the truce with him.

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* Chap. ix. 26, 40.

Rafi very punctually executed his charge, and both he and his men behaved themselves so inoffensively, that the citizens and the Saracens grew very well acquainted. As the Saracens, according to their custom, plundered all the neighbourhood, they sold what they got to the citizens of Baalbec, who consequently were very soon in a fair way of growing rich upon the spoils of their countrymen and fellow Christians. Herbis, formerly their governor, perceiving this, began to consider how he might obtain a share of the gains. Accordingly, calling them together, he reminded them of the hazard he had exposed himself to for their preservation, and of the pains he had taken to procure them those articles of peace of which they now reaped the benefit; and moreover, called to their remembrance how he had paid down, out of his own private means, the fourth part of what was imposed upon them all; adding, that he thought it only reasonable, that since they were in a capacity to do it they should reimburse him. This they readily consented to. But upon this he told them, that he had no wish to deprive any of them of their present substance; it would satisfy him if they would agree to pay him the tenth of the profits they made by their trade with the Arabs. At first they were very unwilling to agree to this;

but after a short debate, considering his quality, as having been once their governor, though now reduced to the same condition with themselves, and that he had not spared his own private substance, when necessity required it, for the public good, they at last consented. This done, he appoints a collector to gather his tithe, which in a few days amounted to a very considerable sum. The sweetness of this gain, instead of extinguishing, increased his thirst. Whereupon in a second meeting he told them, that at the present rate, it would be a long time before he would be repaid what he had laid out, and proposed, that either they should admit him one of their company, or, instead of a tenth, pay him a fourth part of all their gains. The people, irritated at his grasping, insatiable temper, cried out, "Away with him, and all such unreasonable wretches. We had better be under the Saracens than such governors, for they are better, and more just;" and with a great noise and shout they rushed upon him, and killed him. The Saracens without heard the noise, but did not know what was the matter; neither would Rafi go into the city in violation of the treaty, but said, if there was any difference between them, and they came out to him, he would endeavour to make them friends. Presently after they came thronging out to him, and acquainted him with what they had done, telling him how civil they had been to their prefect, in answering his first demand, and how unreasonable he had been in coveting more, and concluded with desiring Rafi to come into the city, and govern it himself. This, however, he refused at first, till he had written to Abu Obeidah. But upon receiving word from him to the effect that since the people were willing, he need not have any scruples about it; he and his men went into Baalbec,* on the 20th day of January, A.D. 636.

Leaving Baalbec, we must now proceed with Abu Obeidah to Hems. Having set down before it with his army, previously to making a general assault upon it, he sent to the governor the following letter:

"In the name of the most merciful God.

"From Abu Obeidah Ebn Aljerahh, lieutenant in Syria to the emperor of the faithful Omar, Ebn Al Khattab (whom God bless), and general of his forces. The most mighty God hath conquered several places by our hands; wherefore do not let the greatness of your city, nor the strength of your buildings, nor the plenty of your stores, nor the bigness of your bodies, deceive you: for your city is no more in your hands, when we come to war against it, than if we should set a pot upon a stone in the midst of our camp, and all the army should come round about, to take every one of them a mouthful. In the first place, therefore, I invite you to come in to our religion, and that law which our prophet Mohammed, of blessed memory, brought us. If you receive this, then shall you share with us in all our fortunes, good or bad; and we will send you men to instruct you in our religion, as God has commanded us. If you refuse the Mohammedan religion, we will allow you to continue in your possessions, so long as you pay us tribute. If neither of these conditions please you, come out and fight us, till God, who is the best judge, shall determine between us."

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* Hej. 15. A.D. 636-7.

This proposal being no sooner heard than rejected with the utmost scorn, both sides prepared themselves, the Saracens for an assault, the besieged for their defence. The besieged, sallying out, made so good a day's work of it, that the Saracens had little reason to boast of their success. Now there happened to be present a great man among the Arabs, who was a person of extraordinary sagacity and penetration, and had himself many times commanded an army with good conduct and success. Having well considered the strength of the place, and the courage and resolution of the inhabitants, he told Abu Obeidah privately, that if he expected to conquer Hems, he must use stratagem, rather than force. On this account he advised him to offer to raise the siege, on condition that the besieged furnished him with five days' provision for his men and horses. For if they consented, by this means, he said, their stock of provision would be very much diminished, and he might take a fit opportunity of surprizing them. This suggestion being approved of, Abu Obeidah acquainted the besieged with his willingness to raise the siege of Hems, and to try his fortune at other places, (of which there still remained unconquered a great number in Syria very well fortified,) upon the condition afore-mentioned.

The people of Hems, only too glad to get rid of such troublesome neighbours at any rate, and considering withal the many accidents that might prevent their ever returning thither, or at least defer it a long time, gladly assented to his proposal. The governor himself being as willing as any to compound with the Saracens upon these terms, told his people, that the Arabs were like wild beasts, greedy of prey; wherefore he thought it the best way to give them something to fill their bellies, and send them away packing. Upon this he sends some of the chief clergy to Abu Obeidah, to make the treaty, and take a copy of the articles, which being done, the citizens brought out their provisions, according to the agreement. Abu Obeidah told them, that since their intended march was likely to be tedious, he should be very glad to buy the remainder of their provisions. The people were willing to sell, and the Mohammedans bought as long as they had any thing left with which to buy, or to give in exchange for it.

Some spies belonging to the emperor, being at that time in the Saracen camp, and perceiving the Emessens set open their gates, and bring out their provisions, without taking time to inform themselves thoroughly of all the circumstances of it, went and spread a report about the country, that Hems had surrendered. This report proved a great surprise and and discouragement to the rest, who had their hearts daily filled with fresh fears of the Saracens. From Hems Abu Obeidah went to Arrestan, a strong place, well watered, and full of soldiers; where his summons being rejected, he desired the favour of the governor of the castle to be allowed to leave some old lumber, which would be troublesome and cumbersome to them in their march. This was granted without much scruple, all being desirous of their absence upon any terms. Upon this Abu Obeidah takes twenty chests, and shut up in them twenty chosen men. To prevent all suspicion he put strong locks upon the outsides, but the bottoms of the chests were so contrived, as that the man within could slip backward and forward in them as he pleased. These chests being received into the castle, the Saracens marched, leaving Kaled behind with some forces, by way of ambuscade, to assist those in the chests. Upon the departure of the Saracens, the Christians went to church to give thanks for their delivery, and were heard singing psalms by Derar, Abdarrhaman, and Abdallah in the chests, who taking this opportunity, came forth, and having seized the governor's lady, demanded the keys of the gates. From thence they went to the church, where, without difficulty, they mastered the unarmed multitude. Then Abdallah Ebn Jaafar, who commanded the party, sent five of his men with the keys to open the gates, and cry out Allah Acbar. Which being done, Kaled, who was within hearing, came up, and Arrestan was taken after little or no resistance.

This procured for the inhabitants much more easy conditions than they would otherwise have obtained, the Saracens not expecting such an unbloody conquest. As therefore, they resigned themselves without any more to do, they had their liberty granted to go where they pleased. Some of them changed their religion, but the greater number still retained their Christianity, and went to Hems.

Two thousand men being left in garrison at Arrestan, Abu Obeidah moves with his army to Shaizar. He had no sooner sent his summons to this place, than there arose a great dispute between the people and the governor, about surrendering the place. The conquest of Arrestan, Baalbec, Damascus, Bostra, and as they supposed of Hems, gave the inhabitants just reason to fear, that they should not be able to defend Shaizar, which was not superior to the former places, either in strength of situation, or in the number of its garrison. The governor held out obstinately, and gave them a great deal of reproachful language, swearing and cursing at them, and even commanding his guards to strike some of them. The chief men, provoked at this tyrannical usage, drew their swords, and fell upon him and his party. Having made a quick despatch of them, they opened the gates, and surrendered to Abu Obeidah, who gladly received them, and gave them hearty thanks for saving him the trouble of fighting: adding, "That since they had behaved themselves so well, and expressed such a desire of living under the government of the Saracens, he would not dismiss them without some distinguishing mark of his favour." Upon which he told them, "That he would not force any of them to change their religion against their will, nor put them to any extremities; but if any of them would come in of their own accord, they should pay no tax or custom, as other Mohammedans did, for two years. But if they chose to continue in their old religion, they should pay no tribute for the space of one year."

Shaizar was now taken possession of, and Abu Obeidah reminded his Mussulmans that they were no longer under any obligation of treaty or good faith to the people of Hems, having punctually performed whatever they had promised them. But on this point the governor of Hems was not so well satisfied, for as soon as the Saracen army came to appear before the city, he sent a messenger to expostulate with Abu Obeidah on his perfidy and breach of promise. But the only answer that he gave him was to request that the same clergy who had originally made the agreement with him, should come to him again, and he was content to have them as his judges whether or no he had fulfilled his promise to a tittle. Accordingly when they came, he asked them, "Did not I make an agreement with you to leave Hems till I had conquered some other city of Syria? And was it not left to my liberty after that, either to go to any other place or to return to you?" When this could not be denied, "Well, then," answered he, "since we have conquered Arrestan and Shaizar, we are under no further covenant to you. Nothing, therefore, remains for you but to surrender at once."

There being no remedy, nor any one whom they might justly blame but themselves, for not having taken better care at first, the inhabitants prepared to fight. Though not a little disheartened when they reflected upon their scarcity of provisions, to which their unseasonable credulity had exposed them, yet, encouraged by their governor, they resolved to try their fortune in the field. That evening they went to prayers, to implore the divine assistance, the governor himself receiving the communion at the church of St. George, which has since been turned into a mosque. When he came back, he eat for his supper a whole roasted kid, and sat up drinking wine all night. Thus prepared for battle, having put on very rich clothes, he sallied out in the morning at the head of five thousand horse, all completely armed, and men of approved courage, and resolved to die for the defence of their country; and though the Saracens came out against them with a much greater number, they nevertheless firmly stood their ground, without the least expression of fear or concern. The Christian archers galled the Saracens terribly with poisoned arrows, and charged them with such courage that they were forced to give way. Whilst Kaled was labouring to restore the battle, he had himself a very narrow escape. While he was fighting with one of the Greeks, his sword broke in his hand; but closing with his adversary, he squeezed him so hard that he broke his ribs, and then threw him down dead from off his horse. About noon Mirkal and Meisarah made an impression upon the right wing of the Christians, and Kais Ebn Hobeirah upon the left. But among all the Saracens, none signalized himself so much that day as I'krimah, Kaled's cousin. Thirsting after the imaginary joys of Mohammed's fools' paradise, he cried aloud, "Methinks I see the black-eyed girls looking upon me, of whom if but one should appear in this world, all mankind would die for the love of her. And I see in the hand of one of them a handkerchief of green silk, and a cup made of precious stones, and she beckons me, and calls out, 'Come hither quickly, for I love thee.'" With these words charging the Christians, he made havoc where he went, till at last he was observed by the governor of Hems, who run him through with a javelin. When night parted the combatants, the Saracens returned to their camp, having had the worst of it all that day. And now Kaled, feeling confident that this success would dispose the Greeks to believe the Saracens were afraid of them, persuaded Abu Obeidah to fly before them the next morning, in the hopes of drawing them into disorder. The stratagem failed not of the desired success, for the Greeks had beaten them too well the day before to entertain the least suspicion that their flight was feigned. Upon this some of them began to plunder the camp, and the rest who pursued observed little order or caution. About noon the Saracens suddenly rallied, and "fell upon them like eagles upon a carcase." The Greek force being thus scattered, some in the pursuit, others in the spoil, the far greater part of it was surrounded by the Saracens; nor had any of them escaped but for the timely aid of the besieged, who sallied out of the city to their relief. Among those who fell was the governor, easily distinguishable by his red face, large size, and rich apparel, perfumed with musk. This defeat determined the besieged to surrender; but the Saracens, who had heard much and often of the emperor's preparation against them, and were expecting daily a bloody battle, had no leisure to stay and take possession, nor any men to spare by way of garrison. They therefore took the Christians at their word, and never a man of them went into the city till after the great battle of Yermouk, which determined the fate of Syria, and put the Saracens out of all fear of further opposition from the emperor. The Saracens departed from Hems, having lost that day two hundred and thirty-five men. The Christians, upon burying their dead, found them to be above one thousand six hundred.

Heraclius, wearied with a constant and uninterrupted succession of ill news, which like those of Job, came every day treading upon the heels of each other; grieved at the heart to see the Roman empire, once the mistress of the world, now become the scorn and spoil of barbarian insolence, resolved, if possible, to put an end to the outrages of the Saracens once for all. With this view he raised troops in all parts of his dominions, and collected so considerable an army, as, since the first invasion of the Saracens, had never appeared in Syria. Not much unlike one engaged in single combat, who, distrustful of his own abilities, and fearing the worst, summons together his whole strength, in hopes of ending the dispute with one decisive blow. Troops were sent to every tenable place which this inundation of the Saracens had not as yet reached, particularly to Cæsarea, and all the sea-coast of Syria; as Tyre and Sidon, Accah, Joppa, Tripolis, Beyrout, and Tiberias, besides another army to defend Jerusalem. The main body, which was designed to give battle to the whole force of the Saracens, was commanded by one Mahan, an Armenian, whom I take to be the very same that the Greek historians call Manuel. To his generals the emperor gave the best advice, charging them to behave themselves like men, and especially to take care to avoid all differences or dissensions. Afterwards, when he had expressed his astonishment at this extraordinary success of the Arabs, who were inferior to the Greeks, both in number, strength, arms, and discipline, after a short silence, a grave man stood up, and told him, that the reason of it was that the Greeks had walked unworthily of their Christian profession, and changed their religion from what it was when Jesus Christ first delivered it to them, injuring and oppressing one another, taking usury, committing fornication, and fomenting all manner of strife and variance among themselves. And, indeed, the vices of these Christians were at that time so flagrant, as to make them offensive to the very infidels, as confessed by the Greek writers themselves, and exaggerated by the Arabic ones. The emperor answered, "That he was too sensible of it." He then told them that he had thoughts of continuing no longer in Syria, but leaving his army to their management, he purposed to withdraw to Constantinople. In answer to which, they represented to him how much his departure would reflect upon his honour, what a lessening it would be to him in the eyes of his own subjects, and what occasion of triumph it would afford to his enemies the Saracens. Upon this they took their leave, and prepared for their march. Besides a vast army of Asiatics and Europeans, Mahan was joined by Al Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham, king of the Christian Arabs, who had under him sixty thousand men. These Mahan commanded to march always in the front, saying, that there was nothing like diamond to cut diamond. This great army, raised for the defence of Christian people, was little less insupportable than the Saracens themselves, committing all manner of disorder and outrage as they passed along; especially when they came to any of those places which had made any agreement with the Saracens, or surrendered to them, they swore and cursed, and reviled the inhabitants with reproachful language, and compelled them by force to bear them company. The poor people excused their submission to the Saracens, by their inability to defend themselves, and told the soldiers, that if they did not approve of what they had done, they ought themselves to have come sooner to their relief.

The news of this great army having reached the Saracens whilst they were at Hems, filled them full of apprehensions, and put them to a very great strait as to the best course to pursue in this critical juncture. Some of them would very willingly have shrunk back, and returned to Arabia. This course, they urged, presented a double advantage: on the one hand they would be sure of speedy assistance from their friends; and on the other, in that barren country, the numerous army of the enemy must needs be reduced to great scarcity. But Abu Obeidah, fearing lest such a retreat might by the caliph be interpreted cowardice in him, durst not approve of this advice. Others preferred to die in the defence of those stately buildings, fruitful fields, and pleasant meadows they had won by the sword, than voluntarily to return to their former starving condition. They proposed therefore to remain where they were, and wait the approach of the enemy. But Kaled disapproved of their remaining in their present position, as it was too near Cæsarea, where Constantine, the emperor's son, lay with forty thousand men; and recommended that they should march to Yermouk, where they might reckon on assistance from the caliph. As soon as Constantine heard of their departure, he sent a chiding letter to Mahan, and bade him mend his pace. Mahan advanced, but made no haste to give the Saracens battle, having received orders from the emperor to make overtures of peace, which were no sooner proposed than rejected by Abu Obeidah. Several messages passed between them. The Saracens, endeavouring to bring their countryman Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham, with his Christian Arabs, to a neutrality, were answered, that they were obliged to serve the emperor, and resolved to fight. Upon this, Kaled, contrary to the general advice, prepared to give him battle before Mahan should come up, although the number of his men, who, however, were the *élite* of the whole army, were very inconsiderable, urging that the Christians, being the army of the devil, had no advantage by their numbers against the Saracens, the army of God. In choosing his men, Kaled had called out more Ansers* than Mohajerins,† which, when it was observed, occasioned some grumbling, as it then was doubted whether it was because he respected them most, or because he had a mind to expose them to the greater danger, that he might favour the others. A very impertinent scruple, in my opinion, since he was to go with them himself. Kaled told them that he had chosen them without any such regard, only because they were persons he could depend upon, whose valour he had proved, and who had the faith rooted in their hearts. One Cathib happening to be called after his brother Sahal, and looking upon himself to be the better man, resented it as a high affront, and roundly abused Kaled. The latter, however, gave him very gentle and modest answers, to the great satisfaction of all, especially of Abu Obeidah, who, after a short contention, made them shake hands. Kaled indeed was admirable in this respect, that he knew no less how to govern his passions than to command the army; through, to most great generals, the latter frequently proves the easier task of the two. In this hazardous enterprise his success was beyond all expectation, for he threw Jabalah's Arabs into disorder, and killed a great many, losing very few of his own men on the field, besides five prisoners, three of whom were Yezid Ebn Abu Sofian, Rafi Ebn Omeira, and Derar Ebn Al Alzwar; all men of great note, and already frequently mentioned. Abu Obeidah sent Abdallah Ebn Kort with an express to Omar, acquainting him with their circumstances, begging his prayers, and some fresh recruits of Unitarians, a title they glory in, as reckoning themselves the only asserters of the unity of the Deity. Omar and the whole court were extremely surprised, but comforted themselves with the promises made to them in the Koran, which seemed now to be all they had left to trust to. To encourage the people, he went into the pulpit, and showed them the excellency of fighting for the cause of God, and afterwards returned an answer to Abu Obeidah, full of such spiritual consolation as the Koran could afford. Omar commanded Abdallah, as soon as ever he came near the camp, and before he delivered the letter, to cry out, "Good news," in order to comfort the Mussulmans, and ease them in some measure of the perplexing apprehensions they laboured under. As soon as he received this letter and message, together with Omar's blessing, he prepared to set out on his return to the army; but suddenly he remembered that he had omitted to pay his respects at Mohammed's tomb, which it was very uncertain whether he should ever see again. Upon this he hastened to Ayesha's house (the place where Mohammed was buried), and found her sitting by the tomb with Ali and Abbas, and

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* Those of Medina are called by that name, because they helped Mohammed in his flight from Mecca.

† Those that fled with him are called Mohajerins; by these names the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina are often distinguished, as has been observed in the beginning of this book.

Ali's two sons, Hasan and Hosein, one sitting upon Ali's lap, the other upon Abbas's. Ali was reading the chapter of beasts, being the sixth of the Koran, and Abbas the chapter of Hud, which is the eleventh. Abdallah, having paid his respects to Mohammed, Ali asked him whether he did not think of going? He answered, "Yes," but he feared he should not get to the army before the battle, which yet he greatly wished to do, if possible. "If you desired a speedy journey," answered Ali, "why did not you ask Omar to pray for you? Don't you know, that the prayers of Omar will not be turned back? Because the apostle of God said of him: 'If there were a prophet to be expected after me, it would be Omar, whose judgment agrees with the book of God.' The prophet said of him besides, 'If an [universal] calamity were to come from heaven upon mankind, Omar would escape from it.' Wherefore, if Omar prayed for thee, thou shalt not stay long for an answer from God." Abdallah told him, that he had not spoken one word in praise of Omar, but what he was very sensible of before. Only he desired to have not only his prayers but also those of all the Mussulmans, and especially of those who were at the tomb of the prophet. At these words, all present lifted up their hands to heaven, and Ali said, "O God, I beseech thee, for the sake of this chosen apostle, in whose name Adam prayed, and thou answeredst his petition, and forgavest his sins, that thou wouldst grant to Abdallah Ebn Kort a safe and speedy return, and assist the followers of thy prophet with help, O thou who alone art great and munificent!" Abdallah set out immediately, and afterwards returned to the camp with such incredible speed, that the Saracens were surprised. But their admiration ceased, when he informed them of Omar's blessing, and Ali's prayers at Mohammed's tomb.

Recruits were instantly raised in every part of Arabia to send to the army. Saïd Ebn Amir commanded them, having received a flag of red silk at the hands of Omar, who told him that he gave him that commission in hopes of his behaving himself well in it; advising him, among other things, not to follow his appetites; and not forgetting to put him in hopes of further advancement if he should deserve it. Saïd thanked him for his advice; adding, that if he followed it he should be saved. "And now," says Saïd, "as you have advised me, so let me advise you." "Speak on," says Omar. "I bid you then (added the other) fear God more than men, and not the contrary; and love all the Mussulmans as yourself and your family, as well those at a distance as those near you. And command that which is praiseworthy, and forbid that which is otherwise." Omar, all the while he spoke, stood looking stedfastly upon the ground, leaning his forehead upon his staff. Then he lifted up his head, and the tears ran down his cheeks, and he said, "Who is able to do this without the divine assistance?" Ali bade Saïd make good use of the caliph's advice, and dismissed him. Saïd, as he marched towards the army, lost his way, which turned out very unfortunate for the Christians; for by that means he fell in with the prefect of Amman with five thousand men. Saïd having cut all the foot to pieces, the prefect fled with the horse, but was intercepted by a party which had been sent out under Zobeir from the Saracen camp to forage. Saïd at first thought they had fallen together by the ears, and were fighting among themselves, but when he came up, and heard the techir, he was well satisfied. Zobeir ran the prefect through with a lance; of the rest not a single man escaped. The Saracens cut off all their heads, then flayed them, and so carried them upon the points of their lances, presenting a most horrible spectacle to all that part of the country, till they came to the army, which received fresh courage by the accession of this reinforcement, consisting of eight thousand men.

However, their satisfaction was greatly lessened by the loss of the five prisoners whom Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham had taken. Now it happened, that Mahan desired Abu Obeidah to send one of his officers to him for a conference. This being complied with, Kaled proffered his services, and being accepted by Abu Obeidah, by his advice he took along with him a hundred men, chosen out of the best soldiers in the army. Being met and examined by the out-guards, the chief of whom was Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham, they were ordered to wait till the general's pleasure should be known. Mahan would have had Kaled come to him alone, and leave his men behind him. But as Kaled refused to hear of this, they were commanded, as soon as they came near the general's tent, to alight from their horses, and deliver their swords; and when they would not submit to this either, they were at last permitted to enter as they pleased. They found Mahan sitting upon a throne, and seats prepared for themselves. But they refused to make use of them, and removing them, sat down upon the ground. Mahan asked them the reason of their doing so, and taxed them with want of breeding. To which Kaled answered, that that was the best breeding which was from God, and what God has prepared for us to sit down upon, is purer than your tapestries; defending their practice from a sentence of their prophet Mohammed, backed with this text of the Koran, "Out of it (meaning the earth) we have created you, and to it we shall return you, and out of it we shall bring you another time."* Mahan began then to expostulate with Kaled concerning their coming into Syria, and all those hostilities which they had committed there. But the whole speech is too tedious to be inserted here, especially as we have already given an account of some conferences much of the same nature. This, however, we may observe, that Mahan seemed satisfied with Kaled's way of talking, and said, that he had before that time entertained a quite different opinion of the Arabs, having been informed that they were a foolish ignorant people. Kaled confessed that that was the condition of most of them, till God sent their prophet Mohammed to lead them into the right way, and teach them to distinguish good from evil, and truth from error. During this conference they would argue very coolly for a while, and then again fly into a violent passion. At last it happened that Kaled told Mahan, that he should one day see him led with a rope about his neck to Omar, to be beheaded. Upon this Mahan told him, that the received law of all nations secured ambassadors from violence, which he supposed had encouraged him to take that indecent freedom; however, he was resolved to chastise his insolence in the persons of his friends the five prisoners, who should instantly be beheaded. At this threat Kaled, bidding Mahan attend to what he was about to say, swore by God, by Mohammed, and the holy temple of Mecca, that if he killed them he should die by his hands, and that every Saracen present should kill his man, be the consequences what they might;

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* Koran, chap. xx. 57.

and immediately rose from his place and drew his sword. The same was done by the rest of the Saracens. But when Mahan told him, that he would not meddle with him for the aforesaid reasons, they sheathed their swords, and talked calmly again. And then Mahan made Kaled a present of the prisoners, and begged of him his scarlet tent, which Kaled had brought with him, and pitched hard by. Kaled freely gave it him, and refused to take anything in return (though Mahan gave him his choice of whatever he liked best), thinking his own gift abundantly repaid by the liberation of the prisoners.

Both sides now prepared for that fight which was to determine the fate of Syria. The particulars are too tedious to be related, for they continued fighting for several days. Abu Obeidah resigned the whole command of the army to Kaled, standing himself in the rear, under the yellow flag, which Abubeker had given him at his first setting forth into Syria, being the same which Mohammed himself had fought under at the battle of Khaibar. Kaled judged this the most proper place for Abu Obeidah, not only because he was no extraordinary soldier, but because he hoped that the reverence for him would prevent the flight of the Saracens, who were now like to be as hard put to it as at any time since they first bore arms. For the same reason the women were placed in the rear. The Greeks charged so courageously, and with such vast numbers, that the right wing of the Saracen horse was quite borne down, and cut off from the main body of the army. But no sooner did they turn their backs than they were attacked by the women, who used them so ill, and loaded them with such plenty of reproaches, that they were glad to return every man to his post, and chose rather to face the enemy, than endure the storm of the women. However, they with much difficulty bore up, and were so hard pressed by the Greeks, that occasionally they were fain to forget what their generals had said a little before the fight, who told them that paradise was before them, and the devil and hell-fire behind them. Even Abu Sofian, who had himself used that very expression, was forced to retreat, and was received by one of the women with a hearty blow over the face with a tent-pole. Night at last parted the two armies, at the very time when the victory began to incline to the Saracens, who had been thrice beaten back, and as often forced to return by the women. Then Abu Obeidah said at once those prayers which belonged to two several hours. His reason for this was, I suppose, a wish that his men, of whom he was very tender, should have the more time to rest. Accordingly, walking about the camp he looked after the wounded men, oftentimes binding up their wounds with his own hands; telling them, that their enemies suffered the same pain that they did, but had not that reward to expect from God which they had.

Among other single combats, of which several were fought between the two armies, it chanced that Serjabil Ebn Shahhnah was engaged with an officer of the Christians, who was much too strong for him. The reason which our author assigns for this is, because Serjabil was wholly given up to watching and fasting. Derar, thinking he ought not to stand still and see the prophet's secretary killed, drew his dagger, and whilst the combatants were over head and ears in dust, came behind the Christian and stabbed him to the heart. The Saracens gave Derar thanks for his service, but he said that he would receive no thanks but from God alone. Upon this a dispute arose between Serjabil and Derar concerning the spoil of this officer. Derar claimed it as being the person that killed him: Serjabil as having engaged him, and tired him out first. The matter being referred to Abu Obeidah, he proposed the case to the caliph, concealing the names of the persons concerned, who sent him word that the spoil of any enemy was due to him that killed him. Upon which Abu Obeidah took it from Serjabil, and adjudged it to Derar.

Another day the Christian archers did such execution, that besides those Saracens which were killed and wounded in other parts, there were seven hundred which lost each of them one or both of their eyes, upon which account the day in which that battle was fought is called Yaumo'ttewir, "The Day of Blinding." And if any of those who lost their eyes that day were afterwards asked by what mischance he was blinded, he would answer that it was not a mischance, but a token of favour from God; for they gloried as much in those wounds they received in the defence of their superstition, as our enthusiasts do in what they call persecution, and with much the same reason. Abdallah Ebn Kort, who was present in all the wars in Syria, says that he never saw so hard a battle as that which was fought on that day at Yermouk; and though the generals fought most desperately, yet after all they would have been beaten if the fight had not been renewed by the women. Caulah, Derar's sister, being wounded, fell down; but Opheirah revenged her quarrel, and struck off the man's head that did it. Upon Opheirah asking her how she did, she answered, "Very well with God, but a dying woman." However, she proved to be mistaken, for in the evening she was able to walk about as if nothing had happened, and to look after the wounded men.

In the night the Greeks had another calamity added to their misfortune of losing the victory in the day. It was drawn upon them by their own inhuman barbarity. There was at Yermouk a gentleman of a very ample fortune, who had removed thither from Hems for the sake of the sweet salubrity of its air. When Mahan's army came to Yermouk this gentleman used to entertain the officers, and treat them nobly. To requite him for his courtesy, whilst they were this day revelling at his house, they bade him bring out his wife to them, and upon his refusing, they took her by force, and abused her all night; and, to aggravate their barbarity, they seized his little son, and cut his head off. The poor lady took her child's head, and carried it to Mahan, and having given him an account of the outrages committed by his officers, demanded satisfaction. He took but little notice of the affair, and put her off with a slight answer. Upon which her husband, resolved to take the first opportunity of being revenged, went privately over to the Saracens, and acquainted them with his design. Returning back to the Greeks, he told them it was in his power to do them singular service. He therefore takes a great number of them, and brings them to a great stream, which was very deep, and only fordable at one place. By his instructions, five hundred of the Saracen horse had crossed over where the water was shallow, and after attacking the Greeks, in a very little time returned in excellent order by the same way they came. The injured gentleman calls out, and encourages the Greeks to pursue,* who, not at all acquainted with the place, plunge into the water confusedly, and perished in great numbers. In the subsequent engagements before Yermouk (all of which were in November, 636), the Christians invariably were defeated, till at last Mahan's vast army being broken and dispersed, he was forced to fly, thus leaving the Saracens masters of the field, and wholly delivered from those terrible apprehensions with which the news of his great preparations had filled them.

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* Teoph. p. 280.

A short time after Abu Obeidah wrote to the caliph the following letter.

"In the name of the most merciful God, &c.

"This is to acquaint thee that I encamped at Yermouk, where Mahan was near us, with such an army as that the Mussulmans never beheld a greater. But God, of his abundant grace and goodness, overthrew this multitude, and gave us the victory over them. We killed of them about a hundred and fifty thousand, and took forty thousand prisoners. Of the Mussulmans were killed four thousand and thirty, to whom God had decreed the honour of martyrdom. Finding some heads cut off, and not knowing whether they belonged to the Mussulmans or Christians, I prayed over them and buried them. Mahan was afterwards killed at Damascus by Nooman Ebn Alkamah. There was one Abu Joaid that before the battle had belonged to them, having come from Hems; he drowned of them a great number unknown to any but God. As for those that fled into the deserts and mountains, we have destroyed them all, and stopped all the roads and passages, and God has made us masters of their country, and wealth, and children. Written after the victory from Damascus, where I stay expecting thy orders concerning the division of the spoil. Fare thee well, and the mercy and blessing of God be upon thee, and all the Mussulmans."

Omar, in a short letter, expressed his satisfaction, and gave the Saracens thanks for their perseverance and diligence; commanding Abu Obeidah to continue where he was till further orders. As Omar had mentioned nothing concerning the spoil, Abu Obeidah regarded it as left to his own discretion, and divided it without waiting for fresh instructions. To a horseman he gave thrice as much as to a footman, and made a further difference between those horses which were of the right Arabian breed (which they looked upon to be far the best) and those that were not, allowing twice as much to the former as to the latter. And when they were not satisfied with this distribution, Abu Obeidah told them that the prophet had done the same after the battle of Khaibar; which, upon appeal made to Omar, was by him confirmed. Zobeir had at the battle of Yermouk two horses, which he used to ride by turns. He received five lots, three for himself and two for his horses. If any slaves had run away from their masters before the battle, and were afterwards retaken, they were restored to their masters, who nevertheless received an equal share of the spoil with the rest.

The Saracens having rested a month at Damascus, and refreshed themselves, Abu Obeidah sent to Omar to know whether he should go to Cæsarea or Jerusalem. Ali being present when Omar was deliberating, said, to Jerusalem first, adding, that he had heard the prophet say as much. This city they had a great longing after, as being the seat and burying place of a great many of the ancient prophets, in whom they reckoned none to have so deep an interest as themselves. Abu Obeidah having received orders to besiege it, sent Yezid Ebn Abu Sofian thither first, with five thousand men; and for five days together sent after him considerable numbers of men, under his most experienced and trustworthy officers. The Ierosolymites expressed no signs of fear, nor would they vouchsafe so much as to send out a messenger to parley; but, planting their engines upon the walls, made preparation for a vigorous defence. Yezid at last went near the walls, with an interpreter, to know their minds, and to propose the usual terms. When these were rejected, the Saracens would willingly have assaulted the town forthwith, had not Yezid told them that the general had not commanded them to make any assault, but only to sit down before the city; and thereupon sent to Abu Obeidah, who forthwith gave them order to fight. The next morning the generals having said the morning prayer, each at the head of their respective divisions, they all, as it were with one consent, quoted this versicle out of the Koran, as being very apposite and pertinent to their present purpose: "O people! enter ye into the holy land which God hath decreed for you;"* being the twenty-fourth verse of the fifth chapter of the Koran, where the impostor introduces Moses speaking to the children of Israel, and which words the Saracens dexterously interpreted as belonging no less to themselves than to their predecessors, the Israelites. Nor have our own parts of the world been altogether destitute of such able expositors, who apply to themselves, without limitation or exception, whatever in scripture is graciously expressed in favour of the people of God; while, whatever is said of the wicked and ungodly, and of all the terrors and judgments denounced against them, they bestow with a liberal hand upon their neighbours. After their prayers were over, the Saracens began their assault. The Ierosolymites never flinched, but sent them showers of arrows from the walls, and maintained the fight with undaunted courage till the evening. Thus they continued fighting ten days, and on the eleventh Abu Obeidah came up with the remainder of the army. He had not been there long before he sent the besieged the following letter:—

"In the name of the most merciful God.

"From Abu Obeidah Ebn Aljerahh, to the chief commanders of the people of Ælia and the inhabitants thereof,† health and happiness to every one that follows the right way, and believes in God and the apostle. We require of you to testify, that there is but one God, and Mohammed is his apostle, and that there shall be a day of judgment, when God shall raise the dead out of their sepulchres; and when you have borne witness to this, it is unlawful for us either to shed your blood, or meddle with your substance or children. If you refuse this, consent to pay tribute, and be under us forthwith; otherwise I shall bring men against you, who love death better than you do the drinking of wine, or eating hogs' flesh: nor will I ever stir from you, if it please God, till I have destroyed those that fight for you, and made slaves of your children."

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* Koran, chap. v. 24.

† Ib., chap. xx. 49. They use these words almost always when they write to Christians; and so the king of Fez wrote to our Prince Regent.

The eating swines' flesh,* and drinking wine,† are both forbidden in the Koran, which occasioned that reflection of Abu Obeidah upon the practice of the Christians. The besieged, not a whit daunted, held out four whole months entire, during all which time, not one day passed without fighting; and it being winter time, the Saracens suffered a great deal of hardship through the extremity of the weather. At last, when the besieged had well considered the obstinacy of the Saracens; who, they had good reason to believe, would never raise the siege till they had taken the city, whatever time it took up, or whatever pains it might cost them; Sophronius the patriarch went to the wall, and by an interpreter discoursed with Abu Obeidah, telling him, that Jerusalem was the holy city, and whoever came into the holy land with any hostile intent, would render himself obnoxious to the divine displeasure. To which Abu Obeidah answered, "We know that it is a noble city, and that our prophet Mohammed went from it in one night to heaven,‡ and approached within two bows' shot of his Lord, or nearer; and that it is the mine of the prophets, and their sepulchres are in it. But we are more worthy to have possession of it than you are; neither will we leave besieging it, till God delivers it up to us, as he hath done other places, before it.§ At last the patriarch consented that the city should be surrendered, upon condition that the inhabitants received the articles of their security and protection from the caliph's own hands, and not by proxy.‖ Accordingly, Abu Obeidah wrote to Omar to come, whereupon he advised with his friends. Othman, who afterwards succeeded him in the government, dissuaded him from going, in order that the Ierosolymites might see that they were despised, and beneath his notice. Ali was of a very different opinion, urging that the Mussulmans had endured great hardship in so long a siege, and suffered much from the extremity of the cold; that the presence of the caliph would be a great refreshment and encouragement to them, and adding, that the great respect which the Christians had for Jerusalem, as being the place to which they went on pilgrimage, ought to be considered; that it ought not to be supposed that they would easily part with it, but that it would soon be reinforced with fresh supplies. This advice of Ali being preferred to Othman's, the caliph resolved upon his journey; which, according to his frugal style of living, required no great expense or equipage. When he had said his prayers in the mosque, and paid his respects at Mohammed's tomb, he appointed Ali his substitute, and set forward with a small retinue; the greatest part of which, having kept him company a little way, returned back to Medina. He rode upon a red camel, with a couple of sacks; in one of which he carried that sort of provision, which the Arabs call sawik, which is either barley, rice, or wheat, sodden and unhusken; the other was full of fruits. Before him he carried a very great leather bottle (very necessary in those desert countries to put water in), behind him a large wooden platter. Thus furnished and equipped, the caliph travelled, and when he came to any place where he was to rest all night, he never went from it till he had said the morning prayer. After which, turning himself about to those that were with him, he said, "Praise be to God, who has strengthened us with the true religion, and given us his prophet, and led us out of error, and united us (who were at variance) in the confession of the truth, and given us the victory over our enemy, and the possession of his country. O ye servants of God! Praise him for these abundant favours; for God gives increase to those that ask for it, and are desirous of those things which are with him; and fulfils his grace upon those that are thankful." Then filling his platter with the sawik, he very liberally entertained his fellow-travellers, who, without distinction, ate with him all out of the same dish.

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* Koran, chap. ii. 168. † Ib., chap. v. 92, 93.

‡ Ib., chap. xvii. 1—liii. 10.

§ See Life of Mohammed, an account of his night-journey to heaven.

‖ Price says, that Abu Obeidah had sent Amrou to commence the siege of Jerusalem, but the governor of the city announced to the latter that the prosecution of the siege, on his part, was labour entirely lost; because there existed a well-known prediction that the sacred city was destined to yield to a person distinguished by certain marks, of which not one was to be recognised in the person of Amrou, or in any part of his character. Amrou subsequently obtained a description of these marks, one of which was that the name of the conqueror would only consist of three letters, and though the name of Amrou is composed of four, yet in Arabic, that of Omar contains only three; and this, with some other apparent coincidences, is said to have been the principal motive for his coming.

Whilst he was upon this journey, at one of his stages, a complaint was brought before him of a man that had married two wives, that were sisters by the same father and mother also; a thing which the old Arabians, so long as they continued in their idolatry, made no scruple of. This is clear from that passage in the Koran, where it is forbidden for the time to come, and expressed after such a manner as evidently proves it to have been no uncommon practice among them. Omar was very angry, and cited him and his two wives to make their appearance before him forthwith. After the fellow had confessed that they were both his wives, and so nearly related, Omar asked him what religion he might be of, or whether he was a Mussulman? "Yes," said the fellow. "And did you not know, then," said Omar, "that it was unlawful for you to have them, when God has said, neither marry two sisters any more?"* The fellow swore, that he did not know that it was unlawful; neither was it unlawful. Omar swore he lied, and that he would make him part with one of them, or else strike his head off. The fellow began to grumble, and said, "that he wished he had never been of that religion, for he could have done as well without it, and had never been a whit the better for it since he had first professed it." Upon which Omar called him a little nearer, and gave him two blows upon the crown with his stick, to teach him better manners, and a more reverent way of speaking of Mohammedanism, saying, "O thou enemy of God, and of thyself, dost thou revile Islamism, which is the religion that God and his angels, and apostles, and the best of the creation have chosen?" And threatened him severely, if he did not make a quick despatch, and take which of them he loved best. The fellow was so fond of them both, that he could not tell which he would rather part with; upon which some of Omar's attendants cast lots for the two women. The lot falling upon one of them three times, the man took her, and was forced to dismiss the other. Omar called him to him, and said, "Pray mind what I say to you; if any man makes profession of our religion, and then leaves it, we kill him; therefore, see you do not renounce Islamism; and take heed to yourself, for if ever I hear that you lie with your wife's sister, which you have put away, you shall be stoned."

Passing on a little further, he happened to see some poor tributaries, whom their hard masters, the Saracens, were punishing for non-payment, by setting them in the sun; a punishment very grievous in that torrid zone. When Omar understood the cause of it, he asked the poor people what they had to say for themselves? They answered, that they were not able. Upon which he said, "Let them alone, and do not compel them to more than they are able to bear; for I heard the apostle of God say, Do not afflict men; for those who afflict men in this world, God shall punish them in hell-fire at the day of judgment." And immediately commanded them to let them go.

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* Koran, chap. iv. 27.

Before he got to his journey's end, he was informed of an old man that suffered a young one to go partner with him in his wife; so that one of them was to have her four and twenty hours, and then the other, and so alternately. Omar having sent for them, and upon examination found them to be Mussulmans, wondered at it, and asked the old man, if he did not know that what he had done was forbidden by the law of God? They both swore, that they knew no such thing. Omar asked the old man, what made him consent to such a vile thing? Who answered, that he was in years, and his strength failed him, and he had never a son to look after his business, and this young man was very serviceable to him in watering and feeding his camels, and he had recompensed him that way; but since it was unlawful, he promised that it should be so no more. Omar bid him take his wife by the hand, and told him, "that nobody had any thing to do with her but himself. And for your part, young man," says he, "if ever I hear that you come near her again, off goes your head."

Omar, having all the way he went, set things aright that were amiss, and distributed justice impartially, for which he was singularly eminent among the Saracens, came at last into the confines of Syria; and when he drew near Jerusalem he was met by Abu Obeidah, and conducted to the Saracen camp, where he was welcomed with the liveliest demonstrations of joy. In the morning after Abu Obeidah met him, for he did not reach the camp on that day, he said the usual prayers, and if we may take my author's word for it, preached a good sermon. In the course of his address, as he quoted this text out of the Koran; "He whom God shall direct is led in the right way; but thou shalt not find a friend to direct him aright whom

God shall lead into error,"* a Christian priest that sat before him stood up, and said, "God leads no man into error;" and repeated it. Omar said nothing to him, but bid those that stood by strike off his head, if he should say so again. The old man understood what he said, and held his peace whilst Omar proceeded in his sermon.

Omar having met with some of the Saracens richly dressed in silks that they had taken by way of plunder after the battle of Yermouk, spoiled all their pride, for he caused them to be dragged along in the dirt with their faces downwards, and their clothes to be rent in pieces. As soon as he came within sight of the city, he cried out, "Allah Acbar: O God, give us an easy conquest." Pitching his tent, which was made of hair, he sat down in it upon the ground. The Christians hearing that Omar was come, from whose hands they were to receive their articles, desired to confer with him personally. Upon which the Mussulmans would have persuaded him not to expose his person, for fear of some treachery. But Omar resolutely answered, in the words of the Koran; "Say, 'There shall nothing befall us but what God hath decreed for us; he is our Lord, and in God let all the believers put their trust.'"† After a brief parley, the besieged capitulated, and because those articles of agreement made by Omar with the Ierosolymites are, as it were, the pattern which the Mohammedan princes have chiefly imitated, I shall not think it inappropriate to give the sense of them in this place, as I find them in the author of the History of Jerusalem, or the Holy Land,‡ which I have mentioned before.

The articles were these; 1. "The Christians shall build no new churches, either in the city or the adjacent territory. 2. They shall not refuse the Mussulmans entrance into their churches, either by night or day. 3. They should set open the doors of them to all passengers and travellers. 4. If any Mussulman should be upon a journey, they shall be obliged to entertain him gratis for the space of three days. 5. They should not teach their children the Koran, nor talk openly of their religion, nor persuade any one to be of it; neither should they hinder any of their relations from becoming

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* Koran, chap. xviii. 16. † Ib. ix. 51. ‡ MS. Arab. Pocock. No. 362.

Mohammedans, if they had an inclination to it. 6. They shall pay respect to the Mussulmans, and if they were sitting rise up to them. 7. They should not go like the Mussulmans in their dress; nor wear the same caps, shoes, nor turbans, nor part their hair as they do, nor speak after the same manner, nor be called by the names used by the Mussulmans. 8. They shall not ride upon saddles, nor bear any sort of arms, nor use the Arabic tongue in the inscriptions of their seals. 9. They shall not sell any wine. 10. They shall be obliged to keep to the same sort of habit wheresover they went, and always wear girdles upon their waists. 11. They shall set no crosses upon their churches, nor show their crosses nor their books openly in the streets of the Mussulmans. 12. They shall not ring, but only toll their bells: nor shall they take any servant that had once belonged to the Mussulmans. 13. They shall not overlook the Mussulmans in their houses: and some say, that Omar commanded the inhabitants of Jerusalem to have the foreparts of their heads shaved, and obliged them to ride upon their pannels sideways, and not like the Mussulmans."

Upon these terms the Christians had liberty of conscience, paying such tribute as their masters thought fit to impose upon them; and Jerusalem, once the glory of the east, was forced to submit to a heavier yoke than ever it had borne before. For though the number of the slain, and the calamities of the besieged were greater when it was taken by the Romans; yet the servitude of those that survived was nothing comparable to this, either in respect of the circumstances or the duration. For however it might seem to be utterly ruined and destroyed by Titus, yet by Hadrian's time it had greatly recovered itself. Now it fell, as it were, once for all, into the hands of the most mortal enemies of the Christian religion, and has continued so ever since; with the exception of a brief interval of about ninety years, during which it was held by the Christians in the holy war.

The Christians having submitted on these terms, Omar gave them the following writing under his hand.

"In the name of the most merciful God.

"From Omar Ebn Al Khattab, to the inhabitants of Ælia. They shall be protected and secured both in their lives and fortunes, and their churches shall neither be pulled down, nor made use of by any but themselves."

Upon this the gates were immediately opened, and the caliph and those that were with him marched in.* The patriarch kept them company, and the caliph talked with him familiarly, and asked him many questions concerning the antiquities of the place. Among other places which they visited, they went into the temple of the resurrection, and Omar sat down in the midst of it. When the time of prayers was come (the Mohammedans have five set times of prayer in a day), Omar told the patriarch, that he had a mind to pray, and desired him to show him a place where he might perform his devotion. The patriarch bade him pray where he was; but this he positively refused. Then taking him out from thence, the patriarch went with him into Constantine's church, and laid a mat for him to pray there, but he would not. At last he went alone to the steps which were at the east gate of St. Constantine's church, and kneeled by himself upon one of them. Having ended his prayers, he sat down, and asked the patriarch if he knew why he had refused to pray in the church. The patriarch confessed that he could not tell what were his reasons. "Why, then," says Omar, "I will tell you. You know I promised you that none of your churches should be taken away from you, but that you should possess them quietly yourselves. Now if I had prayed in any one of these churches, the Mussulmans would infallibly take it away from you as soon as I had departed homeward. And notwithstanding all you might allege, they would say, this is the place where Omar prayed, and we will pray here too. And so you would have been turned out of your church, contrary both to my intention and your expectation. But because my praying even on the steps of one, may perhaps give some occasion to the Mussulmans to cause you disturbance on this account; I shall take what care I can to prevent that." So calling for pen, ink, and paper, he expressly commanded that none of the Mussulmans should pray upon the steps in any multitudes, but one by one. That they should never meet there to go to prayers. And that the muezzin, or crier, that calls the people to prayers, (for the

* Year of the Hej. 16. A.D. 637.

Mohammedans never use bells) should not stand there. This paper he gave to the patriarch for a security, lest his praying upon the steps of the church should have set such an example to the Mussulmans as might occasion any inconvenience to the Christians. A noble instance of singular fidelity and the religious observance of a promise. This caliph did not think it enough to perform what he engaged himself, but used all possible diligence to oblige others to do so too. And when the unwary patriarch had desired him to pray in the church, little considering what might be the consequence, the caliph, well knowing how apt men are to be superstitious in the imitation of their princes and great men, especially such as they look upon to be successors of a prophet, made the best provision he could, that no pretended imitation of him might lead to the infringement of the security he had already given.

There is a story,* that the caliph desired the patriarch to assign him a place where he might build a mosque for the celebration of the Mohammedan service; and that the patriarch showed him the place where Jacob's stone lay, which he slept upon when he saw the vision.† Now the stone was thickly covered with dirt, and the caliph taking up as much as he could of it in his vest, began to remove it. The Mussulmans perceiving what the caliph did, very readily assisted him; some filling their bucklers, some their vests, others baskets; so that in a very short time they had removed all the rubbish and dirt, and cleared the stone.‡ After this the caliph, leaving their churches to the Christians, built a new temple in the place where Solomon's formerly stood, and consecrated it to the Mohammedan superstition. From thence he went to Bethlehem, and going into the church, prayed there; and when he had done, he gave the patriarch, under his hand, the same security for the church as he had done before at Jerusalem, strictly forbidding any of the Mohammedans to pray there, unless it were a single person at a time; and interdicting the muezzins from ever calling the people to prayers there. But notwithstanding all the caliph's precaution, the Saracens afterwards seized this church for their own use; as they also did St. Constantine's at Jerusalem; for they took half the porch, in which were the steps where Omar had prayed, and built a mosque there, inclosing these steps in it. Had Omar said his prayers in the body of the church, they would, without all question, have taken that too.

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* Elmakin, Golius's notes upon Alferganus, p. 137.

† Gen. xxviii.

‡ Theoph. p. 281.

In the same year that Jerusalem was taken, Saïd Ebn Abi Wakkas, one of Omar's captains, was making fearful havoc in the territories of Persia. He took Madayen, formerly the treasury and magazine of Cosroes, king of Persia; where he found money and rich furniture of all sorts, inestimable. Elmakin says, that they found there no less than three thousand million of ducats, besides Cosroes' crown and wardrobe, which was exceedingly rich, his clothes being all adorned with gold and jewels of great value. Then they opened the roof of Cosroes' porch, where they found another considerable sum. They also plundered his armory, which was well stored with all sorts of weapons. Among other things they brought to Omar a piece of silk hangings, sixty cubits square, all curiously wrought with needle-work. That it was of great value, appears from the price which Ali had for that part of it which fell to his share when Omar divided it; which, though it was none of the best, yielded him twenty thousand pieces of silver.* After this, in the same year, the Persians were defeated by the Saracens in a great battle near Jaloulah.† And now Yezdejird, perceiving matters grow worse every day, retired to Ferganah, a city of Persia.‡

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* Major Price estimates the booty at £300,000,000 sterling. Gibbon says, "The naked robbers of the desert were suddenly enriched beyond the measure of their hope or knowledge. Each chamber revealed a new treasure secreted with art, or ostentatiously displayed; the gold and silver, the various wardrobes and precious furniture, surpassed the estimate of fancy or numbers." But the Arabs were yet ignorant of the value of their booty; some of them offered to exchange gold for silver; and others, mistaking camphor for salt, mingled it with their bread, and were surprised at the bitterness of its taste.

† At Jaloulah, another immense booty was the reward of successful enterprise. Price mentions one article in particular, a golden camel, enriched with all sorts of jewels, and surmounted by a figure of a man, also of gold, which was found in one of the tents by an Arab soldier, and faithfully delivered to the person whose charge it was to collect the spoil.

‡ "It would be tedious and unprofitable to detail the different events which attended the submission of the governors of the various provinces of Persia, but a circumstance involved with the fall of the province of Anwaz and Susa is so illustrative of oriental manners, that it is inserted here to

We must now proceed with the conquest of Syria. Omar, having taken Jerusalem, continued there about ten days, to put things in order. And here Alwakidi tells us a story of one Kaab, a Jew, who came to him to be received as a proselyte, saying, that his father, who was thoroughly skilled in the law of Moses, had told him about Mohammed's being the seal of the prophets, and that after him all inspiration was to cease. Among other things, Kaab asked him what was said concerning the Mohammedan religion in the Koran. Omar quoted such texts out of it as were likely to suit his palate, as having been brought up a Jew; namely, "Abraham commanded his sons concerning it; and so did Jacob; saying, O children! God has made choice of a religion for you;* wherefore do not die before you be Mussulmans.†"

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relieve the sanguinary uniformity of the Saracenic annals. The Arabs besieged Harmozan, the governor of this province, in his castle at Susa. The fortress soon surrendered, and the Persian satrap was conducted to Medina; where, at the moment of his arrival, the caliph was reposing himself amidst a crowd of paupers, on the steps of the great mosque. The Persian, unaccustomed to associate the ideas of simplicity of manners with the power of royalty, requested to be conducted into the presence of Omar. The caliph, awakened by the noise, directed the Mussulmans to lead their prisoner into a chamber of the mosque. Seated in the chair of Mohammed, the conqueror commanded his captive to be stripped of his gorgeous habiliments, and asked him whether he was sensible of the judgments of God, and of the different rewards of infidelity and obedience? "Alas," replied Harmozan, "I feel them too deeply. In the days of our common ignorance, we fought with the weapons of the flesh, and my nation was superior: God was then neuter: since he has espoused your quarrel, you have subverted our kingdom and religion." The Persian complained of thirst, and wished to drink in the presence of his conqueror, as, according to the custom of the Orientals, that circumstance would have entitled the prisoner to the privileges of his friendship. "Why do you ask for water?" demanded the caliph. "My thirst is intolerable," answered the satrap, "and I ask for water for the preservation of my life." "Your life is not in danger till you have drunk the water," said the caliph. The crafty Harmozanda shed the vase to the ground. Though a promise of perpetual safety was far from being the meaning of Omar, yet the calls of mercy and the sacred solemnity of justice forbade the caliph from recalling his unguarded language. See *Mills*. Major Price records that this Harmozan afterwards became a Mohammedan, and resided at Medina upon a trifling pension from the public treasury. Upon the death of Omar, however, he fell a sacrifice at the hands of Abdallah, the son of the caliph, who knowing him to have been intimate with the assassin of his father, supposed him also to be implicated in his murder.

* Koran, chap. ii. 126.

† Ib. iii. 96.

Again, "Abraham was neither a Jew nor Christian, but a religious Mussulman, and was not of the number of those who join partners with God."* And then, "He that shall desire any other religion but Islamism, it shall not be accepted of him."† Again, "Will they desire any other than God's religion, to whom everything in heaven and earth‡ submits itself."§ And then, "The religion of Abraham your father: he gave you the name of Mussulmans."‖ The rabbi, convinced with so many pregnant texts, that the Mohammedan religion was no other than that of Abraham and the patriarchs, repeated instantly, "La Ilaha," &c. "There is but one God, and Mohammed is his apostle." Omar was very well pleased with his new proselyte, and invited him to go along with him to Medina, to visit the prophet's tomb, to which he consented.

Omar now thought of returning to Medina, having first disposed his affairs after the following manner. Syria he divided into two parts; and committed all that lies between Hauran and Aleppo to Abu Obeidah, with orders to make war upon it till he had completely subdued it. Yezid Ebn Abu Sofian was to take the charge of all Palestine and the sea-shore. Amrou Ebn Al Aas was sent to invade Egypt, no inconsiderable part of the emperor's dominions, which were now continually mouldering away. The Saracens at Medina had almost given Omar over, and began to conclude that he would never stir from Jerusalem, but be won to stay there from the richness of the country and the sweetness of the air; but especially, by the thought, that it was the country of the prophets, and the holy land, and the place where we must all be summoned together at the resurrection. At last he came, the more welcome the less he had been expected. Abu Obeidah, in the meantime, reduced Kinnisrin and Ahadir, the inhabitants paying down five thousand ounces of gold, and as many of silver, two thousand suits of clothes of several sorts of silk, and five hundred asses' loads of figs and olives. Yezid marched against Cæsarea in vain, that place being too well fortified to be taken by his little army, especially since it had been reinforced by the emperor, who had sent a store of all sorts of provision by sea, and a reinforcement to the garrison of two thousand men. The inhabitants of Aleppo were much disheartened by the loss of Kinnisrin and Alhadir, well knowing that it would not be long before their turn would come to experience themselves what, till then, they had known only by report. They had two governors, brothers, who dwelt in the castle (the strongest in all Syria), which was not at that time encompassed by the town, but stood out of it, at a little distance. The name of one of these brethren, if my author mistakes not, was Youkinna, the other John. Their father held of the Emperor Heraclius all the territory between Aleppo and Euphrates, after whose decease Youkinna managed the affairs; John, not troubling himself with secular employments, did not meddle with the government, but led a monkish life, spending his time in retirement, reading, and deeds of charity. He tried to persuade his brother to secure himself, by compounding with the Arabs for a good round sum of money; but he told him that he talked like a monk, and did not understand what belonged to a soldier; that he had provisions and warlike means enough, and was resolved to make the best resistance he could. Accordingly the next day he called his men together, among whom there were several Christian Arabs, and having armed them, and for their encouragement distributed some money among them, told them that he was fully purposed to act offensively, and, if possible, give the Saracens battle before they should come too near Aleppo. He was informed that the Saracen army was divided and weakened; a part being gone to Cæsarea, another to Damascus, and a third into Egypt. Having thus inspirited his men, he marched forwards with twelve thousand. Abu Obeidah had sent before him Kaab Ebn Damarah with one thousand men, but with express orders not to fight till he had received information of the strength of the enemy. Youkinna's spies found Kaab and his men resting themselves, and watering their horses, quite secure, and free from all apprehension of danger. Upon which Youkinna laid an ambuscade, and then, with the rest of his men, fell upon the Saracens. The engagement was sharp, and the Saracens had the best of it at first; but the ambuscade breaking in upon them, they were in great danger of being overpowered with numbers; one hundred and seventy of them being slain, and most of the rest being grievously wounded, that they were upon the very brink of despair, and cried out, "Ya Mohammed! Ya Mohammed!" "O Mohammed! O Mohammed!" However, with much difficulty, they made shift to hold up till night parted them, earnestly expecting the coming of Abu Obeidah.

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* Koran, iii. 60. † Ib. iii. 78. ‡ Ib. iii. 77.
§ Arabic, "Aflama." ‖ Koran, xxii. 77.

In the meantime, whilst Youkinna was going out with his forces to engage the Saracens, the wealthy and trading people of Aleppo, knowing very well how hard it would go with them if they should stand it out obstinately to the last, and be taken by storm, resolved upon debate to go and make terms with Abu Obeidah, that, let Youkinna's success be what it would, they might be secure. Accordingly, thirty of the chief men of the town went to him, being then at Kinnisrin, and just upon his march; and as soon as they came near cried out, "Legoun, Legoun." This Abu Obeidah understood meant quarter, and had formerly written to the captains in Syria, that if any of them heard any man use that word, they should not be hasty to kill him, otherwise they must answer it at the day of judgment, and the caliph would be be clear. They were therefore brought before Abu Obeidah, and perceiving that there were fires in the camp, and some were saying their prayers, others reading the Koran, and all very easy and secure, one of them said, "They have most certainly gotten the victory." An interpreter that stood by told this to Abu Obeidah, who till then knew nothing of the battle. Upon examination they told him, that they were merchants, and the chief traders of Aleppo, and were come to make articles for themselves; that Youkinna was a tyrant; and that he had marched out against the Saracens yesterday. Abu Obeidah hearing this, gave Kaab Ebn Damarah over for lost, which made him at first the more unwilling to treat with the Aleppians; but upon their earnest and repeated intreaty, and being naturally inclined to compassion, and withal considering that these persons (for there were several belonging to the neighbouring villages that had joined themselves with them) might be serviceable in helping the army to provision and provender, he cried out, "God loves those that are inclined to do good;"* and turning himself to the Saracens, he represented the advantages which might accrue to them, by receiving these people into their protection. But one that was present told him, that the town was very near the castle, and he did not believe they were in earnest, or ought to be trusted; "for," says he, "they come to impose on us, and no question but they have trepanned Kaab." To whom Abu Obeidah answered, "Entertain, man, a better opinion of God, who will not deceive us, nor give them the dominion over us." Then he proposed to them the same conditions which they of Kinnisrin and Hader had agreed to; but they desired to be excused, alleging, that through the oppression and tyranny of Youkinna, their city of Aleppo was nothing near so well-peopled, nor half so rich as Kinnisrin; but if he pleased to accept of half so much, they would endeavour to raise it. This he accepted, with the further condition, that they should take care to furnish the camp with all things necessary, and give all necessary intelligence that might be of any use to the Mussulmans, and also hinder Youkinna from returning to the castle. They undertook all but the last article, which they said was altogether out of their power. Then he made them swear every one (such an oath as they had been used to), and bade them take care how they broke it, for if they did, there would be no quarter. When they were going away, he proffered them a guard to see them safe home; but they told him they would, if he pleased, save him that trouble, since they could go home the same way they came, without any fear of Youkinna.

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* Koran, chap. ii. 190; iii. 129, 141. v. 16.

As they were going back, they chanced to meet with one of Youkinna's officers, to whom they gave an account of the whole transaction. Upon this he hastened with all possible speed to his master; who was waiting with impatience for the morning, that he might despatch Kaab and his men, whom the coming of the night had preserved: but hearing this news, he began to fear lest an attempt should be made upon the castle in his absence, and thought it safest to make the best of his way homeward. In the morning the Saracens were surprized to see no enemy, and wondered what was the matter with them. Kaab would have pursued them, but none of his men had any inclination to go with him; so they rested themselves, and in a little time Kaled and Abu Obeidah came up with the rest of the army. Then they went about burying their martyrs, as they call them, and put them into the ground, all bloody as they were, their clothes, arms, and all together. For Abu Obeidah had said, that he had heard the apostle of God say, that "The martyrs and those who are killed in the service of God shall be raised at the day of judgment with their blood upon their throats, which shall have the colour of blood, but the smell of musk, and they shall be led directly into paradise, without being called to an account."

As soon as they were buried, Abu Obeidah reminded Kaled of the obligation they were under to protect the Aleppians, now their confederates, who were likely to be exposed to the outrage and cruelty of Youkinna, for, in all probability, he would severely resent their defection. They therefore marched as fast as they could, and when they drew near Aleppo, found that they had not been at all wrong in their apprehensions. Youkinna had drawn up his soldiers with a design to fall upon the townsmen, and threatened them with present death, unless they would break their covenant with the Arabs, and go out with him to fight them, and unless they brought out to him the first contriver and proposer of the convention. At last he fell upon them in good earnest, and killed about three hundred of them. His brother John, who was in the castle, hearing a piteous outcry and lamentation, came down from the castle, and entreated his brother to spare the people, representing to him that Jesus Christ had commanded us not to contend with our enemies, much less with those of our own religion. Youkinna told him that they had agreed with the Arabs, and assisted them; which John excused, telling him, "That what they did was only for their own security, because they were no fighting men." In short, he took their part so long till he provoked his brother to that degree that he charged him with being the chief contriver and manager of the whole business; and at last, in a great passion, cut his head off. My author here says, that John had first made profession of the Mohammedan religion, and went forthwith to paradise. But very likely the reason of his saying so is, because he was a sober man, and of a good character, and he grudged that any such should die a Christian, and therefore made a Mohammedan of him, envying the Christians the credit of having even one good man among them. Whilst he was murdering the unhappy Aleppians, Kaled (better late than never) came to their relief. Youkinna perceiving his arrival, retired with a considerable number of soldiers into the castle. The Saracens killed that day three thousand of his men. However, he prepared himself to sustain a siege, and planted engines upon the castle-walls. The Aleppians brought out forty prisoners, and delivered them to Abu Obeidah, who bade his interpreter ask them why they had made prisoners of them. They answered, "That these men belonged to Youkinna, and had fled to them, but that as they were not included in the articles, they durst not harbour them." Abu Obeidah commended their fidelity, and told them, "They should find the benefit of it;" and for their further encouragement added, "That as a reward of their good service, whatever plunder they took from any of the Christians should be their own." Seven of these prisoners turned Mohammedans, the rest were beheaded.

Abu Obeidah next deliberated, in a council of war, what measures were most proper to be taken. Some were of opinion that the best way would be to besiege the castle with some part of the army, and let the rest be sent out to forage. Kaled would not hear of it, but was for attacking the castle at once with their whole force; that, if possible, it might be taken before fresh supplies could arrive from the emperor. This plan being adopted, they made a vigorous assault, in which they had as hard fighting as any in all the wars of Syria. The besieged made a noble defence, and threw stones from the walls in such plenty that a great many of the Saracens were killed, and a great many more maimed. Youkinna, encouraged with his success, determined to act on the offensive, and turn everything to advantage. The Saracens looked upon all the country as their own, and knowing that there was no army of the enemy near them, and fearing nothing less than an attack from the besieged, kept guard negligently. In the dead of night, therefore, Youkinna sent out a party, who, as soon as the fires were out in the camp, fell upon the Saracens, and having killed about sixty, carried off fifty prisoners. Kaled pursued and cut off about a hundred of them, but the rest escaped to the castle with the prisoners, who, by the command of Youkinna, were the next day beheaded in the sight of the Saracen army. Upon this Youkinna ventured once more to send out another party, having received information from one of his spies (most of which were Christian Arabs) that some of the Mussulmans were gone out to forage. They fell upon the Mussulmans, killed a hundred and thirty of them, and seized all their camels, mules, and horses, which they either killed or hamstrung, and then they retired into the mountains, in hopes of lying hid during the day, and returning to the castle in the silence of the night. In the meantime, some that had escaped brought the news to Abu Obeidah, who sent Kaled and Derar to pursue the Christians. Coming to the place of the fight, they found their men and camels dead, and the country people making great lamentation, for they were afraid lest the Saracens should suspect them of treachery, and revenge upon them their loss. Falling down before Kaled, they told him they were altogether innocent, and had not in any way, either directly or indirectly, been instrumental in the attack; but that it was made solely by a party of horse that sallied from the castle. Kaled, having made them swear that they knew nothing more, and taking some of them for guides, closely watched the only passage by which the sallying party could return to the castle. When about a fourth part of the night was passed, they perceived Youkinna's men approaching, and falling upon them, took three hundred prisoners, and killed the rest. The prisoners begged to be allowed to ransom themselves, but they were all beheaded the next morning in front of the castle.

The Saracens pressed the siege for a while very closely, but perceiving that they made no way, Abu Obeidah removed the camp about a mile's distance from the castle, hoping by this means to tempt the besieged to security and negligence in their watch, which might eventually afford him an opportunity of taking the castle by surprise. But all would not do, for Youkinna kept a very strict watch, and suffered not a man to stir out. Abu Obeidah thought that there might be some Christian spies in the army, whereupon he and Kaled walked through the camp, to see if they could discover any suspicious persons. At last Kaled observed a man sitting with a vest before him, which he turned first on the one side and then on the other. Kaled stepped to him, and asked him what tribe he was of. The fellow intended to have named another tribe, but being surprised, and having the question suddenly put to him, the truth slipped out of his mouth, and he answered, "Of Gussan." "Sayest thou so?" answered Kaled, "thou enemy of God, thou art a Christian Arab, and a spy," and seized him. The fellow said that he was not, but a Mussulman. Kaled carried him to Abu Obeidah, who bade him examine him in the Koran, and made him say his prayers. But the poor fellow had not one word to say for himself, being altogether ignorant of those things. Upon which, without much arguing, he confessed himself a spy, saying that he was not alone, but there were three of them in all, but that two had returned to the castle. Abu Obeidah bade him take his choice between Mohammedanism or death, and he readily embraced the former.

The siege continued four months, and some say five. In the meantime Omar was very much concerned, having heard nothing from the camp in Syria. He wrote, therefore, to Abu Obeidah, letting him know how tender he was over the Mussulmans, and what a great grief it was to him to hear no news of them for so long a time. Abu Obeidah answered, that Kinnisrin, Hader, and Aleppo were surrendered to him, only the castle of Aleppo held out, and that they had lost a considerable number of men before it. That he had some thoughts of raising the siege, and passing forwards into that part of the country which lies between Aleppo and Antioch; but only he stayed for his answer. About the time that Abu Obeidah's messengers reached Medina, there also arrived a considerable number of men out of the several tribes of the Arabs, to proffer their service to the caliph. Omar ordered seventy camels to help their foot, and despatched them into Syria, with a letter to Abu Obeidah, in which he acquainted him "That he was variously affected, according to the different success they had met, but charged them by no means to raise the siege of the castle, for that would make them look little, and encourage their enemies to fall upon them on all sides. Wherefore," adds he, "continue besieging it till God shall determine the event, and forage with your horse round about the country."

Among those fresh supplies which Omar had just sent to the Saracen camp, there was a very remarkable man, whose name was Dames, of a gigantic size, and an admirable soldier. When he had been in the camp forty-seven days, and all the force and cunning of the Saracens availed nothing towards taking the castle, he desired Abu Obeidah to let him have the command of thirty men, and he would try his best against it. Kaled had heard much of the man, and told Abu Obeidah a long story of a wonderful performance of this Dames in Arabia; and that he looked upon him as a very proper person for such an undertaking. Abu Obeidah selected thirty men to go with him, and bade them not to despise their commander because of the meanness of his condition, he being a slave, and swore, that but for the care of the whole army, which lay upon him, he would be the first man that should go under him upon such an enterprise. To which they answered with entire submission and profound respect. Dames, who lay hid at no great distance, went out several times, and brought in with him five or six Greeks, but never a man of them understood one word of Arabic, which made him angry, and say, "God curse these dogs! What a strange barbarous language they use."

At last he went out again, and seeing a man descend from the wall, he took him prisoner, and by the help of a Christian Arab, whom he captured shortly afterwards, examined him. He learned from him that immediately upon the departure of the Saracens, Youkinna began to ill-use the townsmen who had made the convention with the Arabs, and to exact large sums of money of them; that he being one of them, had endeavoured to make his escape from the oppression and tyranny of Youkinna, by leaping down from the wall. Upon this the Saracens let him go, as being under their protection by virtue of the articles made between Abu Obeidah and the Aleppians, but beheaded all the rest.

In the evening, after having sent two of his men to Abu Obeidah, requesting him to order a body of horse to move forward to his support about sunrise, Dames has recourse to the following stratagem. Taking out of a knapsack a goat's skin, he covered with it his back and shoulders, and holding a dry crust in his hand, he crept on all fours as near to the castle as he could. When he heard a noise, or suspected any one to be near, to prevent his being discovered, he began to make a noise with his crust, as a dog does when gnawing a bone; the rest of his company came after him, sometimes sculking and creeping along, at other times walking. When they came near to the castle, it appeared almost inaccessible. However Dames was resolved to make an attempt upon it. Having found a place where the walls seemed easier to scale than elsewhere, he sat down upon the ground, and ordered another to sit upon his shoulders; and so on till seven of them had mounted up, each sitting upon the other's shoulders, and all leaning against the wall, so as to throw as much of their weight as possible upon it. Then he that was uppermost of all stood upright upon the shoulders of the second, next the second raised himself, and so on, all in order, till at last Dames himself stood up, bearing the weight of all the rest upon his shoulders, who however did all they could to relieve him by bearing against the wall. By this means the uppermost man could just make a shift to reach the top of the wall, while in an under-tone they all cried, "O apostle of God, help us and deliver us!" When this man had got up on the wall, he found a watchman drunk and asleep. Seizing him hand and foot, he threw him down among the Saracens, who immediately cut him to pieces. Two other sentinels, whom he found in the same condition, he stabbed with his dagger, and threw down from the wall. He then let down his turban, and drew up the second, they two the third, till at last Dames was drawn up, who enjoined them to wait there in silence while he went and looked about him. In this expedition he gained a sight of Youkinna, richly dressed, sitting upon a tapestry of scarlet silk flowered with gold, and a large company with him, eating and drinking, and very merry. On his return he told his men that, because of the great inequality of their numbers, he did not think it advisable to fall upon them then, but had rather wait till break of day, at which time they might look for help from the main body. In the meantime he went alone, and privately stabbing the sentinels, and setting open the gates, came back to his men, and bade them hasten to take possession of the gates. This was not done so quietly but they were at last taken notice of, and the castle alarmed. There was no hope of escape for them, but every one expected to perish. Dames behaved himself bravely, but, overpowered by superior numbers, he and his men were no longer able to hold up, when, as the morning began to dawn, Kaled came to their relief. As soon as the besieged perceived the Saracens rushing in upon them, they threw down their arms, and cried "Quarter!" Abu Obeidah was not far behind with the rest of the army. Having taken the castle, he proposed Mohammedanism to the Christians. The first that embraced it was Youkinna, and his example was followed by some of the chief men with him, who immediately had their wives and children, and all their wealth restored to them. Abu Obeidah set the old and impotent people at liberty, and having set apart the fifth of the spoil (which was of great value), divided the rest among the Mussulmans. Dames was talked of and admired by all, and Abu Obeidah, in order to pay him marked respect, commanded the army to continue in their present quarters till he and his men should be perfectly cured of their wounds.

Obeidah's next thoughts, after the capture of the castle of Aleppo, were to march to Antioch, then the seat of the Grecian emperor. But Youkinna, the late governor of the castle of Aleppo, having, with the changing of his religion, become a deadly enemy of the Christians, persuaded him to defer his march to Antioch, till they had first taken the castle of Aazaz. This fortress was held by his own cousin-german, Theodorus, and was a place of importance; and which, if not taken, would enable the enemy to harass the Saracens on that side the country. Having proffered his services, he proposed to take it by the following stratagem. He required that a hundred Saracens should ride with him to Aazaz, dressed in the Grecian habit, and that these should be pursued at a little interval by a thousand other Saracens in their proper habit. He said, "that he did not at all question a kind reception at the hands of his kinsman Theodorus; whom he should assure, that he had only feigned himself a Mohammedan, till he could find an opportunity of escaping; that he was pursued by the Saracens," &c. If they were received, of which there was no doubt, then in the night, they would fall upon the inhabitants; and those others who pretended to pursue them, and who were to be ordered to stay at a village called Morah, not far distant from Aazaz, should come to their assistance. Abu Obeidah asked Kaled what he thought of the stratagem, who approved of it, provided they could be well assured of Youkinna's fidelity in the execution of it. Youkinna used a great many very earnest expressions to satisfy them of his integrity; and after Abu Obeidah had, in a long discourse, set before him the danger of being treacherous on the one hand; and on the other, the benefits that would accrue to him by faithfully serving the Saracens; they resolved to trust him. To make up the hundred men, ten tribes were ordered to furnish ten men apiece, each ten being commanded by a decurion, and all of them committed to Youkinna. When they were gone about a league, Abu Obeidah sent after them a thousand men, under Malec Alashtar, with orders to halt and lie in ambush, as soon as they came near to Aazaz, till night. They found the village void of inhabitants, who, in alarm at the approach of the Saracens, had fled up the country. While Malec was in the village, he captured a Christian Arab, who upon examination told him, "that he and his men must look to themselves, for all their design was discovered: that there was a spy in the camp, who had heard all Youkinna's contrivance, and given the governor of Aazaz secret intelligence of it, by a letter tied under the wing of a tame pigeon (a practice not uncommon in these parts). Upon which he (meaning himself) had been sent to Lucas, governor of Arrawendan, to desire his assistance, who was coming with five hundred horse, and could not be far off." Youkinna in the meantime coming to Aazaz, found the town and castle in a posture of defence, and his cousin, the governor, at the head of three thousand Greeks, and ten thousand Christian Arabs, besides others that came out of the villages. Theodorus made up to Youkinna, and alighting from his horse, made him a profound reverence, as if he would have kissed Youkinna's stirrup. In the meantime he slily cut his girth, and with one push threw him flat on his face upon the ground, upon which Youkinna and all his men were immediately taken prisoners. Theodorus spit in his face, and reproached him with his apostatizing from the Christian religion; threatening death to all his Arabs, and declaring that Youkinna should be sent to answer for himself before his master the Grecian emperor. All this while Theodorus knew nothing of Malec's being so near; Tharik Algassani, the spy in the Saracen's camp, having only informed him of Youkinna's intended treachery, and not one word of Malec's feigned pursuit.

The prefect of Arrawendan, in fulfilment of his promise to Theodorus, came in the night, with his five hundred men, but was intercepted by Malec, who had two to his one. Having slain or made prisoners of them all, he disguised his own men in their clothes, and made them take the Christian colours in their hands. Then Malec asked the spy to turn Mohammedan; which he did. He had, indeed, been one before, having made profession of that superstition at the same time with Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham; but when Jabalah, thinking himself affronted by Omar, revolted, the Christian Arabs that depended upon him went off along with him; this spy taken by Malec at Morah had been among the number. He now told Malec, that he had heard how Mohammed had said, "That whosoever changed his religion should be killed." Malec said it was true, but God had said, "Illa man taba waamana;" "Except he that repents and believes;" adding, that the prophet himself had accepted of Wahshy's repentance, notwithstanding he had killed his uncle Hamzah. Tharik Algassani, hearing this, repeated the La Ilaha, &c., and Malec said, "May God accept thy repentance, and strengthen thy faith." After this, Malec bade him go and tell the governor of Aazaz that the prefect of Arrawendan was coming to his assistance. This Tharik undertook to do, and set out, attended only by one companion. When they came near the walls, they heard a very great noise of shouting and trumpets, of which the occasion was as follows.

Theodorus, governor of Aazaz, had a son whose name was Leon, whom he used to send occasionally to spend a month or two with his uncle Youkinna, at Aleppo castle. There he fell in love with his uncle's daughter, a very beautiful lady. Now, his father had put these prisoners, Youkinna and his hundred disguised Saracens into Leon's apartment. He, glad of this opportunity of ingratiating himself with his uncle, came and told him, that he had a mind to release him and his friends. Youkinna advised him, that if he had any inclination to turn Mohammedan, he ought not to do it upon any prospect of worldly advantage. To which the young villain, fired with lust, and resolved upon the match, answered, "That his family and relations were dear to him; but the faith was dearer." In short, he set them all at liberty, gave them their arms, and bade them go in the name of God.

whilst he went and killed his father, whom he was sure to find drunk and asleep. The Saracens, now enlarged, immediately fell upon the Greeks, who, however, made a stout resistance. In the meantime Malec's spies had gone back to him, to acquaint him how things stood, who therefore riding on apace, came time enough to assist their friends, and take the castle. They gave great thanks to Youkinna, who bade them "thank God, and this young man;" meaning his kinsman Leon, and told them all the story; to which Malec answered, "When God will have a thing done, he prepares the causes of it." Then he asked, "Who killed Theodorus?" Leon answered, "My elder brother Luke." Malec wondered, and asked him, how that came about, since such a thing was scarce ever heard of among the Greeks, that a child should murder his own father. Luke, it seems, told them, "That it was out of love to them, their prophet, and religion. They had had," he said, "a priest to bring them up, who had told him long since of Mohammed; and assured them that the Saracens should most certainly conquer the country; which had been further confirmed by several prophecies relating to it (and much more he added to the same purpose): wherefore he was glad of this opportunity of becoming one of them; and had designed to have set his uncle Youkinna and the prisoners at liberty, if his brother Leon had not prevented him." Hopeful youths! who had prevented each other in a masterly piece of villainy; the one in murdering his father; the other in setting at liberty his most mortal enemies, and betraying all his friends! Malec gave them his blessing, and having set Saïd Ebn Amer over the castle, with the hundred men who had entered it with Youkinna, marched with the spoils to Aleppo. There were in the castle of Aazaz, when the Mussulmans took it, one thousand young men, Greeks, two hundred and forty-five old men and monks, one thousand young women and girls, and one hundred and eighty old women.

Just as Malec was upon his march, they were alarmed by a tremendous shout from the Saracens upon the castle-wall, who wished to give them notice, that they saw a great dust not far off. When the party who had raised it came near, it turned out to be only a thousand Saracens, whom Abu Obeidah had sent under the command of Alfadl Ebn Al Abbas, to plunder round about Menbigz (formerly Hierapolis) and the adjacent villages; and having done this effectually they were now bringing off the spoil. Malec and Alfadl marched together; but Youkinna having had such bad success, could not be persuaded to accompany them, but chose rather to go to Antioch, being resolved not to appear at the camp, nor show himself to the army, till by some signal service he should have made amends for his miscarriage, and retrieved his credit. And though Alfadl endeavoured to convince him that he was in no fault, neither ought to be concerned for it, and proved it by a text of the Koran; yet he would not be satisfied nor reconciled to himself. Among Alfadl's men were two hundred renegades, who had, as well as their master Youkinna, renounced their Christianity, and entered into the service of the Saracens, and whose families and effects were all in the castle of Aleppo. These appeared to Youkinna to be the most proper coadjutors, and with these he marches towards Antioch. After the first watch of the night was past, he took four of his relations, and commanded the rest of his men to keep the high road to Antioch used by the caravans, and to pretend that they fled from before the Saracens; telling them, "That they should see him at Antioch, if it pleased God." He, going another way with his friends, was caught, and examined by some of the emperor's soldiers, who no sooner understood that he was the late governor of Aleppo, but they sent him with a guard of horse to Antioch. Heraclius wept at the sight of him, and told him, "That he was informed he had changed his religion." To which he answered, "That what he had done was only in order to reserve himself for his majesty's further service: that he had taken this opportunity of fleeing to him from Aazaz: that the vigorous defence he had made at Aleppo was a sufficient testimony of his zeal for his religion and his fidelity to his majesty." The emperor received the apostate with great tenderness and respect, and the greatest part of the court were inclined to entertain a charitable opinion of him. Nay, so favourably did the emperor judge of him, that he not only made him commander over the two hundred renegades he had received from Alfadl, and who according to his orders had arrived at Antioch; but when his youngest daughter, who was then in another place, had sent to her father, the emperor, for a guard to conduct her safe to Antioch, Youkinna was entrusted with this charge, at the head of two thousand two hundred men. As he was on his return from this expedition, about midnight, the Greek horses pricked up their ears, and began to neigh, and some of his advanced guards brought him intelligence of a party of Saracens being encamped just by with little or no guard, most of them being asleep, and their horses feeding. Youkinna seemingly encouraged his men; but, that he might secretly do the Saracens what service he could, commanded them not to kill but take them prisoners, in order, as he said, that they might afterwards serve to exchange for the Christians. However, when they came a little nearer, they found themselves mistaken; for those whom they took to be Mohammedans, proved to be one thousand Christian Arabs, under the command of Haim, son of Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham, who had surprised Derar, and taken him and two hundred Saracens prisoners, whom Abu Obeidah had sent out to forage in the northern parts of Syria. Upon this discovery Youkinna alights from his horse, and pays his respects to Haim, hypocritically congratulating him on his good success. The safe arrival of the emperor's daughter, and Haim's good success, caused great rejoicing in Antioch. The prisoners were brought before the emperor, and being commanded to fall down in a posture of adoration, they took no notice of those that spoke to them, nor looked that way, nor made any answer. At last being urged to it, Derar answered, "We did not think adoration is due to any creature; besides our prophet has forbidden us to pay it." The emperor upon this asked them several questions about their prophet, and they beckoned to Kais Ebn Amer, an old man, and thoroughly acquainted with those matters, to answer him. Among other inquiries, the emperor desired to know in what way the inspiration used to come upon their prophet, at his first setting forth? Kais told him, that Mohammed himself having been formerly asked that question by an inhabitant of Mecca, answered, "That sometimes it used to be like the sound of a bell, but stronger and sharper; sometimes an angel appeared to me in human shape, and discoursed with me, and I committed to memory what he said." Ayesha, said that "once the spirit of prophecy descended upon him on a very cold day, and when it left him again, his forehead ran down with sweat." The first message he received was in a dream; and whenever he saw a vision, it appeared to him like the first breaking of the morning brightness. After receiving the message he shut himself up in a close place alone, where he continued till the 'truth' came to him." Being thus shut up, he was visited by an angel, who said, "Read." To which he answered, "I cannot read." Then the angel repeated it, and having instructed him in things to come, sent him forth, and said to him, "Read in the name of the Lord, who created,"* &c. With which the apostle of God, Mohammed, returned to his place, trembling in his whole body. Then he went into the house to Kadija, and said, "Zammilouni, Zammilouni," "Wrap me up, wrap me up." Upon which they wrapped him up in blankets, till he came to himself, and his fear was gone off: after which he gave an account of the whole matter to Kadija, after this manner.

"As I was walking," said he, "I heard a voice from heaven; and lifting up my eyes, I saw the same angel which came to me before, sitting upon a throne between heaven and earth. Being afraid of him, I went home, and said, 'Zammilouni, Datthirouhi,' 'Wrap me up in blankets and mats.' And at that time God sent down to me that chapter which begins with these words, 'O thou that art wrapped in blankets:'† and part of that which begins with these words, 'O thou that art wrapped in mats,' to these words, 'And flee from the punishment;'‡ which is the fifth verse of that chapter."

The emperor afterwards asked Kais what he had seen of Mohammed's miracles. He told him that he was once upon journey with him, and there came an Arabian up to them whom Mohammed immediately asked, if he would make the confession that there was but one God, and that he was his prophet. The Arabian demanded what witness he had that what he said was true? To which Mohammed answered, "This tree." And calling the tree to him, it came upright, ploughing the ground up with its roots. Mohammed bade it bear witness; which it did: saying, three times, "Thou art the apostle of

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* Koran, chap. xcvi. ver. 1. according to the order of the copies now in use; though the Mohammedans take it for the first chapter of the whole Koran.

† It is the lxiii. of the Koran.

‡ Ib. chap. lxxiv.

God." After which it returned, and stood in its place as before. Presently afterwards, Heraclius said, he had heard that it was a part of their religion to believe, that if any of them did any good, it should be returned to them ten-fold; if evil, only once. Kais owned it was true, and quoted this text out of the Koran: "He that does good shall receive ten times so much; but he that does evil, shall receive only so much."* The emperor asked him, if the prophet was not called the Witness. To which Kais answered, that he was the Witness in this world, and the Witness against men in the world to come; because God says, "O prophet! we have sent thee a Witness, and a preacher of good news, and a Warner."† The emperor next asked him concerning Mohammed's night-journey to heaven, and his discoursing there with the Most High. This Kais affirmed to be true, and proved it from the first verse of the seventeenth chapter of the Koran. Then Heraclius wished to know if it was true that they fasted in the month Ramadan; in which Mohammed affirmed the Koran came down from heaven: and this also was acknowledged by Kais. A bishop, who was present at this conference, speaking something to the disparagement of Mohammed, provoked Derar Ebn Al Azwar (one of the prisoners) to such a degree, that he gave him the lie, and reviled him in a most reproachful language, affirming that Mohammed was a prophet, but that the veil of infidelity hindered them from the knowledge of him. Upon which some of the Christians drew their swords to chastise his insolence. But it seems he had a most wonderful deliverance; for though they struck at him fourteen times, he escaped safely. However, if Youkinna had not interceded for a reprieve till the next day, he would certainly have been executed by the emperor's command.

In the meantime Abu Obeidah, who, in obedience to the caliph's command, had now resolved to attack Antioch, proceeded in his march, receiving by surrender those places which remained, till he came to that bridge which they called the Iron Bridge, and was very near to the city. The emperor upon this committed the care of the army and the city to Youkinna, delivering to him a crucifix out of the church which was never shown publicly, except upon extraordinary occasions. Then he called for the prisoners. But Youkinna told him, that it would be the best way to spare them, because if any of the Christians should be taken, they might be exchanged. Upon which suggestion their execution was deferred, and by the advice of the bishops they were carried into the great church, to see if any of them would embrace the Christian religion, and be baptized. Amer, the son of Refaa turned; but Alwakidi insists that it was the dress and beauty of the Grecian ladies that influenced the young man more than any conviction of conscience. When his father, Refaa, heard of his apostacy, he broke out into this passionate exclamation: "What! turn infidel after having embraced the faith! Alas for thee! Thou art driven from the gate of the Most Merciful. Alas for thee! Thou hast denied the King, the Judge. Alas for thee, thou reprobate! How hast thou denied the Lord of might and perfect power! I swear by God, that I weep not for thee, because I must part with thee in this world, but because I must part with thee in the next; when thou must go one way and I another. When thou shalt go to the habitation of devils, and be placed with the priests and deacons in the lowest mansion of hell, I shall go with the followers of Mohammed (upon whom be the blessing of God), to meet those spirits which converse with him. O son! choose not the delights of this present world before that which is to come. Oh! how shall I be astonished and confounded for this that thou hast done, when thou comest to stand in the presence of the Lord of all power and might, the King of this world and the next! And how shall I be ashamed before Mohammed, the elect prophet of God! O son! from whom wilt thou seek intercession another day?"* The young man was baptized, and received with great courtesy both by the emperor and the bishops. The emperor gave him a horse, and a young woman, and placed him in Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham's army, consisting of Christian Arabs. The patriarch asked the rest what hindered them from turning Christians too? To which they answered, "The truth of our religion." The patriarch represented to them the danger they incurred by displeasing Jesus Christ. To which

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* Koran, iv. 161. xl. 43.

† Ib. chap. xlviii. 8, and xxxiii. 44.

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* Arabic, "Gadan," i. e. "to-morrow." It is used to express future time, and signifies in this place the day of judgment.

Refaa replied, that it would one day be determined which party was rejected, and which in the favour of God. Heraclius told them, that he had been informed that their caliph used to wear very mean apparel; adding, that he had gotten enough from the Christians to afford himself a better dress, and asked what should hinder him from going like other princes. Refaa told him, that the consideration of the other world, and the fear of God, hindered him. To the other questions proposed by the emperor, they answered in a cant so very much like what our ears have for some late years been used to, that were it not for the difference of the language, we might justly have suspected them to have been nearer neighbours. The emperor having asked them what sort of a palace their caliph had, they said it was made of mud. "And who," said the emperor, "are his attendants?" "The beggars and poor people." "What tapestry does he sit upon?" "Justice and uprightness." "And what is his throne?" "Abstinence and certain knowledge." "And what is his treasure?" "Trust in God." "And who are his guards?" "The stoutest of the Unitarians," was their reply. They added, "Dost thou know, O king! that several have said unto him, 'O Omar! lo, thou possessest the treasures of the Cæsars; and kings and great men are subdued unto thee. Now, therefore, why puttest thou not on rich garments?' He said unto them, 'Ye seek the outward world, but I seek the favour of him that is Lord both of this world and that which is to come.'"

The emperor, having discoursed with them as long as he thought fit, remanded them to prison, and went to take a view of his army, which he found drawn up without the city in excellent order. At the head of every regiment there was a little church made of wood, for the soldiers to go to prayers in. On a sudden he was informed that the Arabs were masters of the Iron Bridge. He was very much surprised to hear that they had taken two towers, in which there were no fewer than three hundred officers, in so short a time; but it seems they were betrayed. The following was the origin of this foul treachery:—A great officer at court used to go every day to see that these towers were well guarded, and not neglected. One day he found those whose business it was to take care of these towers drinking and revelling, and no one upon duty. Provoked at this intolerable negligence, he ordered them fifty lashes apiece. This severe discipline made them study revenge; and accordingly, when Abu Obeidah and his army drew near, they made articles for themselves, and delivered the towers into the hands of the Saracens.

The emperor having now no hopes left, assembled the bishops and principal officers together in the great church, and there bewailed the unhappy fate of Syria. Jabalah told him, that if the death of the caliph could be compassed, the affairs of the Saracens would be embroiled, and it would greatly facilitate the recovery of what the emperor had lost. Having obtained leave to attempt it, he sent one of his Christian Arabs, whose name was Wathek Ebn Mosafer, a resolute young man, with orders to take a convenient opportunity of killing the caliph. Now it was Omar's daily custom to go out of the city after prayers to take a walk. Wathek went out before him, and got upon a tree, where he remained hidden, till at last he observed Omar lie down to sleep very near him. Having this fair opportunity, he drew his dagger, and was just coming down, when casting his eyes about he saw, it is said, a lion walking round about Omar, and licking his feet, who guarded him till he awoke, and then went away. Surprised at this, and struck with a profound reverence for the caliph, whom he now looked upon as the peculiar care of heaven, he came down and kissed his hand, and having told him his errand, made profession of the Mohammedan religion immediately, being strangely affected with this wonderful deliverance.

In the meantime the armies before Antioch were drawn out in battle array in front of each other. The Christian general, whose name was Nestorius, went forward and challenged any Saracen to single combat. Dames was the first to answer him; but in the engagement his horse stumbling, he was seized before he could recover himself, and being taken prisoner, was conveyed by Nestorius to his tent, and there bound. Nestorius returning to the army, and offering himself a second time, was answered by one Dehac. The combatants behaved themselves bravely, and the victory being doubtful, the soldiers were desirous of being spectators, and pressed eagerly forward. In the justling and thronging both of horse and foot to see this engagement, the tent of Nestorius, with his chair of state, was thrown down. Three servants had been left in the tent, who fearing they should be beaten when their master came back, and having nobody else to help them, told Dames that if he would lend them a hand to set up the tent, and put things in order, they would unbind him, upon condition that he should voluntarily return to his bonds again till their master came home, at which time they promised to speak a good word for him. He readily accepted the terms; but as soon as he was at liberty, he immediately seized two of them, one in his right hand, the other in his left, and dashed their two heads so violently against the third man's, that they all three fell down dead upon the spot. Then opening a chest, and taking out a rich suit of clothes, he mounted a good horse of Nestorius's, and having wrapped up his face as well as he could, he made towards the Christian Arabs, where Jabalah, with the chief of his tribe, stood on the left hand of Heraclius. In the meantime, Dehac and Nestorius, being equally matched, continued fighting till both their horses were quite tired out, and they were obliged to part by consent, to rest themselves. Nestorius, returning to his tent, and finding things in such confusion, easily guessed that Dames must be the cause of it. The news flew instantly through all the army, and every one was surprised at the strangeness of the action. Dames, in the meantime, had gotten among the Christian Arabs. and striking off at one blow the man's head that stood next him, made a speedy escape to the Saracens.

All this while Youkinna was contriving which way to do the Saracens service. Accordingly when Derar and his companions, who had been prisoners eight months, were just about being beheaded, he interceded with the emperor to spare them, assuring him that if he put them to death the Saracens would never more give quarter to any Christian that should fall into their hands. The emperor, not suspecting any treachery, committed them to his care, who, watching a convenient opportunity, set them at liberty, and gave them their arms, assuring them that there were a great many persons of the highest quality in the emperor's service who were fully resolved to go over to the Saracens. The emperor, being disheartened with a constant course of ill success, and terrified with a dream which he had of one thrusting him out of his throne, and of his crown falling from his head, took some of his domestics and escaping privately to the sea-shore, embarked for Constantinople.

Here one author tells us a strange story of the emperor's turning Mohammedan, which runs somewhat as follows. Having been afflicted with a great pain in his head, for which he could get no help, he applied to Omar, who sent him a cap, which so long as he wore he was well, but when he took it off the pain returned again. The emperor, wondering at this strange effect, ordered the cap to be ripped open, but found nothing in it but a little piece of paper, on which was written "Bismillah, Arrahmani 'rrahhimi," "In the name of the most merciful God." This cap, it seems, was possessed by the Christians till the reign of Al Motasem (which began in the year of our Lord 833), who, besieging Ammoytriyah, was grievously afflicted with the headache, upon which the governor of the town promised him the cap, upon condition that he should raise the siege. The caliph, Al Motasem, consented to it, provided the cap should produce the desired effect, which it instantly did, and the siege was accordingly raised. The same curiosity which moved the emperor Heraclius to have the cap opened, made this caliph do so too, but he found nothing in it but the above-mentioned scrip of paper, whose virtue was not in the least impaired or diminished in the space of two hundred years, a period of time which, in all probability, would have made some alteration in an ordinary medicine. But the case is quite different here, for we have been told by other hands that the relics of holy men are never the worse for wearing. What is there that men will not believe and write when once bigoted to superstition!

To return to the army. Antioch was not lost without a set battle; but through the treachery of Youkinna and several other persons of note, together with the assistance of Derar and his company, who were mixed with Youkinna's men, the Christians were beaten entirely. The people of the town, perceiving the battle lost, made agreement and surrendered, paying down three hundred thousand ducats. Upon which Abu Obeidah entered into Antioch on Tuesday, being the twenty-first day of August, A.D. 638.*

* Hej. 17. A.D. 638.

Thus did that ancient and famous city, the seat of so many kings and princes, fall into the hands of the infidels. The beauty of the site, and abundance of all things contributing to delight and luxury were so great, that Abu Obeidah, fearing his Saracens should be effeminated with the delicacies of that place, and remit their wonted vigour and bravery, durst not let them continue there long. After a short halt of three days to refresh his men, he again marched out of it.

Then he wrote a letter to the caliph, in which he gave him an account of his great success in taking the metropolis of Syria, and of the flight of Heraclius to Constantinople; telling him withal, what was the reason why he stayed no longer there, adding, that the Saracens were desirous of marrying the Grecian women, which he had forbidden. He was afraid, he said, lest the love of the things of this world should take possession of their hearts, and draw them off from their obedience to God. That he stayed expecting further orders, &c.

Having written this letter, he asked who would carry it. Zeid Ebn Waheb, who was Omar Ebn Auf's slave, proffered his service. Abu Obeidah told him, that since he was a slave, he could not in any case dispose of himself, and must therefore first ask his master's leave. Zeid hereupon went to his master, and, according to the manner of prostration in the eastern countries, bowed himself down to the ground so as to touch it with his forehead. But he was checked by his master, who was a man altogether abstracted from the love of the things of this life, and did not desire any such token of respect, being wholly intent and fixed upon the other world. He was abstinent to such a degree, that his whole inventory consisted of only these few necessaries,—a sword, a lance, a horse, a camel, a knapsack, a platter, and a Koran. When any part of the spoil fell to his share, he never laid it up in store for himself, but always divided it amongst his friends, and if after this there was anything left, he sent it to the caliph, to be distributed among the poor. Zeid having asked his master's leave to carry the letter, the latter was so well pleased to see so becoming a readiness in his slave to be a messenger of good news to the caliph, that he immediately gave him his freedom. When Zeid came near to Medina, he was surprised with an unusual noise, but upon inquiry he was informed that the caliph was going on pilgrimage to Mecca, and the prophet's wives along with him. And now Omar, having heard the news from Zeid, fell down and worshipped, saying, "O God! praise and thanks be to thee, for thine abundant grace." As soon as he had read the letter, he wept, and said that Abu Obeidah had been too hard upon the Mussulmans. Then sitting down upon the ground, he wrote an answer to Abu Obeidah, in which, after having expressed the satisfaction with which he had received the news of his success, he blamed him for not having been more indulgent to his followers, adding, "That God did not forbid the use of the good things of this life to faithful men, and such as performed good works; wherefore he ought to have given them leave to rest themselves, and partake freely of those good things which the country afforded. That if any of the Saracens had no family in Arabia, they might marry in Syria, and whosoever of them wanted any female slaves, might purchase as many as he had occasion for." He concluded with ordering him to pursue the enemy, and to enter into the mountainous part of the country.

Zeid, returning to the army with the caliph's letter, found the Saracens full of joy, occasioned by Kaled's good success, who had gone through the country as far as the Euphrates, and taken Menbigz, and some other neighbouring towns, as Beraa and Bales, the inhabitants paying down one hundred thousand ducats for their present security, and for the time to come submitting to tribute.

Abu Obeidah, having received the caliph's letter, asked the Mussulmans which of them would undertake to make an attempt upon the mountainous part of the country. Whether the difficulty of the service, or other reason discouraged them, is uncertain, but nobody answered him the first two times. At last Meisarah Ebn Mesrouk proffered his service, and received at the hands of the general a black flag, with this inscription upon it in white letters, "There is but one God: Mohammed is the apostle of God." He took along with him three hundred chosen Arabs, besides a thousand black slaves, commanded by Dames. They found their expedition anything but easy and agreeable; for though the summer came on apace, yet it was so cold that though they made use of all the clothes they had, they would have been very glad of more; for they met with nothing amongst the mountains but frost and snow, of which their bodies, habituated to the warmth of a torrid zone, were extremely sensitive. After marching a long way, they came to a village, but finding nobody in it (for everywhere the inhabitants fled before them), they seized whatever there was in it worth taking, and moved forwards. At last they took a prisoner, who informed them that not more than three leagues off there was a body of the emperor's troops thirty thousand strong, which had been sent to guard that part of the country. They asked him whether it was most advisable to advance towards them, or to stand their ground where they then were. To which he replied, "That it was better for them to stay where they were, than to hazard themselves by going any further among the mountains." The Saracens, having examined him on this head as long as they thought fit, offered him the Mohammedan religion, and when he refused it, cut off his head. In a short time the Greeks came within sight, and the battle was joined. Meisarah, overpowered with multitudes, was soon surrounded. However he sent to Abu Obeidah a messenger, who made such haste, that when he came into the general's presence he was not able to speak a word, but fell down in a swoon. Abu Obeidah having caused some water to be sprinkled on his face, and refreshed him with meat and drink, he came to himself, and delivered his errand. Upon which Abu Obeidah sent Kaled to Meisarah's assistance, with three thousand horse, and after him Ayad Ebn Ganam with two thousand more. But before they came up, Abdallah Ebn Hodafa, a Saracen of note, and much beloved by the caliph, was taken prisoner, and sent away towards Constantinople. The Greeks, being aware of the arrival of this fresh reinforcement to the Saracens, did not think it prudent to hazard another battle the next day, but withdrew in the night, leaving their tents to their enemies. The Saracens too, deeming it imprudent to pursue the enemy any further in that mountainous country, returned to Abu Obeidah, who, writing an account of the whole business to Medina, the caliph was extremely concerned at the loss of Abdallah Ebn Hodafa, which occasioned his writing the following letter to the Emperor Heraclius.

"In the name of the most merciful God.

"Praise be to God,[*] Lord of this and the other world;[†] who has neither female consort[‡] nor son. And the blessing of God be upon Mohammed, his prophet and apostle divinely assisted.[§] From the servant of God, Omar Ebn Al Khattab to Heraclius king of Greece. As soon as this letter of mine shall come to thy hands, send to me the prisoner that is with thee, whose name is Abdallah Ebn Hodafa: which if thou shalt do, I shall hope that God will direct thee into the right way.[||] But if thou refusest, I shall send thee men[¶] whom trade and merchandize shall not divert from the remembrance of God. Health and happiness[**] be upon every one that follows the right way."

We do not question but the reader will think this letter written in a very odd style; but it is no other than was to be expected from those most inveterate and mortal enemies of Christianity, who always made it their business to treat its professors with the utmost contempt and aversion. This prisoner, Abdallah Ebn Hodafa was Mohammed's cousin-german. Our author tells us, that the emperor held out to him great inducements to renounce Mohammedanism; but all in vain. Nor were his threats more influential than his promises. It seems he offered him his liberty, if he would but have made one single adoration before a crucifix. The emperor tried to persuade him to drink wine, and eat hog's flesh; and when he refused, he was shut up in a room with no other food. Upon the fourth day they visited him, and found all untouched. The emperor asked him, what hindered him from eating and drinking? To which he answered, "The fear of God and his apostle. Notwithstanding," added he, "I might lawfully have eaten it after three days' abstinence, yet I abstained because I would not be reproached by the Mussulmans." Heraclius, having received Omar's letter, not only dismissed the prisoner, but gave both him and the messenger that brought the letter several presents and rich clothes, and appointed them a sufficient guard to conduct them in safety through his territories. Moreover, he made a present of a costly jewel to Omar, who offered it to the jewellers at Medina; but they were ignorant of the worth of it. The Mussulmans would have persuaded him to keep it for his own use; but he said, that would be more than he could answer for to the public. Wherefore it was afterwards sold, and the price of it put into the public treasury; of which, in these days, the caliph was only the steward or manager. For though it was all at his disposal, yet he very seldom applied any of it to his own private use, much less to extravagance and luxury; but took care to lay it out so as to do most service to the public.

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[*] Koran, chap. i. 1.
[†] Ib. chap. lxxii. 3.
[‡] Arab. "Sahhibah."
[§] Arab. "Almowayad."
[||] That is, into the profession of the Mohammedan religion.
[¶] Koran chap. xxiv. 37, lxiii. 9.
[**] Ib. chap xx. 49.

We have before acquainted the reader, that after Omar had taken Jerusalem, he divided the army, and having sent one part of it under Abu Obeidah, towards Aleppo, despatched the other under Amrou Ebn Al Aas to Egypt. Amrou did not march directly to Egypt, but continued a while in Palestine, in order to reduce some places there which as yet held out. As he was marching towards Cæsarea, the Saracens found the weather extremely cold. Sobeih Ebn Hamzah, eating some grapes at that time, was so chilled, that he was scarce able to endure it. An old Christian who happened to be present, told him, that if he found himself cold with eating the grapes, the best remedy would be to drink some of the juice of them, and withal produced a large vessel of wine. Sobeih and some of his friends took the old man's advice, and drank so freely of his liquor, that they went staggering to the army. Amrou, understanding their condition, wrote about it to Abu Obeidah; by whose order they all received a certain number of stripes upon the soles of their feet. The refreshment they received by drinking the wine, was, in their opinion, so far from counter-balancing the severity of the punishment, that Sobeih swore he would kill the fellow that led him to it. And he would have been as good as his word, if one that was present had not told him, that the man was under the protection of the Saracens.

Constantine, the emperor Heraclius's son, guarded that part of the country where Amrou lay, with a considerable army; and frequently sent spies (Christian Arabs) into his camp. One of them went one time and sat down amongst some Arabs of Ayaman, or Arabia Felix, who had made them a fire, and conversed with them as long as suited his purpose, without being suspected. However, as he was rising to go away, he trod upon his vest and stumbled; upon which he swore, "by Christ," unawares. The oath was no sooner out of his mouth, than they immediately knew him to be a Christian spy, and cut him to pieces in an instant. Amrou was angry when he heard it, because he would have wished to examine him first. Besides, he told them, "That it oftentimes happened, that a spy, when put to it, came over to them, and embraced the Mohammedan religion." He therefore issued a strict order throughout the camp, that if hereafter a stranger or spy should be seized, he should be forthwith conveyed to him.

The armies drawing near, a Christian priest came to the Saracens, who desired that an emir, or principal officer, might be sent to Constantine, to discourse with him. Upon this a huge, monstrous fellow, a black, whose name was Belal Ebn Rebah, proffered his service. But Amrou told him, that it would be better to send an Arabian, who could talk more politely than an Ethiopian. Belal, resolving, if possible, to take no denial, adjured him by God to let him go. To which Amrou answered, "That since he had adjured him by the Most Mighty, it should be so." This Belal had formerly been Mohammed's crier; that is, the person that calls the people together to prayers. After Mohammed's death (as the author of the History of Jerusalem says)* he never but once exercised his office, and that was, when Omar commanded him to perform that service at the taking of Jerusalem. On any other occasion, it would, I suppose, have been beneath him, after being employed by the prophet, to serve any other person; but the taking of Jerusalem, which had been the seat of the ancient prophets, and was a place very much reverenced by the Mohammedans, was an extraordinary occasion.† When he came to the priest, he expressed his indignation that the Ethiopian had been sent, and bade him go back again, telling him, that his master Constantine had not sent for a slave, but an officer. Belal, who valued himself very much upon his office, and expected every one should do so too, thought himself affronted; and let him know, that he had been no less a person than the muezzin of the apostle of God, and that he was able to give his master an answer. But this not being thought sufficient, he was forced to go back again; and at last Amrou resolved to go himself. And here, a short account of their conference, as delivered by our author, will not be out of place, as it will enable the reader to see what sort of a notion the Mohammedans have of ancient history.

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* MS. Arab. Pococ. No. 362.

† Alwakidi.

When Amrou came into Constantine's presence, he was offered a seat by the prince; but, according to the practice of the Saracens, he refused to make use of it; choosing rather to sit cross-legged upon the ground, with his sword upon his thigh, and his lance laid across before him. Constantine told him that the Arabs and Greeks were near kindred, and that it was a pity they should make war one upon the other. Amrou answered, "That their religion was different; upon which score it was lawful for brothers to quarrel. However," he said, "he desired to know which way the Koreishites came to be so near akin to the Greeks?" Constantine answered (according to our author), "Was not our father Adam, then Noah, then Abraham, then Esau, then Isaac, which were both sons of Abraham (the blessing of God be upon them all).* Now, one brother ought not to do injustice to another, and quarrel about that division which was made for them by their forefathers." "Thus far you say true," answered Amrou, "That Esau† begot Isaac, and Ishmael is Esau's uncle; and so we are the sons of one father, and Noah was our father. Now Noah divided the land into parts when he was angry with his son Ham; with which division they were not pleased, but quarrelled about it: and this land in which you are, is not yours properly, but belongs to the Amalekites, who had it before you. For Noah divided it among his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet; and gave his son Shem, Syria, and what lies round it, from Arabia Felix and Hadramaut to Amau; and all the Arabs are the offspring of Shem and Kaftan, and Tesm, and Jodias, and Amalek, who is the father of the Amalekites. To his son Ham he gave the west and sea-shore; and he left Japhet between the east and west.* For the earth is the Lord's, he gives it an inheritance to which of his servants he pleases, and the latter end is to the faithful. We, therefore," added Amrou, "desire to have this ancient division restored, and make things equal after this manner. We will take what is in your hands, and you shall take the stones and thorns and barren grounds which we possess, in lieu of these pleasant rivers, rich pastures, and stately buildings." Constantine told him, that the division was already made, and that it would be great injustice in them not to be content with what had fallen to their share. To which Amrou answered, "That they liked the provision and manner of living in Syria so much better than their own coarse fare at home, that they could never think of leaving the country till they had conquered it, and could sit down quiet under those shady trees." A little while after, he told those that were present, "That it would be no hard matter for them to continue in the possession of what they had; for it was only changing their religion, and the business was done." But both that and payment of tribute being refused, Amrou told them, "That there was then nothing left but to determine it by the sword. God knows," said he, "that I have told you the means by which you may save yourselves, but you are rebellious, just as your father Esau† was disobedient to his mother. You reckon yourselves akin to us; but we have no desire to acknowledge the affinity, so long as you continue infidels. Besides you are the offspring of Esau, we of Ishmael:‡ and God chose our prophet Mohammed from Adam, to the time that he came out of the loins of his father; and made him the best of the sons of Ishmael (and his father Ishmael was the first that spoke Arabic), and he made the tribe of Kenanah the best of the Arabs; and the family of Koreishites the best of Kenanah; and the offspring of Hashem, the best of the Koreishites; and the best of the sons of Hashem, Abdal Motaleb, the prophet's grandfather; and sent the angel Gabriel down to him [Mohammed] with inspiration."

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* This is an expression used by the Arab writers whenever they mention any of the ancient prophets.

† Amrou makes strange work of this genealogy; but the Arabic may be read, Esau walado Ishac, i. e. "Esau is the son of Isaac;" not walada, "begot Isaac." But if, to help him out, we should read it so, we contradict him, for just before he reckons Esau before Isaac.

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* Koran, chap. vii. 125.

† This the Mohammedans have from the Jews, who believe most Europeans to be the offspring of Esau. Abarbanel takes a great deal of pains to prove it, and those Jews I have conversed with are of the same opinion.

‡ Amongst other strange stories which some of the Christian writers have told of the Saracens, this is one, viz.:—"That they called themselves Saracens, because they would have the world believe that they were descended from Sarah, Abraham's lawful wife, being ashamed of Hagar, his slave." But the contrary is most evident, for they were neither ashamed of Ishmael nor Hagar. As for Ishmael, we have an instance in this very place; and for Hagar, the reader may consult the Jauharian (a famous Arab lexicographer), who in the word Agara, says, "Hagar is the mother of Ishmael, upon whom be peace."

The conference ending without any hopes of accommodation, Amrou returned to his army, and both sides prepared for battle, awaiting only a favourable opportunity. One day, there came forth out of Constantine's army, an officer very richly dressed, which made many of the Saracens desirous of accepting his challenge, and fighting with him, in hopes of carrying off his spoil. Amrou used to say, "That he would have no man to go to fight out of greediness; for the reward which was to be expected from God was much better than the spoil of the enemy." He added, "That whosoever was killed in battle, lost his life either for the sake of God, or else for some other end which he proposed to himself. If the former, then God would be his reward; but if he proposed any temporal thing, he was to expect nothing else, and that he had heard the prophet speak to the same purpose." To meet this officer there came forth a beardless stripling, whose forward zeal had prompted him to leave Arabia Felix, and venture himself in the wars. His mother and sister had hitherto borne him company in his travels. To them this youth used to say, "That it was not the delights of Syria that moved him to go thither (because the delights of this world were fleeting; but those of the other durable). His only desire was to fight for the service of heaven, and gain the favour of God and his apostle. For he had heard some one say, that the martyrs shall be maintained with their Lord." "How can that be," answered his sister, "how can they be maintained when dead?" He answered, "That he had heard one that was acquainted with the apostle of God say, that the spirits of the martyrs shall be put into the crops of green birds that live in paradise, which birds shall eat the fruits of paradise, and drink the rivers; this is the maintenance which God has provided for them." After he had taken his last leave of his mother and sister, and told them that they should meet again at that large water which belongs to the apostle of God in paradise, he went out to fight with the Christian, who killed not only this youth, but two or three more. At last Serjabil Ebn Hasanah came forth to him; but he was so emaciated with watching and fasting, that he was not able to stand before him. The Christian at last got him down, sat upon him, and was just going to cut his throat; when, on a sudden, there came a horseman out of the Grecian army, who immediately kicked the Christian off, and taking him at advantage, struck his head off. Serjabil, surprised at this unexpected deliverance, asked him who he was, and from whence he came? "I am," said he, "the unhappy Tuleiha Ebn Khowailed, who pretended to prophesy like the apostle of God; and lied against God, saying, that inspiration came down to me from heaven." Serjabil answered, "O brother, God's mercy is infinite; and he that repents, and forsakes, and turns himself to God, God will accept of his repentance, and forgive him what he has done; for the prophet says, 'Repentance takes away what was done before it.' And dost thou not know, O Ebn Khowailed, that God said to our prophet, 'My mercy is extended to every creature that desires it?'" adding moreover whatever he could to comfort him. Notwithstanding which, conscious to himself of the grossness of his crime, he could not find in his heart to return to the Saracens; but being pressed by Serjabil, he at last told him in plain terms, that he was afraid of Kaled (the scourge of false prophets, who broke them to pieces at first, and killed Moseilama, the chief of them) Serjabil assured him, that Kaled was not present, but stayed at Aleppo with Abu Obeidah. At last, with much ado, he persuaded him to go with him to the army. This Tuleiha, after the death of Moseilama, withdrew out of Arabia, which would soon have been too hot for him, and went and lived privately with a Mohammedan in Syria, who maintained him for a time. At last, when they were become very familiar, and thoroughly acquainted, Tuleiha made himself known, and told him his whole story. His landlord, as soon as he understood his character, treated him with the utmost aversion, and refused to entertain him longer, but turned him out of doors. Reduced to this extremity, he was almost at his wits' end, and had some thoughts of taking ship, and retiring into some distant island. But Constantine's army coming into those parts before he could put his design into execution, he chose rather to enlist under him, in hopes of ingratiating himself with the Mussulmans by some signal act of treachery.

Being at last prevailed upon to go back to the Saracens, he was very courteously received by Amrou; who not only gave him thanks for the great service he had done the faith, but upon his expressing his apprehensions of Kaled, promised to secure him, and wrote a commendatory letter in his behalf to Omar, acquainting him with the signal proof which Tuleiha had given of his sincere and unfeigned repentance. Tuleiha found the caliph at Mecca: delivering the letter, and withal telling him that he repented, Omar asked who he was? and had no sooner heard his name mentioned, but he made off as fast as he could, saying, "Alas for thee! If I forgive thee, how shall I give an account to God of the murder of Ocasah?" Tuleiha answered, "Ocasah indeed suffered martyrdom by my hands, which I am very sorry for, and I hope that God will forgive me what I have done." Omar desired to know what proof he could give of his sincerity; but having perused Amrou's letter, he was abundantly satisfied, and kept him with him till he returned to Medina, after which he employed him in his wars against the Persians.

To return to Constantine's army. The weather was very cold, and the Christians were quite disheartened, having been frequently beaten and discouraged with the daily increasing power of the Saracens; so that a great many grew weary of the service, and withdrew from the army. Constantine, having no hopes of victory, and fearing lest the Saracens should seize Cæsarea, took the opportunity of a tempestuous night to move off; and left his camp to the Saracens. Amrou, acquainting Abu Obeidah with all that had happened, received express orders to march directly to Cæsarea, where he promised to join him speedily, in order to go against Tripoli, Acre, and Tyre. A short time after this, Tripoli was surprised by the treachery of Youkinna, who succeeded in getting possession of it on a sudden, and without any noise. Within a few days of its capture there arrived in the harbour about fifty ships from Cyprus and Crete, with provisions and arms which were to go to Constantine. The officers, not knowing that Tripoli was fallen into the hands of new masters, made no scruple of landing there, where they were courteously received by Youkinna, who proffered the utmost of his service, and promised to go along with them. But immediately seized both them and their ships, and delivered the town into the hands of Kaled, who was just come.

With these ships the traitor Youkinna sailed to Tyre, where he told the inhabitants, that he had brought arms and provisions for Constantine's army. Upon which he was kindly received, and, landing, he was liberally entertained, with nine hundred of his men. But being betrayed by one of his own soldiers, he and his crew were seized and bound; receiving all the while such treatment from the soldiers, as their villainous practices well deserved. In the meantime Yezid Ebn Abu Sofian, being detached by Abu Obeidah from the camp before Cæsarea, came within sight of Tyre. The governor upon this, caused Youkinna and his men to be conveyed to the castle, and there secured, and prepared for the defence of the town. Perceiving that Yezid had with him but two thousand men in all, he resolved to make a sally. In the meantime, the rest of the inhabitants ran up to the walls, to see the engagement. Whilst they were fighting, Youkinna and his men were set at liberty by one Basil, of whom they give the following account: viz., That this Basil going one day to pay a visit to Bahira the monk, the caravan of the Koreishites came by, with which were Kadija's camels, under the care of Mohammed. As he looked towards the caravan, he beheld Mohammed in the middle of it, and above him there was a cloud to keep him from the sun. Then the caravan having halted, as Mohammed leaned against an old withered tree, it immediately brought forth leaves. Bahira perceiving this, made an entertainment for the caravan, and invited them into the monastery. They all went, leaving Mohammed behind with the camels. Bahira missing him, asked if they were all present. "Yes," they said, "all but a little boy we have left to look after their things, and feed the camels." "What is his name;" says Bahirah. They told him, "Mohammed Ebn Abdallah." Bahira asked, if his father and mother were not both dead, and if he was not brought up by his grandfather and his uncle. Being informed that it was so, he said, "O Koreish! Set a high value upon him, for he is your Lord, and by him will your power be great both in this world, and that to come; for he is your ornament and glory." When they asked him how he knew that? Bahira answered "Because as you were coming, there was never a tree, nor stone, nor clod, but bowed itself and worshipped God." Moreover Bahira told this Basil, that a great many prophets had leaned against this tree, and sat under it since it was first withered, but that it never bore any leaves before. And I heard him say, says this same Basil, "This is the prophet, concerning whom Isa (Jesus) spake, happy is he that believes in him, and follows him, and gives credit to his mission." This Basil, after the visit to Bahira, had gone to Constantinople, and other parts of the Greek emperor's territories, and upon information of the great success of the followers of this prophet, was abundantly convinced of the truth of his mission. This inclined him, having so fair an opportunity offered, to release Youkinna and his men; who sending word to the ships, the rest of their forces landed and joined them. In the meantime, a messenger in disguise was sent to acquaint Yezid with what was done. As soon as he returned, Youkinna was for falling upon the townsmen upon the wall; but Basil said, "Perhaps God might lead some of them into the right way;" and persuaded him to place the men so as to prevent their coming down from the wall. This done, they cry out "La Ilaha," &c. The people perceiving themselves betrayed, and the prisoners at liberty, were in the utmost confusion; none of them being able to stir a step, or lift up a hand. The Saracens in the camp, hearing the noise in the city, knew what it meant, and, marching up, Youkinna opened the gates and let them in. Those that were in the city, fled; some one way, and some another; and were pursued by the Saracens, and put to the sword. Those upon the wall cried, "Quarter:" but Yezid told them, "That since they had not surrendered, but the city was taken by force, they were all slaves. However," said he, "we of our own accord set you free, upon condition you pay tribute; and if any of you has a mind to change his religion, he shall fare as well as we do." The greatest part of them turned Mohammedans. When Constantine heard of the loss of Tripoli and Tyre, his heart failed him, and taking shipping with his family and the greater part of his wealth, he departed for Constantinople. All this while Amrou Abn Al Aas lay before Cæsarea. In the morning, when the people came to inquire after Constantine, and could hear no tidings of him nor his family; they consulted together, and with one consent surrendered the city to Amrou, paying down for their security two thousand pieces of silver, and delivering into his hands all that Constantine had been obliged to leave behind him of his property. Thus was Cæsarea lost, in the year of our lord six hundred and thirty-eight, being the seventeenth year of the Hejirah,* and the fifth of Omar's reign; which answers to the twenty-ninth year of the emperor Heraclius. After the taking of Cæsarea all the other places in Syria, which as yet held out, namely, Ramlah, Acre, Joppa, Ascalon, Gaza, Sichem, (or Nablos) and Tiberias surrendered, and in a little time after, the people of Beiro Zidon, Jabalah, and Laodicea, followed their example; so that there remained nothing more for the Saracens to do in Syria, who, in little more than six years from the time of their first expedition in Abubeker's reign, had succeeded in subduing the whole of that large, wealthy, and populous country.†

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* Hej. 17, A.D. 638.

† Lane, in his edition of the Arabian Nights, relates a circumstance which took place during the war with Syria, and as it is exceedingly illustrative of the times, we insert it here :—

" On one occasion when the Mussulmans' army was besieging a fortified town in Syria, two of their number, who were brothers, exhibited so much valour and impetuosity against the enemy, that the governor of the town laid an ambush for them, and one was slain and the other taken prisoner. The captive was carried before the governor, who seeing him, said: 'The slaughter of this man would be an evil; but his return to the Mussulmans would be a calamity: can he not be persuaded to embrace Christianity, and become an auxiliary and helper?' A Greek patriarch who was present, answered him, and said, 'O Emir, I will tempt him to apostacy; for the Arabs are exceedingly fond of women, and I have a daughter endowed with perfect beauty, who shall seduce him.' The governor, thereupon, gave the prisoner into his charge, and the patriarch conveyed him to his house; and having arrayed his daughter in such attire as to increase her grace and loveliness, he caused food to be brought, and ordered it to be served to them by the beautiful Christian. The pious Mussulman saw the temptation, and endeavoured to escape it by closing his eyes, and occupying himself with the worship of God, and the recital of the Koran; but here his excellent voice, and his superior talents in using it, were so effective, that the daughter of the patriarch fell violently in love with him, and

Syria did not remain long in the possesion of those persons who had the chief hand in subduing it; for in the eighteenth

at the expiration of seven days, begged him to teach her the religion of Mohammed. The Saracen soon converted her to the true faith; and after she had acknowledged to him the state of her affections, they began to consider the easiest means of becoming united. At length the maiden resolved upon the following stratagem. Calling to her father and mother, she said, 'The heart of the Mussulman is softened, and he is desirous of embracing the faith, and I must also grant him the accomplishment of that which he desireth of me. He hath however said, that this must not happen in the town where his brother was slain, but he must depart from it before he can do all that I desire. Send me with him, therefore, to some other place; no harm can ensue, for I am a surety to you and to the king, that he embraces Christianity.' The patriarch advised with the governor, who rejoiced in the event, and immediately gave orders that the lovers should be sent to a neighbouring village. Accordingly they departed from the town, and reached the place appointed, where they stayed till the evening, and then the Mussulman mounted a swift horse, and placing the damsel behind him, they ceased not to travel till the morning was near, when they performed the ablution and recited the necessary prayers. While thus engaged, they were suddenly alarmed by the clashing of weapons and the clinking of bits and bridles, and thinking that they were being followed by a body of Christians, and finding their horse jaded and weary, they fell to supplicating God for assistance. Suddenly the young man heard the voice of his brother, the martyr, saying, 'Fear not, O my brother, for the approaching troop is the troop of God, and it is his angels whom he hath sent to witness your marriage. Verily, God hath gloried in you before his angels, and hath contracted the earth for you, so that in the morning thou wilt be among the mountains of Medina.' Then the angels raised their voices, saluting him and his wife, and said, 'Verily God married her to thee two thousand years before the creation of your father Adam.' Upon this the two lovers were released and overjoyed, and when the day-break had fully arrived, they performed the morning prayers.

"At this very time the caliph, Omar, was simultaneously performing the morning prayers in the darkness before dawn, and the mosque was gradually filled with people. Having read two short chapters and pronounced the salutations, he looked towards his congregation, and suddenly said, 'Come forth with us, that we may meet the bridegroom and bride.' The people regarded each other with astonishment, and could not understand the caliph, but as he left the mosque, they followed him until he came to the gate of the city. By this time daylight had appeared, and they beheld a young man and a maiden proceeding towards them, whom Omar met and saluted. The lovers were then conducted to the town, where a feast was immediately provided, and from that time the Mussulman and his bride passed a life of perfect happiness, and were blessed with children, who fought in the way of God, till at length they were visited by the terminator of delights and the separator of companions."

Dr. Weil also relates the same story in his History of the Caliphs.

year of the Hejirah, the mortality in Syria, both among men and beasts, was so terrible, particularly at Emaus and the adjacent territory, that the Arabs called that year the year of destruction.* By that pestilence the Saracens lost five and *twenty thousand men, among whom were Abu Obeidah (who* was then fifty-eight years old), Serjabil Ebn Hasanah, formerly Mohammed's secretary, and Yezid Ebn Abu Sofian, with several other officers of note. Kaled survived them about three years, and then died;† but the place of his burial (consequently of his death, for they did not use in those days to carry them far) is uncertain; some say at Hems, others at Medina.‡

Amrou Ebn Al Aas, having stayed as long in Syria as was necessary, prepared, in obedience to the caliph's command, for his expedition into Egypt. But whilst he was on his route thither he was superseded; whether it proceeded from envy, which always attends great men, or whether Othman Ebn Affam did not think him qualified for so important a

* Amo'l ramadah.

† Author of the History of Jerusalem, above cited.

‡ An affecting instance of public ingratitude towards this distinguished general is recorded by Major Price, in his elaborate "Mohammedan History:" — 'Before the death of this noble Saracen, a base charge of appropriating to himself the public treasure was preferred against him, or encouraged, by Omar. It seems that, among many others, one of the poets of the day, Assauth, the son of Keyss Kaundi, had celebrated the glory of Kaled in the following lines: 'Thy irresistible valour hath hushed the raging tempest; in battle thou hast been armed with the tusks of the elephant and the jaws of the alligator; thy mace hath hurled the terrors of the day of judgment through the Roman provinces; and the lightning of thy scimitar hath spread wretchedness and mourning among the cities of the Franks.' For this effusion of his muse, Kaled, equally liberal as he was brave, bestowed on the poet a donation of 10,000 dirhems, or £229 sterling, but equivalent to about ten times as much at the present day; an act which awakened the observation and aspersions of envy, and excited the suspicions of Omar, more especially as on a former occasion Kaled had advanced 100,000 dirhems as the dower of his wife. An examination was accordingly instituted with every indignity, and his turban fastened round his neck, in the ignominious grasp of the common crier. He submitted with exemplary moderation, alleging that the dictates of resentment, however just, should not prevail with him to resist the will of his superiors. The imposition of a fine satisfied the public justice; but when his horse, his armour, and one slave, were found to constitute all his wealth, Omar deigned to weep over the tomb, at Emesa, of the injured conqueror of Syria."

service, certain it is, that Omar was persuaded by some of those about him to recall him. That Omar himself entertained a good opinion of him, and that he superseded him rather to gratify the importunate humour of his friends, than out of any dislike, seems plain from the contents of the letter. For whereas he could have commanded him positively to return, he only wrote thus: "If this letter comes to you before you get into Egypt, return. But if you be entered into Egypt when the messenger comes to you, go on with the blessing of God; and assure yourself, that if you want any supplies, I will take care to send them." The messenger overtook Amrou before he was out of Syria; but the general, either suspecting, or having received secret information of its purport, ordered him to wait upon him, till he should be at leisure to read the letter. In the meantime he hastens his march, fully resolved not to open it till he should be within the confines of Egypt. When he arrived at Arish he assembled the officers in his tent, and calling for the messenger, opened the letter with as much gravity and formality as if he had been altogether ignorant of the contents of it. Having read it, he told the company what was in it, and inquired of them whether the place where they had arrived belonged to Syria or Egypt. They answered, "To Egypt." "Then," said Amrou, "we will go on." From thence he went to Farma, called by some Farama and Faramia, which he took after a month's siege: from thence to Misrah (formerly Memphis, now Cairo), situate on the western bank of the river Nilus, and which had been the seat of the ancient Egyptian kings. This place the Greeks had fortified, as being, after Alexandria, the most considerable in all that kingdom. The castle, though old, was of great strength. About it the Greeks had dug a large moat or trench, into which they threw great quantities of nails and iron spikes, to make it more difficult for the Mussulmans to pass. Amrou, with four thousand men, laid hard siege to it; but after closely investing it for about seven months without effect, he was obliged to send to the caliph for fresh supplies; who, with all speed, reinforced him with four thousand more. The prefect, or lieutenant of Misrah, who held it for the emperor Heraclius, was one Mokaukas, of the sect of the Jacobites, and a mortal enemy to the Greeks. He had no design at all to serve the emperor, but to provide for himself; having behaved himself so ill that he durst not come into the emperor's presence. For when Cosroes, the Persian, had besieged Constantinople, Mokaukas, perceiving the emperor in distress, and daily expecting his ruin, thought he had a fair opportunity offered him of making his own fortune, and retained the tribute of Egypt in his own hand, without giving account to the emperor of one penny. From that time, being conscious of his deserts, he took every means to prejudice and hinder the emperor; so natural is it for men to hate those whom they have injured. The chief care of Mokaukas was not to defend the castle in good earnest, but to manage the surrender of it so as to procure good terms for himself, and secure that vast treasure which he had so ill gotten, without any regard to what might become of the Greeks and the orthodox Christians, whom he mortally hated. Now there was in the river, between the besieged castle and the opposite bank, a little island. Mokaukas persuaded the Greeks to go with him out of the castle into that island; telling them, that since Amrou had fresh supplies sent him, it would be impossible for them to defend the castle much longer; and that if they went into that island, the river would be a much better protection for them than the castle. This he did on purpose to strip the castle of its defenders, that the Saracens might take it the more easily, and upon that account grant him the better terms. At last he prevailed, and they went out of the south gate, and going aboard some little vessels which they had there, they quickly landed on the island, having left only a few Greeks to defend the castle, for all the Copts went out with Mokaukas. Then Mokaukas sent messengers to Amrou with orders to this effect: "You Arabians have invaded our country, and given us a great deal of trouble and disturbance, without any provocation on our side. And now assure yourselves, that the Nile will quickly surround your camp, and you will all fall into our hands. However, send somebody to treat with us, and let us know your business, and what you demand; perhaps, when we come to talk about the matter, things may be settled to the satisfaction of both parties, and a peace concluded." His messengers had no sooner delivered their errand, than Amrou despatched Abadah Ebn Al Samet, a black, to Mokaukas with full instructions. As soon as Abadah came into his presence, he bade him sit down, and asked him what the Arabs meant, and what they would have. Abadah gave him the same answer as the Saracens always used to do to such questions; telling him, that he had three things to propose to him in the name of Amrou, who had received the same order from his master Omar, the caliph; viz. that they should either change their religion, and become Mohammedans, and so have a right and title to all privileges in common with the Saracens; or else pay a yearly tribute for ever, and so come under their protection. If they disliked this alternative, then they must fight it out till the sword decided the controversy between them. These, as we have already observed, were the conditions which they proposed to all people wherever they came; the propagating their religion being to them a just occasion of making war upon all nations. To these hard terms Mokaukas made answer, that as to the first of them they would never submit; but he and his friends the Copts would willingly pay tribute. The Greeks obstinately refused to become tributaries, and were resolved to fight it out to the last; but Mokaukas cared not what became of them, so long as he saved himself and his money. Abadah, having finished this business, returned from the castle to the camp; and when he had acquainted Amrou with all that had passed, and that there were only a few Greeks in the castle, the Saracens renewed their assault, and Zobeir scaled the walls, crying out, "Allah Acbar." The Greeks, perceiving that the castle was lost, went into their boats as fast as they could, and escaped to the island. The Saracens, as soon as they got possession of the castle, killed and took prisoners those few that remained. The Greeks, upon plainly seeing through the villainy of Mokaukas, were afraid to trust themselves any longer so near him. Embarking, therefore, in their ships, they got to shore, and marched to Keram'l Shoraik, a place between Cairo and Alexandria, and put themselves into as good a posture of defence as they could. In the meantime, Mokaukas discussed with Amrou the conditions of peace; and it was settled between them, that all the Copts who lived both above and below Cairo, rich or poor, without any difference or distinction, should pay yearly two ducats; boys under sixteen years of age, decrepid old men, and all women, being exempt. The number of the Copts, as they were then polled, was six millions; according to which account, the yearly tribute of Cairo, and the neighbouring territory, amounted to twelve millions of ducats. Mokaukas begged of Amrou that he might be reckoned among the Copts, and taxed as they were; declaring, that he desired to have nothing in common with the Greeks, for he was none of them, nor of their religion, but that he had only for a while dissembled for fear of his life; and entreated him never to make peace with the Greeks, but to persecute them to death; and, lastly, desiring that when he died he might be buried in St. John's church in Alexandria. All this Amrou promised to perform, upon condition that the Copts should entertain for three days, gratis, any Mussulman whatsoever who had occasion to pass through the country; and also repair two bridges which were broken, and provide quarters for himself and his army, and take care that the country people should bring in provisions to the camp, and open the road from Cairo to Alexandria (which he was then going to besiege), by building such bridges as were necessary for the march of the army. These terms were readily accepted by the Copts, who assisted them with everything they wanted. Amrou marched on without interruption till he came to Keram'l Shoraik, where the Greeks that fled from Cairo were posted. Here they fought three days successively; but at last the Greeks were forced to give way. He had also some other battles to fight before he came to Alexandria, but in all of them the Saracens were invariably victors. Those Greeks who escaped retired to Alexandria, where they made the best preparation they could for a siege.

Amrou was not long after them, but quickly came up, and laid siege to the city. However, the Greeks made a stout resistance, and made frequent sallies, so that there was a great slaughter on both sides. The Saracens at last made a vigorous assault upon one of the towers, and succeeded in entering it, the Greeks all the while defending it with the utmost bravery. In the tower itself the fight was sustained so long and stoutly, that the Saracens were at last hard pressed, and forced to retire. In this attempt Amrou, the general, Muslemah Ebn Al Mochalled, and Werdan, Amrou's slave, were taken prisoners. Being brought before the governor, he asked them what they meant by running about the world in this manner, and disturbing their neighbours?* Amrou answered according to the usual form, and told him that they designed to make them either Mussulmans or tributaries before they had done. But this bold answer had like to have cost him his life, for the governor taking notice of his behaviour, concluded that he was no ordinary person, and bade those that stood near to cut off his head. But Werdan, his slave, who understood Greek, as soon as he heard what the governor said, took his master, Amrou, by the collar, and gave him a box on the ear, telling him "That he was always putting himself forward, and prating, when it would better become him to hold his tongue; that he was a mean contemptible fellow, and that he would advise him to learn manners, and let his betters speak before him." By this time Muslemah Ebn Al Mochalled had bethought himself, and told the governor, "That their general had thoughts of raising the siege; that Omar, the caliph, had written to him touching the matter, and designed to send an honourable ambassy, consisting of several worthy persons and men of note, to treat with him about matters; and if he pleased to let them go, they would acquaint their general how courteously they had been used, and employ the utmost of their endeavours to promote an accommodation." He added, "That he did not in the least question but when the caliph's ambassadors had treated with him, things would be made very easy on both sides, and the siege speedily raised." Our historian tells us, that this impolitic governor, observing how Werdan treated his master, concluded him to have been as mean as Werdan represented him, and believed the story that Muslemah had told him concerning Omar's sending some of the chief Arabs to treat with him. Wherefore, thinking it would be of greater consequence to kill six or ten considerable men than three or four of the vulgar, he dismissed these in hopes of catching the others. They were no sooner out of danger than the whole army of the Saracens shouted as loud as they could, "Allah Acbar." When the Greeks upon the walls heard those great tokens of joy, which were shown in the camp for the return of these men, they were convinced that they were not such persons as the governor had taken them for, and repented too late of having let them go. Presently after this the Saracens renewed their assault, and so straitened the Alexandrians, that they were not able to hold out any longer. At last the city was taken,* and the Greeks who were in it dispersed, a considerable party of them going further up into the country, and the others putting off to sea. Its possession, however, was dearly purchased by the Saracens, by a siege of fourteen months, and a loss of twenty-three thousand men before it.†

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* The same story is told, with some variation of circumstances, both by Elmakin and Alwakidi.

To secure his conquest, and to prevent any alarm or disturbance which might follow, Amrou thought it advisable to reduce those Greeks who had escaped from the siege of Alexandria, and gone further up into the country. For he reasonably concluded that so long as any considerable number of them should be in arms, the Saracens would not be allowed to enjoy their new possessions in peace and security. With this design, therefore, he marched out of Alexandria, leaving but a few of his Saracens behind him in the town, as apprehending no danger on that side. During his absence, the Greeks who at the taking of the town had gone aboard their ships, and of whose return there was not the least fear or suspicion, came back on a sudden, and surprising the town, killed all the Saracens that were in it. The news of this event quickly came to Amrou's ear, and he immediately returned to Alexandria with the greatest speed, and found there the Greeks who had put back from sea in possession of the castle. They gave him a warm reception, and fought bravely. At last, unable to hold out any longer against his superior numbers, they were obliged to retire to their ships again, and try their fortune at sea once more, leaving Amrou and his Saracens in full and quiet possession. This done, Amrou acquainted the caliph with his success, letting him know that the Mussulmans were desirous of plundering the city. Omar, having received his letter,* gave him thanks for his service, but blamed him for ever entertaining for one moment the idea of plundering so rich a city, and strictly charged him by no means to suffer the soldiers to make any waste, or spoil anything in it, but carefully to treasure up whatever was valuable, in order to defray charges in the time of war. And lastly, ordering that the tribute which was to be raised in that part of the country should be laid up in the treasury at Alexandria, to supply the necessities of the Mussulmans.

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* The following tradition concerning Amrou is quoted by Dr. Weil. At an early period of his life Amrou made a journey on business to Jerusalem. One day he chanced to be guarding his own and companions' camels upon a hill in the vicinity of Alexandria, when a Greek ecclesiastic came to him from the city, and begged a draught of water, as the weather was unusually hot and oppressive. Amrou gave him his own pitcher, and the other having quenched his thirst, laid himself down and slept. Shortly afterwards, Amrou saw a serpent creep from a hole and advance towards the Greek, upon which he immediately sprang to his bow and killed the snake with an arrow. When the Greek arose, and saw the dead reptile by his side, and heard from Amrou how his life had been preserved, he said, "Thou hast twice saved my life, and I will reward thee, though I am here but as a poor pilgrim. Go with me to Alexandria, and I will give thee 2000 dinars." Amrou followed, and whilst in the city he was present at a game of ball, and according to the faith and experience of the Alexandrians, this ball had never as yet fallen into the hands of an individual without his subsequently becoming a ruler over their kingdom. On the present occasion, to the astonishment of all the Greeks, the ball fell into the hands of Amrou, who afterwards became, as is related above, the conqueror of Egypt. This story is told at a greater length by Ebn Abdal Haken.

† Hej 20. A.D. 640.

The inhabitants of Alexandria were then polled, and upon this the whole of Egypt followed the fortune and example of its metropolis, and the inhabitants compounded for their lives, fortunes, and free exercise of their religion, at the price of two ducats a head yearly. This head-money was to be paid by all without distinction, except in the case of a man holding land, farms, or vineyards, for in such cases he paid proportionably to the yearly value of what he held. This tax brought in a most prodigious revenue to the caliph. After the Saracens were once arrived to this pitch, it is no wonder if they went further, for what would not such a revenue do in such hands? For they knew very well how to husband their money, being at that time sumptuous in nothing but their places of public worship. Their diet was plain and simple. Upon their tables appeared neither wine, nor any of those dainties, the products of modern luxury, which pall the stomach and enfeeble the constitution. Their chief drink was water; their food principally milk, rice, or the fruits of the earth.

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* "I have taken," writes Amrou to the caliph, "the great city of the west. It is impossible for me to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty; and I shall content myself with observing, that it contains four thousand palaces, four thousand baths, four hundred theatres or places of amusement, twelve thousand shops for the sale of vegetable food, and forty thousand tributary Jews. The town has been subdued by force of arms, without treaty or capitulation, and the Mussulmans are impatient to seize the fruits of their victory."—*Eutychius, as quoted by Gibbon.*

The Arabians had as yet applied themselves to no manner of learning, nor the study of anything but their vernacular poetry, which, long before Mohammed's time, they understood very well, after their way, and prided themselves upon. They were altogether ignorant of the sciences, and of every language but their own. Amrou, however, though no scholar, was a man of quick parts and of good capacity, and one who in the intervals of business was more delighted with the conversation of the learned, and with rational and philosophical discourses, than it is usual for men of his education to be. There was at that time in Alexandria, one John, sirnamed "The grammarian," an Alexandrian by birth, of the sect of the Jacobites, and was the same that afterwards denied the Trinity, and being admonished by the bishops of Egypt to renounce his erroneous opinions, he was, upon his refusal, excommunicated.* He was, however, a man eminent for learning, and Amrou was greatly pleased with his conversation; not only taking delight in frequently hearing him discourse on several sciences, but also occasionally asking him questions. This person, perceiving the great respect shown him by Amrou, ventured one day to petition him for the books in the Alexandrian Library, telling him "That he perceived he had taken an account of all things which he thought valuable in the city, and sealed up all the repositories and treasuries, but had taken no notice of the books; that, if they would have been any way useful to him, he would not have been so bold as to ask for them, but since they were not, he desired he might have them." Amrou told him, "That he had asked a thing which was altogether out of his power to grant, and that he could by no means dispose of the books without first asking the caliph's leave. However," he said, "he would write, and see what might be done in the

* Abulfaragius.

matter." Accordingly he performed his promise, and having given a due character of the abilities of this learned man, and acquainted Omar with his petition, the caliph returned this answer, "What is contained in these books you mention is either agreeable to what is written in the book of God (meaning the Koran) or it is not: if it be, then the Koran is sufficient without them; if otherwise, it is fit they should be destroyed." Amrou, in obedience to the caliph's command, distributed the books throughout all the city, amongst those that kept warm baths (of which there was at that time no fewer than four thousand in Alexandria), to heat the baths with. And notwithstanding the great havoc that must needs be made of them at this rate, yet the number of books which the diligence of former princes had collected was so great, that it was six months before they were consumed. A loss never to be made up to the learned world!*

Amrou being now possessed of Egypt, began to look a little further towards the western part of Africa; and in a short time made himself master of all that country which lies between Barcah and Zeweilah; the inhabitants of Barcah bringing in the tribute imposed upon them punctually at the time prefixed, without any collectors going among them to gather it. While these things were doing in Egypt, there was a dearth in Arabia; so that the inhabitants of Medina and the neighbouring country, were reduced to the greatest scarcity and want. Upon this Omar wrote to Amrou, and acquainting him with their extremity, ordered him to supply the Arabs with corn out of Egypt. This Amrou did so abundantly, that the train of camels which were loaden with it, reached in a continued line from Egypt to Medina; the foremost of them entering Medina, before the last of the caravans was yet out of the bounds of Egypt. But this way of conveying the provision being both tedious and expensive, the caliph commanded Amrou to dig a passage from the Nile to the Red Sea, for the more speedy and easy conveyance of their provision to the Arabian shore. Shortly after this Amrou took Tripoli. If we consider the extent of his success it alone is great enough to command our admiration even though nothing else had been accomplished in any other part. But in the east, also, their victorious arms made no less progress, and the Mohammedan crescent now began to shed its malignant influence upon as large and considerable dominions, as the Roman eagle ever soared over. About this time,* Aderbijan, Ainwerdah, Harran, Roha, Rakkah, Nisibin, Ehwaz, Siwas, and Chorassan, were all brought under subjection to the Saracens. In all these conquests, many noble actions, and well worth the relating, were without doubt performed; but the particular history of that part of their conquests not having reached my hands, the reader is desired to excuse my passing over them in silence.

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* It is needless to apprize the reader of the variety of controversy regarding this literary conflagration, some persons disputing even the existence of any great collection; but the testimony of antiquity, joined to the passionate desire of the Lagidæ to accumulate manuscripts, and their vast wealth and influence, render the circumstance a very probable one.

Gibbon says he felt strongly tempted to deny both the fact and the consequences of this irreparable shipwreck of learning, as being founded on the simple authority of Abulfaragius, whilst Eutychius and Al Makin are both silent on the subject. Mr. Milman, however, adds that since this period several new Mohammedan authorities have been adduced to support Abulfaragius. That of, I. Abdollatiph, by professor White: II. Of Makrisi: III. Of Ibn 'Chaldedun; and after them Hadschi Chalfa. See Von Hammer's History of the Assassins. Reinhard, in a German dissertation, printed at Gottingen, 1792, and St. Croix (Magasin Encyclop., tom. iv. p. 433), have examined the question. Among oriental scholars, Professor White, M. St. Martin, Von Hammer, and Silv. de Jacy, consider the fact of the burning of the library, by the command of Omar, beyond question. A Mohammedan writer brings a similar charge against the crusaders. The library of Tripoli is said to have contained the incredible number of three millions of volumes. On the capture of the city, Count Bertram of St. Gilles, entering the first room, which contained nothing but the Koran, ordered the whole to be burnt, as the works of the false prophet of Arabia. See Wilken. Gesch. der Kreuzzuge, vol. ii. p. 211.—*Milman's Gibbon.*

About two years after this, Omar, the caliph, was killed. The account of his death is as follows:—One Firuz, a Persian, of the sect of the Magi, or Persees; as being of a different religion from the Mussulmans, had a daily tribute of two pieces of silver imposed upon him by his master, and made his complaint to Omar, demanding to have a part of it remitted. Omar told him, he did not think it at all unreasonable, considering he could well afford it out of what he earned. With this answer Firuz was so provoked, that he did as good as threaten the caliph to his face, who, however, took little notice of his passion. Firuz watched his opportunity; and not long after, whilst Omar was saying the morning prayer in the mosque, stabbed him thrice in the belly with a dagger. The Saracens in the mosque rushing upon him immediately, he made a desperate defence, and stabbed thirteen of them, of whom seven died.[*] At last, one that stood by, threw his vest over him, and seized him; when perceiving himself caught, he stabbed himself. Omar lived three days after the wound, and then died, in the month of Du'lhagjah, in the twenty-third year of the Hejirah, A.D. 643,[†] after he had reigned ten years, six months, and eight days, and was sixty-three years old; which is the same age, at which according to some authors, Mohammed, Abubeker, and Ayesha, Mohammed's wife, died.

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* Hej. 21. A.D. 641.

He was of a dark complexion, very tall, and had a bald head. As to his behaviour in the government, the Arabic authors give him an extraordinary character. His abstinence and self-denial, his piety and gravity of behaviour, procured him more reverence than his successors could command by their grandeur. His walking-stick, says Alwakidi, struck more terror into those that were present, than another man's sword. His diet was barley-bread; his sauce, salt; and oftentimes, by way of abstinence and mortification, he ate his bread without salt: his drink was water. He was a constant observer of all his religious duties; and in the course of the ten years he reigned, went nine times on pilgrimage to Medina. His administration of justice was very impartial, his ears being always open to the complaints of the meanest; nor could the greatness of any offender exempt him from punishment.[‡] In his decisions he always kept punctually to the sense of the Koran and the traditions of Mohammed, in whose life-time Omar gave a signal proof of the sense he had of the duty of inferiors to their governors, on the following occasion:—

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[*] Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abdi Rabbibi. M.S. Arabic. Huntingdon, No. 254.

[†] History of the Holy Land, M. Arab. Poc. No. 362.

[‡] Masudi relates that Omar's governors lived as piously and simply as himself. The inhabitants of Hems once brought the following accusations against their governor. 1st. That he never granted an audience before sunrise; 2nd. That he never attended to any one during the night; and 3rd. That he was altogether invisible for one whole day in every month. When Omar desired him to explain his conduct, he replied, "In the first place as I have no servant, I am forced, early in the morning, to knead and bake my own bread; secondly, during the night, I pray to God, and read the Koran, until sleep overtakes me; and thirdly, as I have only one upper shirt, I cannot show myself on the day I wash, and dry it." Omar made the governor a present of 1000 dinars, the greater part of which, however, he gave to the poor.—Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen.*

An obstinate Mussulman had a suit at law with a Jew before Mohammed.* The Jew being in the right, Mohammed pronounced sentence against the Mussulman; who said, "That he would not be satisfied, unless Omar, who was then only a private man, had the rehearing and examining the cause." The plaintiff and defendant went both together to Omar, whom they found at his own door, and opening their case, and acquainting him with Mohammed's decision of it, desired him to examine it again. Omar going into his own house, bade them stay a moment, and told them he would despatch their business in a trice. Coming back, he brings his scimitar along with him, and at one single stroke, cuts off the head of the Mussulman, who had refused to be ruled by Mohammed's decision; saying, with a loud voice, "See what they deserve, who will not acquiesce in the determination of their judges." It was upon this occasion that Mohammed gave him the title or surname of Farouk; intimating thereby, that Omar knew as well how to distinguish truth from falsehood, and justice from injustice, as he did to separate the head of that knave from his body.

The conquests gained by the Saracens in his reign were so considerable, that though they had never been extended, the countries they had subdued would have made a very formidable empire. He drove all the Jews and Christians out of Arabia; subdued Syria, Egypt, and other territories in Africa, besides the greater part of Persia. And yet all this greatness, which would have been too weighty for an ordinary man to bear, especially if, as in Omar's case, it did not descend to him as an hereditary possession, for which he had been prepared by a suitable education, but was gotten on a sudden by men who had been acquainted with, and used to nothing great before, had no effect upon the caliph. He still retained his old way of living; nor did the growth of his riches ever show itself by the increase of his retinue or expenses. He built a wall about Cufa, and repaired or rather rebuilt the temples of Jerusalem and Medina. He was the first of the Saracens that made rolls to enter the names of all that were in the military service, or that received pay from the public. He also was the first to employ the date of the Hejirah, concerning which the reader may see more in the Life of Mohammed, p. 31; moreover, he was author of the law forbidding a woman, who had ever borne a child, to be sold for a slave. The author of the History of Jerusalem, already mentioned, adds, "That if he had nothing else to recommend him besides his taking Jerusalem, and purging it from idolatry, that alone were sufficient."

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* D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale.

He never used to hoard up any money in the treasury, but divided it every Friday, at night, amongst his men, according to their several necessities. In which particular, his practice was preferable to Abubeker's; for Abubeker used to proportion his dividends to the merit of the persons that were to receive it, but Omar had regard only to their necessities; saying, "That the things of this world were given to us by God for the relief of our necessities, and not for the reward of virtue; because the proper reward of that belonged to another world."*

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* The following story of this caliph is related by Mr. Lane, in his Notes to the Arabian Nights:—"Omar was one day sitting to judge the people, when a comely young man in clean apparel was brought before him by two handsome youths, who had seized him by his vest. The caliph having ordered the two youths to withdraw from their prisoner, demanded the object of their application, to which they replied:—'O prince of the faithful, we are two brothers by the same mother, and we had a father prudent and honoured among the tribes, who reared us from infancy, and bestowed on us great favours: and he went forth into his orchard to recreate himself and pluck its fruits, when this young man slew him. We therefore request thee to retaliate his offence, and to pass judgment upon him in accordance with the commands of God.'

"Omar casting a terrifying glance upon the young man said, to him: 'What hast thou to say in reply to these two youths?' Now that young man was of fine heart and bold tongue; he had cast off the garments of dastardy, and divested himself of the apparel of fear; and after some preliminary compliments to the caliph, delivered in elegant language, he replied, 'These youths have spoken truth, and the command of God is an interminable decree;' but I will state my case, and it is for thee to decide upon it. Know, O prince, that I am of the choicest of the genuine Arabs, and I grew up in the dwellings of the desert till an oppressive famine afflicted my people, when I came to the environs of this town with my family and wealth. Now I had several she camels of great estimation, and a most beautiful male camel of high breed, whereby the she camels bore abundantly; and whilst I was journeying on a road which passed through gardens of trees, one of my she camels ran to the orchard of the father of these young men, and nibbled at some trees which appeared above the wall. I drove her away from the orchard, but lo! a sheikh appeared through an interstice of the wall with a stone in his hand, and smiting the male camel with it in the right eye, he killed it. Seeing my male camel fall, I became hot with anger, and took up that same stone and smote him with it, and the man was killed by that wherewith he had killed. Upon being struck with the stone he uttered a great cry and a painful shriek, whereupon I hastened from the place; but being seized by these youths, I am brought before thee.' Then Omar said, 'Thou hast confessed thy crime: liberation hath become difficult, retaliation is necessary, and there is no escape.' The young man replied, 'I hear and obey; but I have a young brother, whose father left him abundance of wealth and gold, and committed both him and his treasure to my charge. Now the money is buried, and no one but myself knoweth where: therefore, before passing sentence of death, give me three days that I may appoint a guardian for the boy, by which time I will return to discharge my obligations, and will give surety for my return. The caliph asked who would be surety; when the young man looking round him pointed to Aboo Dharr,* who thereupon consented to become his guarantee for three days.

"The third day had almost closed, and the 'companions of the prophet' were surrounding Omar like stars round the moon; but as yet, the young man had not returned. Aboo Dharr was present, and the plaintiffs who were waiting, said to him, 'Where is the delinquent? How shall he who hath fled return? But we will not move from our place until thou bring him to us, that our blood revenge may be taken.'—Aboo Dharr replied, 'By the Omniscient King, if the three days expire, and the young man come not, I will discharge the obligation and surrender myself to the caliph.' And Omar said, 'By Allah, if the young man delay his coming, I will assuredly pass sentence upon Aboo Dharr, according as the law of Islam requireth!' Upon this the tears of the assembly flowed, and the sighs of the spectators rose, and great was the clamour. The chiefs of the 'companions' begged the youths to accept pecuniary compensation; but they would be satisfied with nothing less than the revenge of blood.

"Whilst the people were thus lamenting, lo, the young man approached and stood before the caliph, with his face glistening with perspiration; and he said:—'I have committed my brother to his maternal uncles, and acquainted them with all his affairs, and the depository of his wealth; then I rushed through the sultry mid-day heat, and fulfilled my promise.' And the people wondered at his veracity and good faith, and praised him; but he replied: 'Are ye not convinced that when the period of death hath arrived, no one can escape from it? Verily I fulfilled my promise, that it might not be said,—Fidelity hath departed from among men.' Then Aboo Dharr said:—'O prince, I became surety for this young man, and knew not his tribe, nor had I previously seen him. But when he turned from all others and appealed to me, I deemed it not right to deny him, that it might not be said,—Virtue hath departed from among men.' And upon this the two youths said :—'O prince, we give up to this young man the blood of our father, since he hath converted sadness into cheerfulness, that it may not be said,—Kindness hath departed from among men.' Then the caliph rejoiced at the pardon granted to the young man, and greatly extolled the humanity of Abeo Dharr and the kindness of the two youths. He then offered to pay the latter the price of their father's blood from the government treasury, but they refused to receive it."

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* A celebrated and highly esteemed relater of the sayings and actions of the prophet.

"But little is known to us of the private life of Omar, but we learn that he was married seven times; three times in Mecca, and four times after the flight to Medina; which proves that he did not live entirely devoted to God and Islamism. Beside his wives, he had two female slaves, both of whom bore him children; and he also got Ayesha to forward his suit with two other women, but they both refused him. One was a daughter of Otba, who would not accept him because, from jealousy, he always kept his wives locked up. The other, Asma, a daughter of Abubeker, declined to receive his addresses because she dreaded the hard living of the abstemious caliph, who is said to have confined his household to barley bread and camel's flesh. Omar, however, was so much in love with Asma, that Ayesha was afraid to acquaint him with her refusal, and therefore took counsel with Amrou Ebn Aas. The latter accordingly went to Omar, and said to him, 'I have heard you wish to marry Asma, and would dissuade you from it, for she has grown up so uncontrolled amongst her brothers, that she will neither submit to thy restraints nor suit so strict a ruler; and if she complains of thy severity, all the people will support her cause, and condemn thee, because she is the daughter of Abubeker.' This artful speech succeeded, and Ayesha was spared from further commissions. Omar concluded a marriage with Omm Kolthum, the daughter of Ali; but Ali expressed great unwillingness in giving him his daughter, because of her extreme youth; and a somewhat similar scene took place as that which preceded the marriage of Mohammed with Ayesha. Ali sent his daughter to Omar, who unveiled her, and drew her towards him; but she escaped from his hands, and went and complained to her father, who accordingly said to Omar, 'If thou wert not caliph, I would break thy nose and scratch thy eyes out.' Omar subsequently won Ali over, by saying that 'Mohammed had declared that all ties of relationship and marriage would cease on the day of resurrection, save those in his own family; therefore, as Omm Kolthum was the grandchild of the prophet, through her mother Fatima; if he married her now, she would become one of his wives in paradise.' Omm Kolthum, however, again evinced a dislike to return to the old voluptuary, as she called him; but Ali overruled her objections by the simple reply of, 'He is now thy husband.'"—See Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*.

OTHMAN EBN AFFAN, THIRD CALIPH AFTER MOHAMMED.

Hejirah 23—35. A.D. 643—655.

DURING the three days which Omar survived his mortal wound,* his friends came about him, soliciting him to make his will, and name a successor. Disliking this task, he merely observed, that if Salem were alive he should approve of none so well as him. Upon this they named several to him, but with all they proposed he still found some fault or other. Some recommended Ali, on account not only of his valour and other great qualities, but also of his near relationship to Mohammed. But Omar thought him scarcely serious enough for so weighty a charge. Then Othman Ebn Affan was named; and Omar rejected him also, as likely to misuse his authority by favouring his own friends and relations. When they saw that they could not name any one but Omar would take an exception to him, they suspected, not without apparent reason, that all the objections proceeded from a desire that his son should succeed him. But his son being mentioned to him, he answered, that it was enough for one in a family to have to give an account of so weighty a charge as the caliphate. At last, when they could not persuade him to name a successor, to meet their wishes in some degree he appointed six persons, who were to consult upon and determine the matter within three days of his decease. During their deliberations his son was to be present, but was not to have a right of voting. The six commissioners were Othman, Ali, Telha, Zobeir, Abdarrhaman† Ebn Auf, and Saed Ebn Abi Wakkas; all of whom had been the familiar acquaintance and companions of Mohammed. Omar being dead, they met to consult; and Abdarrhaman said, that for his part he would willingly lay aside all pretensions to the office, provided they would agree to choose one of their own number.

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* Hejirah 23. Which year beginning on the 18th of November, in the year of our Lord 643, the greatest part of it answers to the year 644.

† Abulfaragius, instead of Abdarrhaman puts in Abu Obeidah; but I have chosen rather to follow Eutychius and Elmakin, because there are more authors than one who say positively, that Abu Obeidah died of the plague in Syria, in the 18th year of the Hejirah.

All of them agreed at once to this proposition but Ali, who thought himself injured, because he had not been the immediate successor of Mohammed. At last, when Abdarrhaman had sworn that he would neither vote for nor favour any man whatsoever that should offer himself, Ali also gave his consent. Upon this, Abdarrhaman consults with the rest, who inclined to Othman Ebn Affan. Accordingly, Othman was chosen caliph, and inaugurated three days after Omar's death.* Abulfaragius says, that Abu Obeidah (whom he puts in the room of Abdarrhaman) came to Ali, and asked him if he would take the government upon him, upon condition that he should be obliged to administer according to what was contained in the book of God, the tradition of his prophet, and the determination of two seniors. Ali answered, that as for the book of God, and the tradition of his prophet, he was content; but he would not be obliged to be determined by the constitutions of the seniors. The same terms being offered to Othman, he embraced them without exception, and was immediately chosen caliph.

As soon as he was established in the government, Othman followed the example of his predecessors, and sent his forces abroad to enlarge his dominions. In a short time, Maho'l Bassorah, and what remained of the borders of Ispahan and Raya was taken; so that the poor Persian king was now eaten up on all sides, and had very little left him. The same year that Othman was made caliph, Birah and Hamden were taken, and Moawiyah, who was then prefect of Syria, and afterwards caliph, invading the territories of the Grecian emperor, took a great many towns, and wasted the country.

We have already observed, that Othman was suspected of being too much inclined to favour his friends, and that upon this account Omar had judged him unworthy of succeeding him. This inclination showed itself plainly enough now that he had got the government into his hands, and was in a capacity to indulge it. Notwithstanding the signal services that Amrou Ebn Al Aas had done the Saracens by adding Egypt to their empire, Othman deposed him, and deprived him of the prefecture, or lieutenancy of Egypt, for no just reason that ever I could learn, but only because he had a mind to prefer his own foster-brother, Abdallah Ebn Saïd, to a place of such dignity and profit. A greater imprudence than this he scarcely could have committed; for Amrou, having been a considerable time in Egypt, had made himself familiar with the persons and the customs of the Egyptians, and had also won the love and confidence of the people. On this account, and by reason of his admirable skill in military affairs, he was, without doubt, the fittest men among the Saracens for so important a charge. The order, however, of the caliph must be obeyed, but the result soon showed how ill-advised it was;* for Constantine, the Grecian em-

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* There is some variety in the accounts of the time of Othman's inauguration. Some say there was but one day left of the last month in the twenty-third year of the Hejirah. Others say it was on the 20th day of the first month (Moharram) of the twenty-fourth year.

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* Shortly after the government of Egypt had been consigned to Abdallah Ebn Saïd, the final reduction of Africa, from the Nile to the Atlantic, was projected by Othman, and a reinforcement of upwards of 20,000 Arabs marched from Medina, accompanied by Zobeir, and other distinguished chieftains, and joined the Arabian camp at Memphis.

Mills quotes the following account:—"With the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, Abdallah, the general of Othman, conducted 40,000 valiant Arabs from the camp at Memphis, to the conversion or subjugation of the unknown regions of the west. After a painful march they pitched their tents before the walls of Tripoli, whilst a reinforcement of Greeks, who were advancing to relieve the city, were surprised and cut to pieces on the sea shore. But the siege was suspended by the appearance in the field of the prefect Gregory, with 100,000 Roman troops, and Moorish or barbarian auxiliaries. The representative of the Greek emperor rejected with disdain the usual choice of conversion or tribute, and the Saracenic general broke up his camp before the walls of Tripoli. In the midst of a sandy plain, the battle was prolonged for several days, from the earliest appearance of light, till a noon-day sun compelled the soldiers of each army to seek the shelter of their tents. But Zobeir, a genius in war, terminated this irregular conflict. A part of the Mussulman force had been separated from their general, and the commander of the division sent twelve of his bravest soldiers to penetrate the camp of the Greeks. In the darkness of the night they avoided the enemy, and with a perseverance which despised all refreshment of the senses, reached their Mussulman brethren in the battle of the morning. The searching eye of Zobeir met not Abdallah. 'Where,' said he, 'is our general?' 'He is in his tent,' was the reply. 'Is the tent a station for the general of the Mussulmans?' indignantly exclaimed the indefatigable Saracen, on finding that Abdallah had really retired from the field. 'Nay,' replied the chief, when he was discovered by Zobeir, 'a price has been set on my head; one hundred thousand pieces of gold, and the hand of the daughter of the prefect, have been offered to any Christian or Mussulman, who shall take the head of the general of the Saracens into the camp of the enemy. She is peror, sent one Manuel, a eunuch, with an army, to retake Alexandria, in which he succeeded by the help of the Greeks in the city; who, maintaining a secret correspondence with the emperor's army, then at sea, received them at their landing; and Alexandria, which Amrou had taken four years before, was now once more in the hands of the emperor. It was now evidently seen of what use Amrou had been in Egypt, and it was not long before he was restored to his former dignity; for the Egyptians, conscious of treachery and disloyalty to their sovereign, and fearing lest, if they again fell into the hands of the Greeks, they should be punished according to their deserts, humbly petitioned the caliph for the restoration of their old general Amrou, on account both of his thorough acquaintance with the state of their country, and of

fighting by the side of her father, and her incomparable charms fire the youth of both armies. My friends have solicited me to quit the field, as the loss of their general might be fatal to the cause.' 'Retort on the infidels,' said the undaunted Zobeir, 'their unmanly attempt: proclaim through the ranks, that the head of Gregory shall be repaid with his captive daughter, and the equal sum of one hundred thousand pieces of gold.' The adventurous Saracen conceived and executed a plan for the overthrow of the Greeks. On the following morning, a part only of the Mussulman army carried on the usual desultory conflict with their foes as long as the heat was supportable. The Mussulmans retired to their camp, threw down their swords, laid their bows across their saddles, and by every appearance of lassitude deceived the enemy into security. But at the signal of Zobeir, a large body of his troops, fresh, active, and vigorous, sprang from the concealment of their tents, and mounted their horses. The Romans, astonished and fainting with fatigue, hastily seized their arms, but their ranks were soon broken by the impetuous Saracens. Gregory was slain, and the scattered fugitives from the field sought refuge in Sujetala. But on the first attack, this city yielded; and, in the division of the spoil, two thousand pieces of gold were the share of every horseman, and one thousand pieces of every foot soldier. The spirited daughter of Gregory had animated, by her courage and her exhortations, the soldiers of her country, till a squadron of horse led her captive into the presence of Abdallah. The affecting testimony of her tears at the sight of Zobeir, proved that he was the destroyer of her father. 'Why do you not claim the rich reward of your conquest?' inquired Abdallah, in astonishment at the modesty or indifference of Zobeir at the sight of so much beauty. 'I fight,' replied the enthusiast, 'for glory and religion, and despise all ignoble motives.' The general of the Saracens forced, however, upon the reluctant chief the virgin and the gold, and pleased his martial spirit with the office of communicating to the caliph at Medina the success of his faithful soldiers."

his experience in war. The request was no sooner made than granted, the exigency of affairs indispensably demanding it. Amrou, being now reinstated in authority, advanced against Alexandria with his whole force, ordering the Copts, of whom there were a great many in his service, under the command of the traitor Mokaukas, to provide the necessaries for the army in its march. When Amrou encamped before Alexandria, he found the Greeks well prepared to oppose him. They gave him battle for several days together, and held out bravely. The obstinacy of their defence so provoked him, that he swore, if God gave him the victory, he would pull down the walls of the town, and make it as easy of access as a bagnio. He was as good as his word; for when, after a short time, he had taken the town, he demolished all the walls and fortifications, and entirely dismantled it. However, he dealt very merciful with the inhabitants, and saved as many of their lives as he could: for the Saracens were killing all they met, and he had great difficulty in stopping the bloodshed. In the place, therefore, where he first succeeded in staying their fury, he built a mosque, which upon that account was called, "the mosque of mercy." Manuel, the emperor's general, being totally defeated, retired, with as many of his men as he could carry off, to the sea-shore; where, weighing anchor with all possible speed, they hoisted sail, and returned to Constantinople. From that time, this most flourishing city, once the metropolis of Egypt, dwindled away and declined apace; so that there is little belonging to it that is worth taking notice of besides its excellent haven, and a few factories.

About this time, Moawiyah invaded Cyprus, which shortly capitulated, the Saracen general agreeing to share the revenues of the island with the Grecian emperor. By this agreement the Cyprians engaged themselves to pay seven thousand and two hundred ducats yearly to Moawiyah, and the like sum to the emperor. The Mohammedans enjoyed this tribute near two years, and were then dispossessed by the Christians.

The same year that Moawiyah agreed with the Cyprians, Othman sent Abdallah Ebn Amir and Saïd Ebn Al Aas to invade Khorassan; and, to stimulate their enthusiasm, told them "That whoever got there first should have the prefecture of that territory." They took a great many strong places, and so straitened Yezdejird, that the Persian king, so far from being able to meet the Saracens in open field was obliged to fly from fortress to fortress to save himself. And that nothing should be wanting to complete his misery, he was at last betrayed by a treacherous servant, a calamity which often befalls princes in adversity. For those who have any private pique against them take advantage of their misfortunes to revenge themselves; others, again, hoping to ingratiate themselves with the conquering party, scruple at nothing that will win their favour, though it prove the utter ruin of their former masters.

Yezdejird, being distressed on all sides, called in Tarchan, the Turk, to his assistance, who accordingly came with an army. But the Turk's stay was short, for Yezdejird, taking offence at some trifle, sent Tarchan back again. In this desperate circumstance he could have done nothing more imprudent. He would have acted a much wiser part had he put up with a great many little affronts, rather than send away the allies who were indispensable to his subsistence. Upon this Mahwa, a person of note, who had an old grudge against his master, Yezdejird, took the advantage of the Turk's anger, who highly resented the indignity, and sent to Tarchan, telling him, "That if he would come back and revenge the affront, he might reckon on his assistance." Upon this Tarchan returned. Yezdejird made the best preparation he could to meet him, but was completely beaten. In his flight, the traitor Mahwa set upon him, and destroyed the shattered remnant of his army, which had escaped from the Turks. Yezdejird got off himself, and coming to a mill, in which he hoped to be able to defend himself, offered the miller his belt, his bracelets, and his ring, for the use of it; but the churlish brute, considering neither the worth of the things which were offered him, much less the compassion which humanity binds us to show to all in distress, and especially to our princes, told him, "That he earned four pieces of silver with his mill every day, and if he would give him that sum he would let it stand still for his benefit; but on no other terms." Whilst they were debating this matter, a party of horse, who were in search of him, came up and immediately slew him. He was the last king of the Persians and it is from the commencement of his reign that the Persian era, which is in use to this day in Persia, begins, being called Yezdejirdica after him. Thus the Persian government was entirely destroyed, and all the territories belonging to it fell into the hands of the caliph in the thirty-first year of the Hejirah, which began on the twenty-third day of August, in the year of our Lord 651.*

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* Sir John Malcolm, in his History of Persia, gives the following account of Yezdejirh, after the battle of Jaloulah, mentioned at page 215:—"In A.D. 640, and the twentieth of the Hejirah, Said Ebn Wakass, who continued to govern all that part of Persia which he had conquered, from his fixed camp, or rather, new city of Cufah, was recalled by Omar, on account of a complaint made against him by those under his rule; and a chief, named Omar Yuseer, was appointed his successor. Yezdejird, encouraged by the removal of a leader that he so much dreaded, assembled an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, from the provinces of Khorassan, Rhé, and Hamadan; and, placing it under the command of Firouzan, the bravest of the Persian generals, resolved to put the fate of his empire at issue on one great battle. The caliph, when he heard of these preparations, ordered reinforcements to be sent to his army in Persia from every quarter of his dominions, and committed the whole to the chief command of Nooman. The Arabian force assembled at Cufah, and from thence marched to the plains of Nahavund, on which the Persian army had established a camp, surrounded by a deep entrenchment. During two months, these two great armies continued in sight of each other, and many skirmishes were fought. The Persian general appearing determined not to quit his position, but the zealous valour of the leader of the faithful became impatient of delay. He drew up his army in order of battle, and thus addressed them:—'My friends! prepare yourselves to conquer, or to drink of the sweet sherbet of martyrdom. I shall now call the tukbeer three times; at the first, you will gird your loins; at the second, mount your steeds; and at the third, point your lances and rush to victory, or to paradise. As to me,' continued Nooman, with a raised and enraptured voice, 'I shall be a martyr! When I am slain, obey the orders of Huzeefah Ebn Aly Oman.' The moment he had done speaking, the first sound of the tukbeer, 'Allah Akbar,' or 'God is great,' was heard throughout the camp; at the second, all were upon their horses; and at the third, which was repeated by the whole army, the Mohammedans charged with a fury which was irresistible. Nooman was, as he predicted, slain; but his army gained a great and memorable victory. Thirty thousand Persians were pierced by their lances, and eighty thousand more were drowned in the deep trench by which they had surrounded their camp. Their general, Firouzan, with four thousand men, fled to the hills; but such was the effect of terror on one side, and of confidence on the other, that the chief was pursued, defeated, and slain, by a body of not more than one thousand men. The battle of Nahavund decided the fate of Persia; which, from its date, fell under the dominion of the Arabian caliphs. Yezdejird protracted, for several years, a wretched and precarious existence. He first

Othman, though a religious man in his way, and well disposed, was nevertheless very unfit for government. He committed a great many impolitic acts, which alienated the minds of his subjects, and gave occasion to his enemies both to murmur and to rebel against his government. The first that we hear of, who began to make a stir, and talk publicly against the caliph, was one Abudar Alacadi, who, in the thirty-first year of the Hejirah, openly railed at him, and made it his business to defame him. Othman took no other notice of this conduct, than by forbidding him to come into his presence. Upon this, Abudar went into Syria, where he continued to defame the caliph, and to exaggerate every fault or error that could be charged against him. Moawijah, at that time lieutenant of Syria, wrote to Othman, who thereupon sent for Abudar to Medina, and put him into prison, where he continued till his death, which was but the year after.

But this was only the beginning of troubles to the caliph, for the Saracens grew every day more and more disaffected. Factious and uneasy spirits, when once they have begun to

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fled to Seistan, then to Khorassan, and lastly to Merv. The governor of that city invited the Khakan of the Tartars to take possession of the person of the fugitive monarch. That sovereign accepted the offer; his troops entered Merv, the gates of which were opened to them by the treacherous governor, and made themselves masters of it, in spite of the desperate resistance of the surprised, but brave and enraged inhabitants. Yezdejird escaped on foot from the town during the confusion of the contest. He reached a mill, eight miles from Merv, and entreated the miller to conceal him. The man told him he owed a certain sum to the owner of the mill, and that, if he paid the debt, he should have his protection against all pursuers. The monarch agreed to this proposal; and after giving his sword and belt as pledges of his sincerity, he retired to rest with perfect confidence in his safety. But the miller could not resist the temptation of making his fortune by the possession of the rich arms and robes of the unfortunate prince, whose head he separated from his body with the sword he received from him, and then cast his corpse into the water-course that turned the mill. The governor of Merv, and those who had aided him, began, in a few days, to suffer from the tyranny of the Rhakan, and to repent the part which they had acted. They encouraged the citizens to rise upon the Tartars, and not only recovered the city, but forced the Khakan to fly, with great loss, to Bokharah. A diligent inquiry was made after Yezdejird, whose fate was soon discovered. The miller fell a victim to popular rage; and the corpse of the monarch was embalmed, and sent to Istakhr, to be interred in the sepulchre of his ancestors."

disturb a government, will never rest till they are either themselves entirely crushed, or else succeed in obtaining their ends. The murmuring increased daily, and almost every province in the empire had some private wrong to complain of, in addition to the grievances which were common to all; so that in the five and thirtieth year of the Hejirah all things were in a flame. Every man's mouth was full of grievous accusations against the caliph, and of complaints of his maladministration. The following were the principal matters that they had to lay to his charge:—the recall of Hhakem Ebn Al Aas to Medina, who had been banished by the prophet, and had not been reinstated by either of his predecessors, Abubeker or Omar:—the removal from his prefecture of Saïd Ebn Abi Wakkas, one of the six to whom Omar had committed the election of a caliph, and the substituting for him a man of scandalous conversation, a drinker of wine, and notorious for other debaucheries:—lavish gifts to his friends out of the public treasure, having, for instance, bestowed upon Abdallah four hundred thousand ducats, and a hundred thousand on Hhakem:—the removal of Amrou Ebn Al Aas from the lieutenancy of Egypt, to make room for Saïd Ebn Abi Sharehh. This Saïd had been one of those who helped to write the Koran, and afterwards apostatized, and renounced the profession of Mohammedanism. For all which Mohammed had resolved to kill him; when, in the eighth year of the Hejirah, he took Mecca, but had, at Othman's entreaty, spared his life, and was content with simply banishing him. Another grievance was "that when he was first made caliph, he presumed to sit upon the uppermost part of the suggestum, or pulpit, where Mohammed himself used to sit, although Abubeker always sat one step lower, and Omar two." These, and a great many other things, made the people murmur at him.* At last, in a public assembly, he told them from the pulpit, "That the money which was in the treasury was sacred, and belonged to God, and that he (as being the successor of the prophet) would, in spite of them, dispose of it as he thought fit; and threatened and cursed all who should presume to censure or murmur at what he said." Upon this Ammar Ebn Yaser boldly declaring his disapprobation, Othman commanded him to be beaten, and immediately some that stood by fell upon him, and beat him till he swooned. These proceedings so incensed the Arabs, that they, gathering together, flew to arms, and encamped within a league of Medina. From their camp they sent an insolent message to the caliph, demanding of him either to do that which was right and just (i. e. what they thought so), or else resign the government. The poor caliph, for the sake of quiet, would now have done anything with all his heart. But it is a common observation, that discontented and seditious subjects are not to be pacified by complying with their demands, for the more is granted by the prince in such circumstances, the more insolent they become. However, the caliph went into the pulpit which was in the mosque at Medina, and there solemnly, before the whole congregation, called God to witness that he was heartily sorry for what was passed, and sincerely repented.*

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* Among other circumstances which prejudiced the people against Othman's rule was the following, which we quote from Dr. Weil: "In consequence of the multiplied variations which had crept into the readings of the Koran, Othman had caused all the different copies which could be found to be collected together and burnt, excepting one, which alone, sanctioned by his own authority, he directed all believers to receive as the only genuine transcript of the revelations of the prophet. Moreover, he confided the editorship and revision of this new and authentic edition to

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those men who were the most devoted to him, rather than to those who were the most learned." See also at the end of Abubeker's reign an allusion to this proceeding. We are also told by the same author, that when Othman made his pilgrimage to Mecca, he introduced several innovations, and amongst others, he followed the practice of his heathenish predecessors, and erected a spacious tent on the plains of Mina, under which he distributed various provisions to the pilgrims, although the prophet had carefully abolished this custom as a relic of heathenism. Major Price adds, that on his return to Medina another incident occurred which produced an unfavourable impression on superstitious minds. In superintending some workmen whom he had employed to sink a well about two miles from the city, the prophet's seal, which he wore on his finger, and which had hitherto securely passed from hand to hand through his predecessors, to his great mortification dropped into the well, and notwithstanding the most diligent search, could never afterwards be recovered.

* "The clamours of the assembly on this occasion were so violent and outrageous, that the caliph descended from the pulpit in no small degree of terror. It is recorded by some authors, that part of the assembly proceeded to the extremity of pelting the aged monarch with stones; that they dragged him from his place, broke his staff upon his own head, and

But it was all to no purpose, for by this time the provinces were in an uproar, and the strength of the rebels increased daily. Almost every province sent some of its chief men to represent its grievance, and they, meeting together at Medina, determined to depose Othman. Upon this occasion, Malec Alashtar brought two hundred men with him from Cufah;* and there came one hundred and fifty from Bassorah, and six hundred from Egypt. The caliph being now in great per-

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otherwise treated him with such marks of indecent violence and indignity, that he swooned away, and in this state was conveyed to his palace."—*Price.*

* Dr. Weil and Major Price both give us detailed accounts of the revolt at Cufah, which had taken place a short time previous to the above transactions, about the year 33 of the Hejirah. We learn from these authors that it was principally occasioned by the tyranny of the governor, Saïd Ebn Aas, who was a cousin of Othman's. Besides exciting the hatred of the principal inhabitants, he had particularly offended Malec Alashtar, who was one of their great favourites; and from that time the house of Malec became the resort of all the disaffected, who sought every opportunity of bringing contempt, not only upon the administration of Saïd, but also upon that of the caliph. An officer whom Saïd had sent to expostulate with the rebels, having been severely chastised by them, that governor complained to Othman of their proceedings, who instructed him to remove Malec and his obnoxious associates to Syria, where their conduct would be properly watched by the vigilant Moawiyah. The latter governor endeavoured to conciliate these insurgents by mildness, but they still continued to revile the caliph and his family; and one day, after a sharp discussion upon the subject, they actually fell upon Moawiyah, and seized his beard, who, however, only cried out, "You are not in Cufah! By heaven, if my Syrians knew of your insults, I could not prevent your being torn to pieces." The governor did not treat them with his usual severity, but transferred his turbulent charge to Abdarrhaman, the governor of Hems, whose inflexible temper, and harshness of manner, soon reduced them to submission, and they were permitted to return to Cufah, though Malec, at all hazards, continued to reside at Hems. In the 34th year of the Hejirah, the presence of Saïd was required at Medina, and during his absence Malec returned to Cufah and resumed his place at the head of the malcontents. Upon the return of Saïd the inhabitants assembled in great numbers upon the walls, to intercept his entrance into the town. Alarmed at their appearance, Saïd retraced his steps to Medina, when the caliph, thinking it prudent to make a virtue of necessity, acceded to the wishes of the people, who desired that Abu Musa might be appointed governor in the room of Saïd. Upon this occasion Othman sent an address to the Cufians, and through the mediation of Ali, and the gold of Merwan, the secretary of the caliph, their seditious proceedings were appeased for the time. That the rebels were never permanently reconciled to the government of Othman, we may learn from the facts stated in the text.

plexity, sent Mogeirah Ebn Shabah and Amrou Ebn Al Aas to treat with the malcontents, and endeavour to persuade them to leave their complaints to be decided on by the Koran and the Sunnet, i. e., the traditions of Mohammed. But they had very little thanks for their pains, for the rebels used them scurvily. Then he sent Ali to them, who ever since the death of Mohammed had expected to be caliph, and had a very considerable party. Him they received with more reverence, and he bound himself to see that all that Othman promised should be performed; and to make them the more easy, Othman and Ali set both their hands to a paper, in which they promised to remove all just causes of complaint. Then the Egyptians demanded to have Abdallah Ebn Said removed from the lieutenancy of Egypt, and Mohammed, the son of Abubeker, put in his room; which Othman readily complied with, and forthwith signed the appointment of Mohammed. This condescension of the caliph apparently satisfied them, for the confederacy broke up, and every man returned to his own country. The storm seemed to be blown over, and any man would have thought that the caliph had no reason to doubt of going to the grave in peace. But what will not treachery do? Nothing was omitted by the caliph's enemies which might foment and keep alive the prejudices which the people had already conceived against him. Ayesha, Mohammed's widow, was his mortal enemy. Certainly it would much better have become one that pretended to have been the wife of an inspired prophet, to have spent the days of her widowhood in devotion and good works, than in doing mischief and embroiling the state. But she was so prejudiced in favour of Telha, the son of Zobeir, whom she would fain have raised to the dignity of caliph, that no consideration of virtue or decency could hinder her from doing every thing in her power to compass the death of Othman. Another of his greatest enemies was Mohammed, Abubeker's son, the same whom the Egyptians had desired for their prefect. But none did him more harm than Merwan Ebn Al Hhakem, his own secretary, who may justly be looked upon as the principal cause of his ruin,* which his enemies at last effected in the following manner.

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* Merwan seems to have been the evil genius of Othman. According to Major Price, the imbecile old caliph frequently advised with Ali, but the

As the Egyptians who had gathered together to depose Othman were upon their journey homewards from Medina, accompanied by Mohammed, the son of Abubeker, their new

malignant influence of this secretary perpetually interposed to prevent his taking advantage of the good counsel he received. Though, however, his conduct was so injurious to the interests of the caliph, he seems to have been exceedingly attached to Othman. See the end of the present reign.

Dr. Weil quotes the following story of this secretary from Ebn Abdah Hhakem :—" When Abdallah Ebn Saïd was extending his conquests in Africa, he despatched Merwan, with other Arabians, to report to Othman the progress of his arms, and during the journey, Merwan met with a remarkable adventure, which he subsequently related thus : One evening, my travelling companion asked me to accompany him to visit a friend who resided in the vicinity ; I consented, and accordingly he turned off the road and conducted me to a convent. Upon pulling the bell, a man made his appearance, and admitted us ; and after bringing each of us a small bed, he talked to my companion in his own gibberish, and in such a way that I began to feel alarmed. He then came to me and asked the degree of my relationship to the caliph. 'He is my cousin !' I replied. 'Has the caliph any more relations ?' 'None, except his children.' 'Art thou lord of the holy land ?' 'No.' 'Then,' continued he, 'if you can become so, do it ! Listen ! I wish to tell you something, but I am afraid you are too weak to bear it.' 'What ! do you tell me that ?' said I, 'one who —— 'Here he interrupted me, and turned again to my companion, and said something more in his gibberish. Then he repeated to me the same questions, and upon my giving him the same answer he said : 'Thy lord will be killed ! the ruler of the holy land will be his successor ; therefore, seek thou to be ruler !' This prophecy threw me into a great consternation. 'Did I not tell thee, thou wouldst be unable to bear it ?' said he. 'Why,' I replied, 'should not the news of the death of the prince of the faithful and lord of the Mussulmans afflict me ?' I travelled on to Medina, and lived there an entire month without mentioning this scene to Othman. At length, one day I went to visit him, and found him setting on a divan, with a fan in his hand ; and I then related to him the whole of the adventure, but stopped short and burst into tears at the part touching his death, but he said, 'Speak on, and I will also speak !' I then told him the whole, and taking the edge of his fan, he threw himself upon his back, and rubbed his heels with so much fury that I regretted having mentioned the subject. He then said, 'You have told me the truth ! know that when the prophet returned home from Tabuc, he gave a portion of the booty to each of his companions, and to me a double portion, which I thought was on account of my having so much assisted him in the campaign ; but he said to me 'Not on that account do I give it thee, but to show the people the high position you hold.' I then drew back, and Abdarrahman Ebn Auf followed me, and said, 'What hast thou said to the ambassador of God that he watches thee so intensely ?' Whereupon, thinking I must have displeased Othman, I waited till he went to prayers, and then advanced towards him and said, 'Abdarrahman has just told me so and so. I will do penance before God if I have said anything lieutenant, they met with a messenger carrying letters from the caliph to Abdallah Ebn Saïd, at that time lieutenant of Egypt. Him they detained and seized his letters; which being opened were found to contain orders to Abdallah from the caliph to this effect. "As soon as Mohammed, the son Abubeker, and N. and N. &c., shall arrive in Egypt, cut off their hands and feet, and impale them." This letter had Othman's seal and superscription; the whole business being managed by the villainy of the secretary Merwan, who had written this letter of his own accord, as, to the great injury of the caliph, he had done many others, and so arranged the departure of the messenger as that he could not fail to fall into the hands of the Egyptians, on purpose to re-kindle the differences which by the care of Ali, and the condescension of the caliph had in a great measure been composed. It is no hard matter to guess how Mohammed, Abubeker's son, and the Egyptians with him, were affected with this letter. Their indignation knew no bounds; and no ill language, no revenge was thought sufficient for him, that had designed to perpetrate such cruel treachery. They immediately hasten back to Medina, loudly declaring all the way against the falsehood and perfidiousness of the caliph, and congratulating themselves on their fortunate but narrow escape from so imminent a danger. Such stories as this seldom lose any thing in the telling, and no wonder then if they excited the most angry feelings, especially if we consider that the old wound was but just skinned over, and not healed; for besides the faction at court, there was also a great many disaffected persons, who spared not to say the worst of the caliph. The news of the return of the Egyptians, and how, if they had not accidentally intercepted Othman's letter to Abdallah, they must have suffered the utmost cruelty, flew quickly over the country. The detestation of the caliph became universal, and the deputies from Cufa and Basora, who upon the accommodation of their differences had returned, had scarce got home, before they were alarmed with the evil tidings, and set out again to assist the Egyptians in deposing Othman. This letter, they thought, excused whatsoever they did, and even those who did not

wrong!' He replied, 'You have done nothing wrong, but you will either commit a murder or be murdered! prefer the latter!'" This Merwan afterwards became caliph and was murdered by his wife." See the Reign of Merwan I.

believe that the caliph had written it, nevertheless, in order to gain their own ends, did not scruple to make use of it to vilify him. At last, they besieged him in his own house. Othman, in the meantime, offered to make them every satisfaction that could reasonably be demanded, and declared his repentance for what he had done amiss. But all in vain; they were resolved to be revenged on one who in truth had never designed to injure them. When he saw himself reduced to this strait he sent for his cousin Ali, and asked him; "If he had a desire to see his cousin murdered, and his own kingdom rent in pieces?" Ali answered, "By no means:" And upon this sent his two sons, Hasan and Hosein, to defend him, and keep the gate, to protect him from violence. I am verily pursuaded, that Ali did not mean any harm personally to the caliph. Still, whether the prospect of succeeding him, made him loath to disoblige the Mussulmans, who were altogether set against Othman, or from some other reason, it is plain, that he did not assist him with that zeal and vigour which might otherwise have been expected. It is true, he sent Hasan and Hosein; but they, when the besiegers had straitened the caliph, by cutting off his supply of water, left him to their mercy. Then Mohammed, Abubeker's son, and Ammar Ebn Yaser with several others, entered the house, where they found the caliph with the Koran in his lap. They immediately fell upon him, and one of them wounded him in the throat with a dart; a second stabbed him with his sword. As soon as he fell, another sat upon his breast, and wounded him in nine places. Thus died Othman,* the third after Mohammed, when he was eighty-two years old, and after having reigned nearly twelve. Authors differ concerning the time of his being besieged in his house; but it seems to have been about six weeks. His corpse lay unburied for three days: at last it was removed, (by whose order I find not) bloody as it was, and buried in the same clothes he was killed in, without so much as being washed, and without the least funeral solemnity. A remarkable instance of the vanity of human greatness and the uncertainty of all worldly felicity.†

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* Hejira 35. July 10, A. D. 655.

† The following additional particulars of this siege are extracted from Major Price:—"The palace of Othman was invested by the Egyptian and other insurgents, who insisted that if Merwan's letter was despatched by autho-

As to his person, he was very tall, of a good countenance, dark complexion, and a large beard. His way of living was commendable enough for a Saracen. He was very diligent

rity, the life of the caliph must expiate the crime. During the siege one of the order of the prophet's companions came forward, and requested that Othman would appear upon the terrace as he had something to his advantage to communicate. The caliph complied and the conference was opened, when one of the besieged suddenly drew his bow from the battlements of the palace, and killed the officious adviser on the spot. The besiegers with eager vociferation demanded, that the murderer should be delivered up; but Othman firmly and magnanimously refused, declaring that those should never suffer whose only crimes were loyalty and devotion. But the issue of the contest was considerably accelerated by this useless piece of treachery. The assailants set fire to the palace gates and forcibly rushed in through the doors by the terraced roofs: on the other hand Merwan and Saïd Ebn Aas, at the head of five hundred Mamelukes prepared to give the rebels a gallant reception. The aged and venerable caliph now endeavoured to dissuade his adherents from a fruitless opposition. He told them that on the previous night the prophet had appeared to him in a dream, and upon hearing his complaints, had desired him not to be afflicted, for on the succeeding evening he should feast with him in paradise. Merwan in reply, solemnly protested that whilst he possessed a spark of life, the slightest injury should not touch his master. Othman then offered freedom to all his slaves who would lay down their arms, and many of them accepted his conditions. In the meantime the insurgents had forced their way into the interior of the palace, and a short and sanguinary contest ensued in the courts. Merwan, who stood conspicuous at the head of his people, received a stroke from a scimitar, which laid him senseless; whilst Saïd was shortly afterwards compelled by a wound to quit this scene of blood and outrage. The contest, notwithstanding, raged with unabated fury until Mohammed the son of Abubeker made his way into the apartment where Othman sat with his eyes intently fixed on the sacred pages of the Koran. He seized his sovereign by the beard, but Othman appealing to the memory of his father, he retired without doing him further injury. Kennanah the son of Basher then entered the room and was preparing to strike, when several others rushed in with naked swords and drew the first blood of the defenceless monarch. Naylah the wife of Othman threw herself upon her husband, and endeavoured to ward off the stroke of a scimitar, but in this effort of tenderness she lost the fingers of one hand, and the unhappy caliph soon afterwards expired under repeated wounds. Three days elapsed before his murderers would permit his body to be buried. At length, through the intercession of Ali, permission was granted; and having placed his corpse upon one of the palace doors which they tore off as a substitute for a bier, they consigned his mutilated remains to a recess between the public burying-place of Medina, and that of the Jews, three of the Ansars, insisting that it should not be laid among true believers. At a subsequent period, however, Moawijah took the spot into the Mohammedan enclosure."

in the performance of his religious exercises; fasting very often, and being frequent in reading and meditating on the Koran. His charity was unbounded; his riches very great. Though he was hardly used at the last, yet it cannot be denied, that he had given occasion to the discontent of the people which a more politic governor would have avoided. For he was so blindly disposed to promote his own family and friends, that he scarce ever considered their merit. From such a course much inconvenience must necessarily follow to any government, for many would at this rate be put into places of the greatest trust, who, however, were by no means qualified for the discharge of the important duties committed to them; and whenever they did anything amiss, the caliph who appointed them was sure to come in for a great share in the reflections which were made upon their errors or abuses. Moreover, through the treachery of that villain his secretary, many ill things were laid to his charge, in which he had never a hand. For it was a common thing with Merwan to set Othman's seal to letters to the governors of the different provinces, which the caliph had never written, but which conveyed oftentimes the most scandalous and grievous commands. By which means, aversion was excited against him with good reason apparently, and this ill feeling was constantly fomented by his enemies, who never rested till at last they succeeded in depriving him both of his government and his life.*

ALI EBN ABU TALEB, SON-IN-LAW OF MOHAMMED, AND FOURTH CALIPH.

Hejirah 35—40. A.D. 655—661.

THE unanimity of the Arabians in the profession of a common faith, however apparently complete, was, nevertheless, not strong enough to eradicate old feuds and hereditary hatreds. Telha and Zobeir, two of their leading men, and Ayesha, the youngest and best beloved of Mohammed's wives, were Ali's irreconcileable and implacable enemies. But Ali had married Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, who had left no male issue behind him; and on this account he was the general favourite of the Arabians, whose first wish now was to be governed by a succession of caliphs descended from the loins of the prophet. Of this Telha and Zobeir were so well aware, that they thought it prudent to dissemble their hatred so far, as to take the oath of allegiance to Ali, who was elected on the very day that Othman was murdered, with a stedfast resolution, however, of breaking it as soon as a favourable opportunity should offer. For the men of the several provinces, who, as already related, had come together from all quarters of the empire, from Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Arabia, on occasion of the complaints against Othman, were resolved not to separate until they knew whom they were to look up to as their emperor. Impatient of suspense, they threatened all the candidates with death if they did not speedily agree among themselves, and fix upon some one or other.

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* Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Al Makari alludes to a tradition quoted by several respectable writers, which says that Othman sent an army to the conquest of Andalusia. But he also adds, that it is incontrovertibly proved, that the Arabs never invaded Spain till the caliphate of Al Walid, and that Cairwan, the city from whence the expedition is said to have started, was not built until twelve years after the death of that caliph.—*Don Pascual de Gayangos.*

The Cufians, Egyptians, and the greatest part of the Arabians were for Ali. A part of the Bassorians favoured Telha, but the rest supported Zobeir; threatening him, however, with death, if he did not either assume the government himself, or take care to see it conferred upon some other person. In this confusion several of the candidates came to Ali, desiring him to accept the government. Upon his excusing himself, and assuring them that he had no wish for the dignity, but was quite ready to give his consent to the election of any other person on whom their choice should fall, they insisted that there was none so well qualified as he, whether he were considered with regard to his personal accomplishments, or his near relation to the prophet. But to all their remonstrances he still replied, that he had much rather serve any other whom they should think fit to choose, in the capacity of vizier,* than take the government upon himself.

Ali being thus obstinate in his refusal, and all those of the family of Ommiyah (of whom more hereafter) that had an opportunity, having in the meantime withdrawn themselves, the greater part of the men from the several provinces, who, however well satisfied they were with the murder of Othman, were highly displeased at this difficulty in the choice of his successor, assembled together, and came in a tumultuous body into Medina. Addressing themselves to the chief inhabitants, they told them that they were the proper persons to determine this controversy, adding that they would allow them one day to consider of it, in which time, if it was not concluded, Telha, Zobeir, Ali, and several others, should be put to the sword. Upon this the people of Medina came to Ali in the evening, earnestly entreating him to consider the condition of their religion. But as he still declined to accept the caliphate, and desired them to think of some other person, they said, "We adjure thee by God! dost not thou consider in what condition we are? Dost not thou consider the religion? Dost not thou consider the distraction of the people? Dost thou not fear God?" Overcome at last with these pathetical expostulations, he answered, "If you will excuse me, there shall be no other difference between you and me but this, that, whosoever you may set over me, I will prove myself one of his most submissive and obedient subjects; but if not, and I must comply with your wishes in this matter, then I will deal with you according to the best of my knowledge." When, upon these words, they proffered to give him their hands (the form then in use among them upon such occasions), at his own house, he resolved not to accept of their allegiance in private, requiring them to go through the ceremony publicly at the mosque, in order that all parties might be satisfied, and have no just cause of complaint. For Ali was apprehensive of the intrigues of Ayesha, Telha, Zobeir, and the whole house of Ommiyah (of which Moawiyah, Othman's lieutenant in Syria, was chief), who, he knew, would avail themselves of every opportunity to oppose and disturb his government. In the morning, therefore, he went to the mosque, dressed in a thin cotton gown, tied about him with a girdle, and having a coarse turban upon his head, with his slippers in one hand, and a bow in the other instead of a walking staff. Telha and Zobeir not being present, he ordered them to be sent for.

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* Abulfeda.

When they came, they offered him their hands as a mark or token of their approbation. Upon this, Ali bade them, if they did do it, to be in good earnest, assuring them that if either of them would accept of the government, he was quite content, and would give them his hand in perfect sincerity. This, however, they both declined, and gave him theirs. The hand which Telha offered to Ali had been very much shattered and maimed by some wounds which he had received in the wars. One of the bystanders perceiving this (the eastern nations, being generally addicted to superstition, are great observers of omens), remarked, that it was a bad sign; that it was like to be but a lame sort of a business that was begun with a lame hand. How far that presage was fulfilled will best appear from the remaining history of Ali.

Soon* after this ceremony was over, Telha and Zobeir, with some others of their party, came to Ali, and complained to him of the murder of Othman; insinuating that it ought by all means to be revenged, and proffering their service to that end. Their secret design was, if Ali attempted to punish the murderers, to take advantage of the opportunity to make a disturbance among the people, which they did not in the least question would inevitably end in the destruction of Ali and his party. Ali, who well understood their meaning, represented to them how impracticable an undertaking it would be to attempt anything of the kind against a party so considerable both in numbers and influence; desiring them to inform him what method they would propose as best suited to answer their end. They told him they knew of none. Nor he neither, he swore, unless it were the uniting of all parties together, if it should so please God: adding, that as these dissensions had their foundation laid in the times of ignorance (meaning that they were family quarrels more ancient than Mohammed's pretence to inspiration), so the discontented would still increase; "for the devil never left the place he had taken possession of, after once he had made a beginning. In such an affair as this," says he, "one party will approve of what you propose, a second will be of a different opinion, and a third will dissent from both the others. Wherefore, consult among yourselves."

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* Ebn Al Athir. MS. Pocock, No. 137.

Ali in the meantime was very instant in courting the good will of the Koreishites, the most noble tribe of the Arabians, walking about from one to the other, and taking all possible opportunities of showing his high consideration of them. He did not fail to express the sense he entertained of their excellency, and the dependence of the welfare of the people upon their authority. For Ali was naturally anxious to secure as many friends as possible, being extremely concerned at the heats and divisions which he observed among the people, and especially at the sudden departure of the Ommiyan family. And to complete his embarrassments, Telha begged of Ali the government of Cufa, and Zobeir that of Bassorah, assuring him that if anything extraordinary should happen, they would be ready to take horse at a minute's warning. As both places were of great importance, the one situate upon the eastern bank of the river Euphrates, the other two miles westward of the Tigris, he told them that he would consider of the matter.* Other historians tell us that he put them off with a compliment, telling them that he had nobody about him of equal capacity with themselves, or so proper to consult with in those emergencies to which a newly established government was liable.† This answer of his touched them to the quick, and, therefore, knowing that Ayesha was at Mecca (having gone thither on pilgrimage whilst Othman was besieged), they begged leave of him to go thither, which was granted.

As soon as Ali was acknowledged caliph, he resolved to remove the governments and lieutenancies from all those who had received their appointments from Othman, his predecessor.‡ But Al Mogeirah, the son of Saïd, advised him to postpone the execution of this design for a little at least, till he should find himself more firmly established in his government. Ali did not approve of this counsel.‡ Al Mogeirah made him another visit the next day, and telling him that he had changed his opinion, recommended him to follow his own course, and to proceed in the way which he had at first proposed. In the midst of this conference between Ali and Al Mogeirah, Abdallah, the son of Abbas (who was at

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* Ebn Al Athir. † See Dr. Herbelot under the title Ali. ‡ Abulfeda.

§ D'Herbelot says, "Ali suivat son conseil," Ali followed his counsel. Our manuscript says otherwise, and the sense proves it.

Mecca when Othman was killed, but upon the election of Ali was newly returned to Medina), chanced to come in, and finding Ali and Al Mogeirah together, inquired of Ali the subject of their discourse. Upon this Ali replied, that "Al Mogeirah had originally advised him to continue Moawiyah and the rest of Othman's lieutenants in their places, till they should have come in of their own accord to do him allegiance, and he himself was fixed in his government; which I," added he, not approving, "he has come and told me to-day that he had altered his opinion, and that I was in the right." The son of Abbas told him "that Al Mogeirah had given him good advice the first time, but that the last was treachery. If it were followed, all Syria, he was afraid, over which Moawiyah was lieutenant, would immediately revolt. Besides," he reminded him, "no confidence could be reposed in Telha and Zobeir, but rather there was good ground for suspecting that they would soon be in arms against him. For these reasons," he continued, "I advise you to continue Moawiyah in his place till he submits to your government; and when he has once done that, leave it to me to pull him out of his house by the ears for you, whensoever you desire it." This prudent counsel did not content Ali, who swore by God "that nothing should be Moawiyah's portion but the sword." To which Abdallah could only remark, that he was indeed a man of courage, but wanting in prudence. Ali told him that however that might be, it was his business to obey. Whereupon Al Mogeirah observed that for his part he did not acknowledge any obligation of the kind. Upon this the conference broke up, and in a short time Al Mogeirah retired to Mecca.

Of the Helpers the greatest part came in and took the oath of allegiance to Ali. The rest, consisting chiefly of Othman's almoners, and a few of his other officers stood out, who, from this circumstance received the title of Motazeli, or separatists. Whereupon, Ali, deaf to all representations to the contrary, resolved to make a thorough reformation in all the lieutenancies. Accordingly, in the beginning of the next year,* he sent out his new officers to their respective provinces. Othman, the son of Hanif, was ordered to Bassorah; Ammarah, the son of Sahel, to Cufah (he was one of the Flyers); Abdallah, the son of Abbas, to Arabia Felix (he was one of the Helpers). To Syria he sent Sahel, the son of Hanif, another of the Helpers.

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* An. Hej. 36.

When Sahel came to Tabuk, he met a party of horse, who requiring him to give an account of himself, he answered that he was governor of Syria. They told him that if any one else besides Othman had sent him, he might go back again about his business. Upon this he demanded if they had not been informed of the fate of Othman? and they replied, "Yes." Accordingly, perceiving that there was no room for him there, he returned to Ali. In the same manner, when Kais came into Egypt, he was opposed by a party of the Othmanians, who refused to submit to Ali's government, till justice was done upon the murderers of Othman. According to his appointment, Othman, the son of Hanif, went to Bassorah, where he found the people divided in their affections; but Ammarah receiving information that the Cufians were resolved not to part with their old governor, Musa Alashari, who had been set over them by Othman, returned to Ali with the news of their resolution. Upon Abdallah proceeding to Arabia Felix, where Yali governed by Othman's commission, Yali resigned to him, but plundered the treasury first; and making the best of his way to Mecca, delivered the money to Ayesha, Telha, and Zobeir.

The Separatists in the meantime, that nothing might be wanting which could possibly give disturbance to Ali's government, carried the bloody shirt in which Othman was murdered, into Syria; where they made a good use of it. At times it was spread upon the pulpit in the mosque; and at others carried about in the army. To inflame the matter still more, the fingers of Othman's wife, which were cut off at the time that he was murdered, were pinned upon the shirt. This object, daily exposed to view, exasperated the Syrian army, who were greatly indebted to Othman's munificence. Clamorous for revenge, they called impatiently for justice on his murderers. And they, indeed, were in good earnest; but there was less sincerity with the others who joined in the cry. For Ayesha, Telha, and Zobeir, who had always been enemies to Othman, and were, in fact, the contrivers of his death and destruction, when they saw Ali elected, whom they hated equally, if not more, made use of Othman's real and sincere friends as instruments of their malice against the new caliph. So that from very different motives they all unanimously joined in demanding satisfaction for the murder of Othman.

As for Telha and Zobeir, Sahel having returned with his answer from Syria before they had taken their leave, Ali sent for them both, and told them that what he had cautioned them against, was now come to pass; that things already were carried to too great a height to be made up without such an expedient as should make all parties easy; that sedition was like fire, the more it burnt the stronger it grew, and the brighter it shined. Upon this they asked him to give them leave to go out of Medina, when, if the disturbance did not cease, they would, they said, be answerable for it. To which he answered, "I will contain myself as long as it is possible; but if nothing else will do, I must apply caustics." He then wrote forthwith to Moawiyah in Syria, and Abu Musa at Cufah. Abu Musa satisfied him that all the Cufians were entirely at his service, but sent him at the same time a list of those who came at first in of their own accord, and another of those who waited to follow in the track of the majority. As for Moawiyah, he did not vouchsafe to give him one word of answer to all his messages. About three months, however, after Othman's death, he called a messenger of his own, and delivered him a sealed letter, with this subscription, "From Moawiyah to Ali." Having given him private instructions, he then sent him away to Medina, together with Ali's messenger, whom he had detained all this while. The messenger, according to his directions, went into Medina in the evening, when he was like to be seen by most people (for in those hot countries the streets are most frequented in the cool of the day), and carried the packet aloft upon a staff. The people, who were well enough apprised of Moawiyah's disaffection to Ali, thronged after him in great numbers, extremely curious to know the contents of his message. When Ali opened the letter, he found it was a mere blank, not so much as one word being written in it, which he rightly understood as a token of the utmost contempt and defiance. The messenger being asked of Ali what news, answered, that there were no less than sixty thousand men in arms under

Othman's shirt, which was set up as a standard upon the pulpit of Damascus.* Upon this Ali demanded whether they required the blood of Othman at his hands? calling God to witness that he was not guilty of it, and begging his protection under so false a charge. Then turning to Ziyad,† who sat by him, he told him that there must of necessity be a war in Syria; which Ziyad soon communicated to the people. Accordingly Ali set himself to prepare for war, in the meantime doing all that in him lay to encourage the men of Medina, and writing circular letters to all the provinces, to demand their assistance.

Whilst he was making these preparations, information arrived of the revolt of Telha, Zobeir, and Ayesha, who had formed a powerful faction against him at Mecca. For all the malcontents, particularly those of the house of Ommiyah, which was Othman's family, made common cause with the deposed governors; and having at their head the prophet's widow, who had declared openly against Ali, they assembled considerable forces, and resolved upon a war. Telha and Zobeir ‡ having acquainted the faction at Mecca with the unsettled condition of Ali's affairs at Medina, Ayesha wished to persuade them to march thither directly, and strike at the very root. Others were of opinion that it was better to join the Syrians. However, upon consideration, Moawiyah appeared sufficiently strong to secure that part of the country without their aid. At last, however, they resolved upon an expedition against Bassorah, where Telha was represented to have a strong interest. Accordingly, the following proclamation was made about the streets of Mecca:—"The mother of the faithful, and Telha and Zobeir are going in person to Bassorah. Whoever, therefore, is desirous of strengthening the religion, and is ready to fight, to revenge the death of Othman, even if he has no convenience of riding, let him come." They mounted six hundred volunteers upon the like number of camels; they went out of Mecca between nine hundred and a thousand strong; but the numbers who joined them in their march, soon swelled their armament to three thousand.* Ayesha had been presented by Menbah with a camel, whose name was Alascar (which in the Arabic language signifies "the army"), which had cost its owner a hundred pieces (about fifty pounds of our money). Mounted upon this camel, in a litter, she headed the forces in their march from Mecca towards Bassorah. In their route, as they came to a rivulet called Jowab, on the side of which there was a village of the same name, all the dogs of the latter came running out in a body, and fell a barking at Ayesha; who thereupon, in great amazement, immediately asked the name of the place. Being informed that it was called Jowab, she quoted that versicle of the Koran, which is frequently made use of in cases of imminent danger, "We are resigned to God, and to him we have recourse."† She then declared that she would not stir a step further that day, for she had heard the prophet say when he was travelling with his wives, "I wish I had known it, and they should have lodged within the barking of the dogs of Jowab." Besides, that he had told her formerly that one of his wives should at some time or other be barked at by the dogs of this place; that she ought to take care and lodge there, because, if she went on, she would find herself in a bad condition, and in very great danger.‡ Hereupon she struck her camel upon the leg to make him kneel, in order that she might alight, being resolved to stay there all night.§ Telha and Zobeir could not tell what to make of this whimsy, and knowing of what importance it was for them to hasten their march, as having very good reason to think that Ali would not be long after them, they told her, having suborned fifty witnesses to swear to it, that it was a mistake of the guide, and that that place had never been called by any such name. But all to no purpose; she would not stir. At last one of them cried out, "Quick, quick, yonder comes Ali;" upon which they all scampered off immediately, and made the best of their way to Bassorah.

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* Price places this circumstance in Hej. 36. He thus gives at full length the messenger's reply to Ali :—"Fifty thousand men are assembled about the robes of Othman, whose cheeks and beards have never been dry from tears, and whose eyes have never ceased from weeping blood, since the hour of that prince's atrocious murder. They have drawn their swords with a solemn pledge never to return them to the scabbard, nor cease from mourning, until they have extirpated all concerned in that detested transaction. This sentiment they have left as a solemn bequest to their descendants; and the earliest principle that mothers instil into the minds of their infant offspring is, to revenge the blood of Othman to the last extremity." This insolent speech excited the anger of the attendants of the caliph to such a degree, that had not Ali interposed, serious consequences might have ensued. Strange to say, this magnanimity on the part of Ali operated like magic on the messenger of Moawiyah, who then declared himself convinced of his error, and solemnly swore that for the future he would never voluntarily separate from the person of Ali, or acknowledge the authority of any other sovereign to his prejudice."

† This was Ziyad Ben Hentelah, of Arabia Felix.

‡ Alcamil MS. Pocock, No. 137.

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* Abulfeda, MS. Pocock, No. 303.

† Koran, chap. ii. 151.

‡ D'Herbelot in voce Ali

§ Abulfeda.

The historians* say that this was the first solemn and public lie that was ever told since the beginning of Mohammedanism. Whether it be so or not, is not very material; this, at any rate, is most certain, that they who made it found their account in it, for it carried them with incredible speed to Bassorah.

Othman,† who was Ali's governor in that place, made but a weak resistance. After a slight skirmish, in which he lost forty men, he was taken prisoner. They tore out by the roots his beard and eyebrows, and after a short confinement dismissed him.

One of our authors‡ gives us a few more particulars. Ayesha, he says, wrote to Othman at Bassorah, and to the rest of the provinces, calling upon them to revenge the death of Othman; magnifying his good qualities, and applauding (as she always had done since his death) the sincerity of his repentance, and the barbarity of the murder; and inveighing against his enemies, as having violated and trampled upon the most sacred obligations. Othman sent two messengers to her. She gave them a hearing, and answered them in similar terms to her letter. When they returned and made their report the Bassorians were in confusion. Othman, helpless and timorous, dissuaded them from enterprising any thing till the arrival of the emperor of the faithful, and, having substituted Ammar in his room, withdrew to his own house. Ammar, having called the men to arms, went to the mosque to hold a consultation. Here one of the people stood up and said, "If these people have come hither out of fear, why they have left a country where a bird may be safe. If they make inquiry after the blood of Othman, we did not kill Othman; wherefore take my advice, and send them back to the place from whence they came." Then another rose up and said, "Either they suspect us to be guilty of the murder of Othman, or they came to ask our assistance against those that did murder him, whether belonging to us or not." This orator had no sooner begun to speak, but some of the company threw dust in his face; by which Ammar perceived that the Separatists had a faction in Bassorah, which greatly discouraged him. In the meantime Ayesha, advancing nearer, the Bassorians went out to meet her; and they that were so inclined went over to her. The rest had a parley; in which Telha began first, and harangued the people in praise of Othman; he was seconded by Zobeir, who was succeeded by Ayesha. When she had uttered what she had to say with her loud shrill voice, the Bassorians were divided, some saying she had spoken truly, the opposite party giving them the lie, till at last they came to throwing the gravel and pebbles in one another's faces. Ayesha, perceiving this, alighted from her litter; whereupon one of the Arabs made up to her, and said, "O mother of the faithful, the murdering of Othman was a thing of less moment than thy coming out from thy house upon this cursed camel. Thou hadst a veil and a protection from God; but thou hast rent the veil, and set at nought the protection. The same persons that are now witnesses of thy quarrelling here will also be witnesses of thy death. If thou camest to us of thy own accord, return back to thy own house; if thou camest hither by force, call for assistance." At the same time a young man going up to Telha and Zobeir, told them he perceived they had brought their mother along with them, and asked them whether they had brought their wives too? All this was to reproach Ayesha for her impudence in engaging in this expedition. At last both sides drew their swords, and fought till night parted them. The next day they fought again; in which skirmish, a great many being wounded on both sides, most were killed on Othman's. When they grew weary of fighting they began to parley; and at last agreed upon this article: That a messenger should be sent to Medina, to inquire whether Telha and Zobeir came into the inauguration of Ali voluntarily or by compulsion. For there lay the whole difficulty. If they had come in voluntarily all the Mussulmans would have treated them as rebels; if by compulsion, their party thought they could justify their standing by them. When the messenger arrived at Medina, and delivered his errand, the people were all silent for a while. At last Assamáh stood up and said that they were compelled. But his saying so had like to have cost him his life, if a friend of his, a man of authority, had not taken him by the hand and led him home. As soon as Ali heard this news, he wrote to Othman, and taxed the weakness of his conduct, telling him that Ayesha, Telha, and Zobeir had not rejected or set themselves in opposition to a party, but to the whole body of the people. That if nothing less than the deposing him would satisfy them, they were altogether without excuse; but if they had any other proposals to make, they might be considered on both sides. While these matters were transacting at Medina, Ayesha's party sent to Othman to come out, and deliver up the city to them; but he answered that their demand was not conformable to the agreement, which was to stay for an answer from Medina. Notwithstanding which, Telha and Zobeir, resolved to omit no favourable opportunity, took the advantage of a tempestuous night, and got into the mosque; where, after a skirmish, in which about forty of Othman's men were killed, and he himself was seized. Word was immediately sent of his capture to Ayesha, with a request to know in what way it was her pleasure that he should be disposed of. The sentence she at first pronounced was death; but one of her women saying to her, "I adjure thee by God and the companions of the apostle, do not kill him," that penalty was changed into forty stripes and imprisonment.

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* D'Herbelot.

† This was Othman Ben Haniph.

‡ Ebno Al Athir.

We will now leave Ayesha, Telha, and Zobeir in the possession of Bassorah, taking the suffrages of the people for themselves, and look back to Medina. Here Ali assembled the people, and made a speech to them, in which, after having (as is always their custom) first given due praise and thanks to God; he said, "The later end of this affair will not be rectified by any other means than those by which it was begun; wherefore help God, and he will help you and direct your affairs." But the people did not show much zeal in responding to this call, for it is ever the case, that when opposite parties are both strongly and pretty evenly matched; most people love to stand neuter, and act the part of spectators, till they see on which side the scale will turn, rather than expose themselves to a doubtful hazard. Though Ali was much beloved, and all knew very well that he had been fairly elected; yet all his eloquence, and he was allowed to be the best orator in that age, was not sufficient to move his audience to stir in good earnest.* Which Ziyad† perceiving, he stepped up to Ali of his own accord, crying out, "Let whosoever will hold back, we will be forward." Shortly afterwards there stood up two of the religious, Helpers, doctors of the law, and pronounced this sentence: "Alhucm, that is, the decision is this: 'The Imam Othman, master of the two testimonies did not die by the master of the two testimonies.'"‡ In other words, in short, "Ali is innocent of the death of Othman." Which sentence formally pronounced in favour of Ali was a mighty inducement to them to engage in his quarrel. One of the Ansars§ said to Ali, "The apostle of God, upon whom be peace, girded me with this sword. I have kept it sheathed a long while; but now it is high time to draw it against these wicked men who are always deceiving the people." And even a woman, the mother of Salnah called out, "O Emperor of the faithful! if it would not be a sin against God, and that thou wouldest not accept of me, I would go with thee myself; but here is my cousin-german, who, by God, is dearer to me than my own life, let him go with thee and partake of thy fortunes." Him Ali accepted, and afterwards made governor of Behhrin. And as many as nine hundred marched with him out of Medina, and at first he conceived some hopes of overtaking Ayesha and her company before their arrival at Bassorah; but learning, from information he obtained at a place called Arrabdah, that it was in vain, he rested there for further deliberation.

Here he was found by his son Hasan, who told him that he had given him his advice in three particulars, but that now as the puishment of his former refusal of it, he might expect to be murdered to-morrow without any body to help him. Upon Ali's demanding what those particulars might be, Hasan answered, "In the first place, I advised you when Othman was besieged, to go out of the city, that you might not be in it when he should be killed. Then, secondly, I advised you not to be inaugurated till the ambassadors of the tribes of the Arabs should arrive; and all the province were come in. Last of all I advised you, when this woman and those two men went out, to sit still at home till they should be reconciled; so that if there were any mischief done, the blame might rather be laid upon some other person than yourself." To which Ali answered: "As to your first complaint, if I had gone out of the city when Othman was besieged; that had been the way to be surrounded myself. Then as to your saying that I ought not to have been inaugurated till all the tribes had come in; you ought to know that the disposal of the government is a privilege peculiar to the Medinians or Helpers; and they were not willing to lose it. As for your last advice, that I should have sat still at home after Ayesha and Zobeir were gone forth; how could I do that in such circumstances, or who in short would? Would you have had me, like a wild beast, lurk in a hole till I should be dug out? If I do not myself look after what concerns me in this affair, and provide for my necessary defence, who will look after it? Therefore, son, hold you your tongue."

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* Ebn Al Athir. † Ziyad the son of Hantelah.

‡ By the two testimonies is meant the two articles of their faith, "There is but one God, Mohammed is the apostle of God."

§ That was Abu Kotadah.

During his stay at Arrabdah, Ali sent Mohammed the son of Abubeker, and Mohammed the son of Jaafar, to his friends at Cufah, with a letter, in which he did not so much press them to fight for him, as to come and arbitrate between him and those that had made a separation from him. He told them, "how much he preferred them to all the rest of the provinces, and what confidence he reposed in them in the time of his extremity. That they should help the religion of God, and repair to him in order to make use of such means as might be proper for the reconciling this divided people, and making them brethren again." In the meantime he did not neglect to send to Medina, from which town he was plentifully supplied with horses, arms, and all necessaries. In his public harangues he represented to the people "the great blessing with which God had indulged them by giving them the religion, whereby those tribes were now united who formerly by their quarrels used to reduce one another to a despicable condition. That this peace continued, till this man (meaning Othman) fell into the hands of those whom the devil had set on work to make a disturbance. However it was necessary that this people, like other nations had been before it, should be divided; and we must therefore call on God to avert the present evil." Then turning to his son he said, "Whatsoever is, is of necessity. And the time will come when this people shall be divided into seventy-three sects; the worst of which will be that, which sets me at nought and will not follow my example. You have known this and seen it; wherefore keep close to your religion, and be directed in the right way; for it is the direction of your prophet. Let alone all that is too hard for you, till you can bring it to the test of the Koran. But whatever the Koran plainly approveth that stand to firmly, and what it disapproveth reject. Delight in God for your Lord; and in Islam* for your religion; in Mohammed for your prophet, and in the Koran for your guide and director."

When they were about to march from Arrabdah for Bassorah; the son of Rephaa stood up and asked him, "O emperor of the faithful! What is it thou wouldest have, and whither wouldest thou carry us?" Ali answered, "What I would have and intend is peace, if they will accept of it at our hands, if not, we will leave them alone to their rashness, and do what is just on our part and bear with patience." "But how," replied Rephaa, "if that will not satisfy them?" "Why then," says Ali, "we will let them alone so long as they let us alone; if not, the last remedy is to defend ourselves." Upon this, one of the Ansars stood up, and told him, that he liked his discourse better than his management; but subjoined immediately with an oath, "That they would help God since he had called them Helpers."

Soon after there came a party of the tribe of Tai to proffer their service to Ali. Their chief, whose name was Saïd the son of Obeidah thus addressed him:—"O emperor of the faithful! There are some men whose tongues are not according to their hearts; but I do not find it so with me. I have a respect for thee always, both secretly and openly, and will fight thy enemies wheresoever I meet them, for I look upon thee as a person of the greatest merit, and the most excellent qualifications of any in the age thou livest in." Ali gave him his blessing (God have mercy upon you), and told him, that he was satisfied with his sincerity. He then removed from Arrabdah, and the tribe of Ased and some more of Tai proffered their service, but he said, they might go home, for he had Mohajerins* enough for this purpose.

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* That is Mohammedanism. The word signifies the delivering one's self up; and, with the article Al, it is restrained to the signification of delivering one's self up to God.

In the meanwhile, Ali was impatiently expecting news from his two messengers that he had sent to Cufah. But Abu Musa, who, as we have before observed, had sent him word at first, that all was well on that side the country, and acquainted him with the particulars of all that concerned him there, perceiving how the face of things had suddenly altered, and apprehensive of the success of Ayesha, Telha, and Zobeir at Bassorah, began to waver in his allegiance. So that when Mohammed the son of Abubeker, and Mohammed the son of Jaafar, came to Cufah with Ali's letter, and stood up among the people according to his command, there was a perfect silence. We may observe here once for all, that upon such occasions, the way was, for all the people to run to the mosque, where everything was published in the hearing of all present, and every free Mohammedan had the liberty of assenting or dissenting to the matter in deliberation, according as he was influenced by his prejudice or judgment. At last, in the evening, there came some of the Hadjis, or pilgrims,† and asked Abu Musa what he thought of going out? meaning to assist Ali. To which he gravely answered, "My opinion to-day is different from what it was yesterday. What you despised in time past, hath drawn upon you what you see now;—the going out, and sitting still at home, are two things. Sitting still at home is the heavenly way. The going out, is the way of the world. Therefore, take your choice." None of the people took any notice of what he said, nor returned him any answer. But the two Mohammeds were in a rage, and gave him reproachful language. To which he answered with an oath, that the inauguration of Othman hung still both over his own neck and their master's (meaning Ali), and as for the people, they were resolved not to engage themselves, unless compelled by absolute necessity, till they had got their hands clear of the murderers of Othman, wheresoever they were. Wherefore, he continued, you may both get back to Ali, as fast as you can, and tell him so."

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* Flyers, or refugees.

† All who have been once on a pilgrimage to Mecca, are entitled to this name, which ensure them respect during life.

Ali* was then advanced as far as Dulkhar, where his governor Othman came to wait upon him. Ali told him, that he had sent him to Bassorah with a beard, but he was come back without one.† "Thy sufferings," says Ali, "are meritorious. All mankind were satisfied in the choice of two of my predecessors, who managed agreeably both to the written law and the traditional. Then a third presided over them, to whom they submitted. At last they chose me; and Telha and Zobeir came unto the election, but did not stand to their word. What I wonder at is their voluntary submission to Abubeker, Omar, and Othman, and their opposition to me! But, by God, they shall both know, that I am not a jot inferior to my predecessors."

As soon as Ali had received Abu Musa's answer, he despatched Alashtar (a man of resolution, and exactly fitted for great emergencies), together with Ebn Abas, to Cufa, with large powers and instructions, to use their own discretion in rectifying whatsoever they should find amiss.‡ When they had delivered their errand, and desired the assistance of the Cufians, Abu Musa made his speech to them:—"Friends, the companion of the apostle of God, upon whom be peace, know more of God and his apostle, than those who have not conversed with him.§ It is for you, indeed, to decide in this matter; I, however, will give you this my advice. It is then my opinion, that you should not assume to yourselves the authority of God, nor make war against God. Let those that are come to you from Medina return thither again, till the companions be all agreed; they know best who is fit to be trusted. 'For this disturbance is such a one (it is a sentence of Mohammed's), as he that sleepeth in it is better than he that is awake; and he that is awake, better than he that sitteth; and he that sitteth, better than he that standeth; and he that standeth, better than he that walketh on foot; and he that walketh on foot, better than he that rideth.' Sheath your swords and take the heads off your lances; cut your bow-strings, and receive him that is injured into your houses, till this business is made up, and the disturbance ceased."

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* Abulfeda.

† Othman's beard is said to have been of remarkable length and beauty, and the loss of it totally changed his appearance. Upon seeing him, Ali observed with a smile, "That he had left him an old man, but returned to him a beardless youth."—*Price.*

‡ Ebn Al Athir.

§ Ib.

Ebn Abbas and Alashtar returning to Ali with this news, he last of all sent his eldest son Hasan, and Ammar* along with him. Abu Musa received Hasan with respect; but when they came into the mosque to debate the matter of assisting Ali, he opposed it with the same vigour that he had done before, repeating all along the saying of Mohammed's, which he affirmed to have had from his own mouth, "That there should be a sedition, in which he that sat should better than him that stood," &c. Ammar, upon this, took him up briskly, and told him that the apostle directed that speech to him, who was far better sitting than standing at any time. Still Abu Musa persisted in exerting his utmost to hinder them from complying with Ali's proposals. When the people began to be in a tumult, Zeid, the son of Sauchan, stood up and pulled out a letter from Ayesha, commanding him either to stay at home, or else to come to her assistance, together with another to the Cufians, to the same effect. Having read them both to the people, he said, "She was commanded to stay at home in her house, and we to fight till there should be no sedition.† Now she has commanded us to do her part, and hath taken ours upon herself." This provoked the opposite party, who reproached him for reflecting upon the mother of the faithful. The debate grew very warm on both sides, till at last Hasan, the son of Ali, rose up and said, "Hearken to the request of your emperor, and help us in this calamity which has fallen on you and us. Thus saith the emperor of the faithful: 'Either I do wrong myself, or else I suffer injury. If I suffer injury God will help me; if I do wrong, he will take vengeance upon me. By Allah, Telha and Zobeir were the first that inaugurated me, and the first that prevaricated. Have I discovered any covetous inclination, or perverted justice? Wherefore come on, and command that which is good, and forbid that which is evil.'"‡ This moved the audience, and the heads of the tribes spoke one after another, telling the people, that since they had given their allegiance to this man, and he had done them the honour to send several messages to them before, and afterwards his son, to make them judges and arbitrators in an affair of such importance; that it was highly requisite for them to comply with such a reasonable demand, and go to his assistance. Hasan told them, that he was going back to his father, and they that thought fit might go along with him, and the rest follow by water. Accordingly, there came over to him nearly nine thousand in all; six thousand two hundred by land, and two thousand four hundred by water. Some say, that Ali had sent Alashtar and Ammar along with him, after his son Hasan to Cufah, and whilst they were debating in the mosque, and every one intent upon the issue, Alashtar took a party of men and seized the castle by surprise. Thereupon, having ordered some of Abu Musa's men, whom he found there, to be severely bastinadoed, he sent them back with this lamentable news to their master Abu Musa, who was protesting with great vehemence against the supply. This successful stratagem made Abu Musa appear so ridiculous and contemptible, that if Alashtar had not interposed to prevent it, his goods would immediately have been plundered by the mob.*

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* Ammar, the son of Yaser.

† It is a text in the Koran.

‡ It is a text that frequently occurs in the Koran.

Ali was very easy upon the accession of these reinforcements, and went forwards to meet them and make them welcome. When they came up to him he said, "You Cufians were always men of distinguished valour; you conquered the kings of Persia, and dispersed their forces till you took possession of their inheritance. You have both protected the weak ones among yourselves, and afforded your assistance to your neighbours. I have called you hither to be witnesses between us and our brethren of Bassorah. If they submit peaceably, it is what we desire; if they persist we will heal them with gentle usage, unless they fall upon us injuriously. We on our part will omit nothing that may by any means contribute to an accommodation, which we must prefer to the desolation of war."

Upon hearing this news from Cufah, Ayesha and her party began to be in some perplexity at Bassorah. They held frequent consultations, and seemed to be in a hopeless condition. Messages passed backwards and forwards with a view to compromise the matter; and the negotiation went so far, that Ali, Telha, and Zobeir had several interviews, walking about together in the sight of both the armies, so that every one expected that there would have been a peace concluded. Ali's army consisted of thirty thousand men, all experienced soldiers, and if that of his enemies exceeded his in number, yet it was principally composed of raw recruits; besides that, they had not a general to command them who could in any way be a match for Ali. In one of their conferences he reproached them with their infidelity, and put them in mind of the judgments of God, who would infallibly take vengeance upon their perfidy. He asked Zobeir if he did not remember how Mohammed had asked him once if he did not love his dear son Ali; and he having answered "Yes," that Mohammed replied, "Notwithstanding this, there will come a day when you shall rise up against him, and be the occasion of a great many miseries both to him and all the Mussulmans."

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* This account is corroborated by Major Price.

Zobeir told him, that he remembered it perfectly well, and that if he had recollected it before, he would never have carried things to that extremity. It is said, that upon this hint he declined fighting with Ali; but that having acquainted Ayesha with the circumstances, that woman was so envenomed against him, that she would not listen to an accommodation on any terms. Others say, that his son Abdallah turned him again by asking him whether or no he was afraid of Ali's colours. Upon Zobeir answering "No, but that he was sworn to Ali," Abdallah bade him expiate his oath, which he did by giving a slave his liberty,* and forthwith prepared, without further hesitation, to fight against Ali.

The two armies lay in order of battle on their arms opposite to one another. During the night the Cufians fell upon the Separatists. When Telha and Zobeir heard of it, they said they knew very well that Ali would never settle the matter without bloodshed; and Ali said the same of them. Thus they were of necessity drawn to a battle, which was fought next day.* Ayesha, to give life and courage to her friends, mounted upon her great camel, was carried up and down the field, riding in a litter of the shape of a cage.

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* Koran, chap. v.

From this circumstance, the day whereon this bloody battle was fought is called, "the day of the camel;"† and the men that were engaged on that side, "the people of the camel." In the heat of the battle, when the victory began to incline towards Ali, Merwan said to him, "It is but a little while ago since Telha was amongst the murderers of Othman, and now he is so attached to worldly grandeur, that he appears amongst those that seek to revenge his blood;" and with those words let fly an arrow, and wounded him in the leg. His horse, which was struck at the same time, threw him; he called for help, and said, "O God! take vengeance upon me for Othman, according to thy will!" Perceiving his boot full of blood, he ordered one of his men to take him up behind him, who conveyed him into a house in Bassorah, where he died. But just before he died he saw one of Ali's men, and asked him if he belonged to the emperor of the faithful. Being informed that he did, "Give me then," said he, "your hand, that I may put mine in it; and by this action renew the oath of fidelity which I have already made to Ali." The words were no sooner out of his mouth than he expired. When Ali heard it, he said God would not call him to heaven till he had blotted out his first breach of his word by this last protestation of his fidelity.

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* "To the very last moment Ali evinced a decided repugnance to shed the blood of a Mussulman; and just before the battle he endeavoured to turn the adverse party to their allegiance by a solemn appeal to the Koran. A person named Mosslem immediately offered himself for the service; and, uplifting a copy of the sacred volume with his right hand, this individual proceeded to admonish the enemy to recede from their unwarranted designs. But the hand which bore the holy manuscript was severed from his arm by one of the infuriated multitude. Seizing the charge with his left, that limb also was divided by another scimitar. Still, however, pressing it to his bosom with the mutilated remnants, he continued his exhortations until finally despatched by the swords of the enemy. His body was subsequently recovered by his friends, and prayers pronounced over it by Ali in person; after which, taking up a handful of dust, and scattering it towards the insurgents, that prince imprecated upon them the retribution of an avenging Deity. In the meantime, the impetuosity of Ali's followers could no longer be restrained. Drawing their swords and pointing their spears, they rushed impetuously to the combat, which was supported on all sides with extraordinary fierceness and animosity."—*Price's Moh. Hist.*

† Ebn Al Athir. D'Herbelot in Ali.

Mircond* writes, that Zobeir being informed that Ammar Jaasser was in Ali's camp, and knowing that Mohammed had formerly said that he was a person that was always for justice and right, withdrew himself out of the battle, and took the road towards Mecca. Being come as far as a valley which is crossed by a rivulet called Sabaa, he met with Hanaf Ebn Kais, who was there encamped with all his men, awaiting the issue of the battle, in order to join himself to the conqueror.

Hanaf† knew who he was at a distance, and said to his men, "Is there nobody can bring me any tidings of Zobeir?" One of them, whose name was Amrou Ebn Jarmuz, went off immediately and came up to him. Zobeir at first bade him keep his distance; but after some discourse, growing into greater confidence of him, he cried out "Salat," that is, "to prayers" (the hour of prayer being then come). "Salat," repeated Amrou; and, as Zobeir was prostrating himself, took his opportunity and struck his head off at one blow with his sabre, and carried it to Ali. When Ali saw the head, he let fall some tears, and said, "Go, wretched villain, and carry this good news to Ebn Safiah in hell." Amrou was so moved with these words, that, laying aside all respect, he said to him, "You are the ill destiny of all the Mussulmans; if one delivers you from any of your enemies, you immediately denounce him to hell. And if a man kills any one of your friends, he becomes instantly a companion of the devil." His passion increasing into rage and despair, he drew his sword and ran himself through.

So long as Ayesha's camel stood upon his legs, the hottest of the battle was about him. Tabari says, that no less than threescore and ten men that held his bridle had their hands cut off. Ayesha's litter was stuck so full of arrows and javelins that it looked like a porcupine. At last the camel was hamstrung, and Ayesha was forced to lie where it fell till all was over.‡ Ali, having got an entire victory, came to her and asked her how she did. Some historians say that there was some reproachful language exchanged between them. However, he treated her civilly, and dismissed her handsomely with a very good equipage,* and commanded his two sons Hasan and Hosein to wait upon her a day's journey.† He confined her to her house at Medina, and forbade her at her peril to intermeddle any more with affairs of state. She went to Mecca, and stayed out the time of the pilgrimage there, after which she returned to Medina. As for the spoils, Ali proposed to divide them among the heirs of his men that were killed, which did not exceed a thousand. Then constituting Abdallah Ebn Abbas his lieutenant over Bassorah, he went to Cufah, where he established the seat of his government or caliphate.

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* Mircond. D'Herbelot. Ebn Al Athir.

† Ebn Al Athir. D'Herbelot.

‡ "Convinced that the battle must remain in suspense as long as the camel continued to exhibit a rallying point to the defenders of Ayesha,

This complete victory rendered Ali exceedingly powerful.‡ He was now master of Irak, Egypt, Arabia, Persia and

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Ali signified his desire to those around him that their efforts should be directed to bring down the animal. After repeated and desperate assaults, Malec Alashtar succeeded at length in forcing a passage, and immediately struck off one of the camel's legs. The animal preserved its posture, notwithstanding, erect and unmoved. Another leg was struck off equally without effect, and Malec Alashtar, under an impression of astonishment and awe, was hesitating whether he should proceed, when Ali drew near and called out to him to strike boldly, though the noble animal might appear to be under the care of a supernatural agency. Thus stimulated, Malec smote the third leg, and the camel immediately sunk to the earth. The litter of Ayesha being thus brought to the ground, Mohammed, the son of Abubeker, was directed by Ali to take charge of his sister, and protect her from being injured by the missiles which still flew from all quarters. He drew near accordingly, but introducing his hand into the litter, and happening to touch that of Ayesha, she loaded him with abuse and execration, demanding what reprobate had presumed to stretch his hand where none but the prophet's had been permitted to intrude. Mohammed replied, that though it was the hand of her nearest in blood, it was also that of her bitterest enemy. Recognizing, however, the well-known accents of her brother, the apprehensions of Ayesha were speedily dispelled."—*Price's Moh. Hist.*

* Abulfeda. Rejeb. anno 36.

† "By the direction of Ali, Ayesha was escorted by a retinue of women, apparelled as men, and their familiar approach afforded a constant subject of complaint. On her arrival at Medina, however, she discovered the delicacy of the imposture, and became as liberal in her acknowledgments as she had before been in her reproaches."—*Price's Mohammedan History.*

‡ Abulfeda.

Khorassan. So that there was none left that could give him the least disturbance, but Moawiyah and the Syrians under his command. Ali seemed not to be apprehensive of any molestation from them after such great success, and sent a messenger to Moawiyah, entreating him to come in. Moawiyah kept putting off the messenger by different excuses, till Amrou the son of Ali, who was then in Palestine could come to him. Amrou, to his great satisfaction, found the Syrians very eager to revenge the blood of Othman, and did what in him lay to urge them on. Upon this, Amrou and Moawiyah resolved to stand it out to the last against Ali, Amrou having first stipulated for himself, that in case of success he should have the lieutenancy of Egypt, which he had conquered in the reign of Omar. This* was readily promised him, and Amrou, in the presence of all the army took the oath of allegiance to Moawiyah, acknowledging him to be lawful caliph and prince of the Mussulmans.† This action which had been concerted between them two, was followed by the acclamations of the people, who unanimously took the same oath.

As soon as Ali was apprised of these commotions in Syria, he made use of all manner of gentle means to reduce the rebels to a sense of their duty. But perceiving that the people of that large province had unanimously declared against him, he was convinced that it would be idle to set on foot any further negotiation; and accordingly he marched towards that country with an army of ninety thousand men.

Just upon his entrance into the confines of Syria, he was obliged to encamp in a place where there was a great scarcity of water.‡

Not far from his camp there was a hermitage under ground, the hermit whereof, who was a Christian, came and presented himself to him. Ali inquired of him, if he knew of a spring in the neighbourhood; the hermit told him that there was nothing but a cistern which had hardly three buckets of water in it. Ali answered, "I know, however, that some of the people of Israel, ancient prophets, formerly made their abode here, and that they dug a pit here." The hermit said, he had been informed that there was one that was now covered up; that nobody knew the place of it; but that there was an old tradition of the country, that nobody should ever find it, and open it, but a prophet, or one sent by a prophet. Ali was not long in discovering it. Ordering his men to dig in a certain place, which he pointed out, they found first of all a stone of a vast bigness, which being instantly removed, they came to a beautiful and a most abundant spring.

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* D'Herbelot.

† Abulfaragius says that they did not swear to him by the title of caliph, but only of emir.

‡ D'Herbelot.

Surprised at the sight of it, the hermit embraced Ali's knees, and would never leave him afterwards. Besides, he presented the caliph with an old parchment which he said had been written by the hand of Simeon, the son of Safa (that is Simon Cephas) one of the greatest apostles of Jesus Christ; wherein there was an account given of the coming of the last prophet; the arrival of his lawful heir and successor, and the miraculous discovery of this well.

Ali, after having given thanks to God, and taken water sufficient for his army, continued his march towards Seffein, a place between Irak and Syria, where the enemies' army was posted, consisting of fourscore thousand men. At last, both the armies advancing, they came in sight of one another, in the last month of the thirty-sixth year of the flight of Mohammed.*

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* The following interesting circumstance is related by Major Price as having taken place at the commencement of the war. "As Seffein commanded to a considerable distance, the only access to the waters of the Euphrates, Moawiyah had stationed Abul Our, one of his generals, with ten thousand men, to guard the communication from the troops of Ali. He had not long placed his army in this advantageous position, when Ali approached and pitched his camp in the same neighbourhood, and his followers soon found that their expected supply of water was intercepted. Under these circumstances, Ali sent a deputation to Moawiyah to request he would relinquish an advantage which appeared so inconsistent between kindred, though at present hostile tribes, assuring him that had he been possessed of it, the passage should have been equally free to both armies. Moawiyah immediately made known the message to his courtiers, most of whom contended that as the murderers of Othman had cut off all supplies of water when they besieged his palace, so on the present occasion it would only be just to retaliate. Amrou however dissented from this opinion, declaring that Ali would not suffer his army to perish of thirst with the warlike legions of Irak at his heels, and Euphrates before his eyes, and added that they were contending for the caliphate, not for a skin of water. But the first counsel prevailed, and the messenger was dismissed with the reply that Moawiyah was resolved not to forego what he considered

The first month of the next year was spent,* without doing any thing but sending messengers backwards and forwards, in order to an accommodation between them, but all to no purpose. On the commencement of the next month,† however, they began to fight in small parties, without risking a

to be the earnest of future victory. The result of this application occasioned Ali considerable vexation and perplexity, till at length the privation became unbearable, and Malec Alashtar, and Aishaath the son of Keyss begged to be allowed to open the communication with their swords. Permission being granted, and proclamation being made throughout the camp, in less than an hour, ten thousand men had flocked to the standard of Aishaath, and an equal number to the tent of Malec Alashtar. Disposing these troops in convenient order, the two chieftains conducted their army towards the channel of the Euphrates, and after vainly warning Abul Our to quit the banks of the river, Malec at the head of the cavalry and Aishaath at the head of the foot, immediately closed upon the enemy. During the action that succeeded, Malec was nearly exhausted with thirst and exertion, when a soldier by his side begged him to accept a draught of water; but the generous warrior refused to accept the indulgence till the sufferings of his followers had been allayed, and at the same time being assailed by the enemy, he laid seven of their bravest soldiers in the dust. But the raging thirst of Malec and his troops became at length intolerable, and he directed all that were furnished with water-bags to follow him through the ranks of their opponents without quitting his person until they should have filled all their vessels. Piercing the line of the adverse party, Malec made good his way to the river whilst his followers supplied themselves with water. The conflict raged with unabated fury in the bed of the Euphrates, till Abul Our, finding his troops give way before the resistless attack of their assailants, and being already beaten from his post, despatched a messenger to Moawiyah, who immediately sent Amrou with 3000 horse to his relief. The arrival of that general, however, seems to have rendered the victory of Malec more signal and decisive. No sooner did the latter descry the approach of Amrou than, covering himself with his shield, he urged his courser towards him with irresistible impetuosity, and Amrou only eluded the fury of his adversary by retiring within the ranks of the Syrians. The latter, however, were put to the sword in great numbers, many were drowned in the Euphrates, whilst the remainder fled for refuge to the camp of Moawiyah; and the troops of Ali having thus successfully dislodged the enemy, established themselves in quiet possession of the watering place and its approaches. Smarting under the reproaches of Amrou, Moawiyah now found himself reduced to the necessity of applying to his adversary for the indulgence which he had so recently withheld; but Ali, with the liberality and magnanimity so congenial to his general character, readily granted to his troops a free communication to the Euphrates, and from this time the followers of either army passed and repassed to the river with equal confidence and freedom of intercourse."

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* An. Hej. 37. cœpit Jun. 18, A.D 657.

† Saphar.

general engagement. It is reported, that in the space of one hundred and ten days, there were no less than ninety skirmishes between them;* that the number of the slain on Moawiyah's side, was five and forty thousand, and that on Ali's, five and twenty thousand† six and twenty of whom had been present at the battle of Beder, and were honoured with the title of Sahabah, that is, "the companions of the prophet." Ali had commanded his men never to begin the battle first, but stay till the enemy gave the onset, nor to kill any man that should turn his back, nor to take any of their plunder, or ill use the women. Nor were Moawiyah and Amrou wanting on their side, in expressing their concern for the effusion of the blood of the Mussulmans; especially when Ammar Ebn Jasar, Ali's general of the horse, was killed. He was about ninety years of age, and had been in three several engagements with Mohammed himself. He lived reverenced, and died lamented by all.‡ "Do you see," said Moawiyah, "at what a rate the people expose their lives upon our account?" "See!" says Amrou, "would to God that I had died twenty years ago." Upon the death of Ammar, Ali took twelve thousand chosen men, and made so fierce an onslaught upon Moawiyah's army, that all the ranks of it were broken.* Then Ali called out to Moawiyah, "How long shall the people lose their lives between us? Come hither. I challenge you to appeal to the decision of God. And which of us two kills his man, let him have the whole himself." Whereupon Amrou said to Moawiyah, "Your cousin has made you a fair proffer." Moawiyah said it was not fair, because that Ali knew that no man had ever yet come out against him, but he had killed him. Amrou told him that his refusal would look dishonourable. Moawiyah answered, "You have, I see, a mind to enjoy the government yourself, after I am gone.†"

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* The authorities, quoted by Price, enter very minutely into various individual contests which took place during this protracted campaign. In several of these Ali was personally engaged; but his extraordinary strength and skill was so well known to the opposite party, that he was obliged to disguise himself before an assailant would attack him. On one occasion, being mounted on the horse and arrayed in the armour of one of his chiefs, he was attacked by a warrior from Moawiyah's army; and we are told that, with a single sweep of his scimitar, the caliph severed the upper from the lower half of his body. It is said that such was the keenness and temper of the steel, and the rapidity and precision of the stroke, that the man thus severed in twain continued fixed in the saddle; the spectators concluding that Ali had missed his blow, until the horse chanced to move, when the two halves of the body fell to the ground.

In the life of Abultaieb al Motanabbi, as given in the Oriental Collection, the following line by that poet, relating to Ali, is quoted:—

"Spears and swords in his hand are slaves and domestics."

† D'Herbelot says, five thousand, which must be a mistake.

‡ Ammar in spite of his venerable age, was one of the most enthusiastic combatants in Ali's army. A short time previous to his death he thus addressed himself to the Irakians:—"By Allah! I do not know a deed more pleasing to God than to war against these lawless vagabonds. I would fight them even if I was assured of being run through with a lance; for the death of a martyr, and the paradise beyond, are only to be acquired in the ranks of Ali. However courageously our enemies may fight, still justice is on our side: they desire not to revenge Othman's death, but ambition drives them to revolt. Follow me, companions of the prophet! the gates of heaven are opened, and houris are waiting to receive us. Let us

triumph here, or meet Mohammed and his friends in paradise!" With these words he gave his charger the lash, and plunged with desperate violence into the hottest of the fight, till, at length, he was surrounded by the Syrians, and fell a sacrifice to his own courage. His death stirred up Ali's troops to revenge, whilst even the Syrians regretted his loss, from the high esteem in which Ammar had been held by the prophet.—*Weil, Geschicte der Chalifen.*

* One day, towards the close of the campaign, Ali prepared for battle with unusual solemnity. Clad in the prophet's mail and turban, and mounted on the prophet's horse, Reyah, he brought out the old and venerated standard of Mohammed. The appearance of the sacred relic, now worn to shreds, brought sobs and tears from the illustrious companions who had so often fought and conquered under its shadow; and the enthusiastic troops drew out in formidable strength beneath the holy banner. Moawiyah had assembled twelve thousand of the best warriors of Hejaz, when Ali, sword in hand, rushed upon them at the head of his impetuous veterans to the cry of Allah Acbar, and threw the enemy into immediate confusion. The Syrians at length recovered from the disorder. The tribe of Auk on the side of Moawiyah, and that of the Hamdanites on the part of Ali, each made a solemn vow never to quit the fields whilst one of their opponents remained to dispute it. A dismal slaughter among the bravest of both armies was the result. Heads rolled about like tennis balls, and streams of blood polluted the field in all directions; but in the issue, the Syrians suffered a total defeat, and retired in the utmost confusion.—*Price's Mohammedan History.*

† Amrou, however, does not seem to have possessed a much larger share of personal valour than Moawiyah on this occasion. Price tells us that a short time afterwards, Ali having changed his armour and disguised himself, again appeared in the lists. Unconscious of his identity, Amrou advanced a few steps, and Ali, pretending a degree of apprehension, still further encouraged him to proceed. They were both on horseback, and as Amrou neared his foe, he repeated certain bragging lines, importing the

The last battle they fought at Seffein continued all night to the great disadvantage of the Syrians.* Alashtar pushed them back to their camp, and Ali supported him. The victory had been complete but for the following stratagem of Amrou's. Sending for Moawiyah in great haste, he advised

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discomfiture and havoc he intended to carry into the enemy's army, even though a thousand such as Ali were numbered in their ranks. Ali replied in a strain which rather unexpectedly announced his identity. Away went Amrou, without a moment's delay, whipping and spurring as fast as possible, whilst Ali pursued with the utmost eagerness, and making a well directed plunge, the point of his lance passed through the skirts of Amrou's coat of mail, and brought him, head foremost, to the earth. Unfortunately, as Amrou wore no drawers, and his heels were in the air, that part of his person became exposed which we shall forbear to particularize. In this situation Ali scorned to do him any further injury, and suffered him to escape with the contemptuous remark, that he was never to forget the circumstance to which he was indebted for life and safety. A very humorous account has been preserved of the conversation that ensued between Amrou and Moawiyah at their next interview, which we here insert.

Moawiyah.—I give thee credit, Amrou, for thy ingenuity, and believe thou art the first warrior that ever escaped the sword by so scandalous an exposure. You ought to be grateful to those organs to the day of thy death.

Amrou.—Cease thy railing, Moawiyah! hadst thou been in my place, thy pride had been completely humbled, and thy wives and children widowed and fatherless. These sarcasms come not well from you who turned pale and trembling at Ali's challenge.

Moawiyah.—Pray, Amrou, how didst thou breathe with thy legs swinging in the air? If thou hadst known how thou were to be disgraced, thou surely wouldst have worn a pair of drawers.

Amrou.—I only retreated from the superior strength of my enemy.

Moawiyah.—Oh, I do not consider it disgraceful to yield to Ali; but I maintain it was scandalous to make flag-staffs of thy legs, and expose thyself so shamefully to him and all the world.

Amrou.—It cannot be surprising that Ali should have spared me when he recollected me to be his uncle's son.

Moawiyah.—Nay, Amrou, this is too arrogant. The prophet declared that Ali was of the same descent as himself, and we all know that his father was a chief of the illustrious race of Hashem, whereas thine was a common butcher, of the tribe of Koreish.

Amrou.—Great God! Your remarks are worse than the swords and arrows of the enemy. Had I never involved myself in thy quarrel, nor bartered my eternal welfare for worldly profit, I should never have been forced to bear with such speeches, or endure such a burden of labour and anxiety.

* Abulfeda.

him to order his men to hoist up the Korans upon the points of their lances, and to cry out; "This is the book that ought to decide all our differences; this is the book of God between us and you."* This stratagem did not fail of the desired success; for as soon as the Irakians, who formed the chief strength of Ali's army saw this, they threw down their arms, and said to Ali, "Will you not answer the book of God?" To which Ali replied, "As you are men of truth and honour, go on and fight your enemy, for Amrou and Moawiyah have no relation to religion nor the Koran. Alas for you! I know them better than you do; by God they have not put up these Korans, but with a design to trick us." They persisted, however, declaring, that however that might be, it should not hinder them from being determined by the book of God. "That is it," said Ali, "which I have been fighting to bring them to, but they have rebelled against God and his commandment." At last they even threatened not only to desert him, but to deliver him into the hands of his enemies, if he did not sound a retreat: and some of the sectaries† (an enthusiastic people, that refuse obedience to their superiors, both in things sacred and civil), declared to him, that they would serve him as the son of Affan had been served, that is as Othman, who had been murdered. Ali therefore was forced to call off Alashtar, who fell back with great reluctance and only after repeated orders to retreat; grieved at the heart, to see a glorious victory snatched out of his hands by such a stratagem.

As soon as the battle was over, a messenger being sent to Moawiyah, to demand the meaning of that action, he answered, "That it was the wish of his party that the difference should be left to the arbitration of two persons, who might determine it according to the true sense of the Koran, and the tradition of the people."‡ Whereupon Ashaath, the son of Kais, one of those who had the greatest credit and influence among the soldiers of Irak, and whose fidelity it was suspected had been tampered with by Moawiyah, asked Ali, how he approved of this expedient. Ali answered him coldly, saying, "He that is not at liberty cannot give his advice. It belongs to you to manage this affair according as you shall think fit among yourselves." The army however, determined to follow it. Now the person that they nominated in Ali's behalf was Abu Musa Al Ashari, a good honest well-meaning man, but exceedingly simple. Ali did not approve of the choice, because Musa had formerly been drawn aside, and forsaken his interest. He had rather have had Ben Abbas; but was answered, that he was his own cousin-german, and they would have none but such as should deal impartially between him and Moawiyah. He next proposed Alashtar, but they were resolved he should accept of Abu Musa. Moawiyah, on his part, nominated Amrou the son of Aas, deservedly reputed the quickest-witted man of the age. These two referees took a security signed by Ali and Moawiyah, and both the armies, in behalf of themselves and their families, by which they bound themselves to ratify and confirm the sentence of the referees, which was to be determined by the next Ramadan.* This arrangement being made, Ali retired to Cufah, and Moawiyah to Damascus, leaving the command of their respective armies to one of their generals, and the authority of things relating to religion in the hands of a particular Imam. But as soon as Ali came to Cufah, twelve thousand of those that could read the Koran reproached him with his base submission to this accommodation, as having out of fear of temporal calamity submitted to the determination of men, when the Koran expressly says, that "Judgment belongeth to God alone."

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* Price informs us that Moawiyah procured 550 copies of the Koran for this purpose.

† Karegites.

‡ Sunner.

Eight months after the battle of Seffein, the two arbitrators met in a place† situated between Mecca, Cufah, and Syria. There came along with them several of the Sahabah, or companions of the prophet. At this conference Ebn Abbas bade Abu Musa remember this, whatsoever else he forgot, that Ali had no blemish to render him incapable of the government, nor Moawiyah any virtue to qualify him for it. Amrou, who knew very well the genius of his partner, treated him with the utmost civility and respect, till he gained a complete influence over him, and at last made him believe that it was quite impracticable to attempt to accommodate matters, without deposing both the present competitors, and leaving the choice of a third to the people. This important article once fixed, a tribunal was erected between both the armies, from which each of the umpires was publicly to declare his opinion. Abu Musa wished Amrou to go up first, but he alleged so many reasons why he ought to yield to Ali's arbitrators the preference, that he easily overcame all his scruples.

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* This agreement was signed on Wednesday the 13th of the month Saphar, in the year thirty-seven.

† Dumat al Jondel.

Accordingly Abu Musa ascending the tribunal, pronounced these words with a loud voice: "I depose Ali and Moawiyah from the caliphate (or government) to which they pretend, after the same manner as I take this ring from my finger." Having made this declaration, he immediately came down. Then Amrou went up and said, "You have heard how Abu Musa has for his part deposed Ali; as for my part I depose him too, and I give the caliphate to Moawiyah, and invest him with it after the same manner as I put this ring upon my finger; and this I do with so much the more justice, because he is Othman's heir and avenger, and the worthiest of all men to succeed him."

After the publication of these sentences, Ali's party, confounded at the unexpected issue of the arbitration, began to complain grievously of Abu Musa. He for his own part accused Amrou of not having performed the agreement between them. From complaints they came to ill language; and, in short, Abu Musa, fully ashamed of being outwitted by Amrou, and not only having good reason to fear Ali's displeasure, but also, thinking himself hardly safe in the army, took to flight, and retired to Mecca. This Abu Musa was celebrated for the most harmonious voice that ever was heard; it is said that his common discourse was perfect melody.

The Syrians went back to Moawiyah, and wished him joy: and from this time his interests prospered daily, whilst Ali's began to decline. The two opposite parties not only cursed one another, but carried the matter so far as to pronounce a solemn excommunication, which was always repeated when they made any harangue to the people in the mosque, and this custom continued a long time between the house of Ali and that of Ommiyah, to which Othman and Moawiyah belonged.

Before we proceed any further, we must here observe, that when the treaty of peace that followed the suspension of arms between Ali and Moawiyah was being drawn up, the secretary began with these words: "Ali, chief and commander, general of the Mussulmans, agrees to a peace with Moawiyah upon the following terms." Moawiyah, having read these words, said, "Certainly I should be a very wicked man indeed, if I should make war upon him, whom I acknowledge to be the chief, and commander-general of the faithful." Upon this, Amrou Ebn Al Aas said, that it was absolutely necessary to blot out that title of chief, or emperor of the faithful.* On the other hand, Ahnaf the son of Kais, addressing himself to Ali, said, that he ought by no means to suffer himself to be deprived of that title. But Ali told him, that when he was formerly secretary to his father-in-law Mohammed, he had himself drawn up articles of peace between him and Sohail who had revolted against him. That upon his having entitled Mohammed, "apostle and messenger of God," Sohail said to him, "If I had acknowledged your father-in-law for the apostle and messenger of God, I should never have had any peace to sign with him, for I should never have made war upon him." I acquainted Mohammed with this difficulty, who answered me, "Make no scruple of blotting out that title; it does not depend upon this treaty, time will discover its truth; and remember, that there will come a day when you shall find yourself in the same case." Ali, therefore, gave his consent, that for that time they should omit that title, of which his arbitrator, Abu Musa, as we have already seen, had solemnly deprived him. All these things were transacted in the thirty-seventh year of Hejira, or flight of Mohammed, and of our Saviour the six hundred and fifty-seventh.

In the same year the Karegites, or Separatists, made an insurrection against Ali. The occasion of their revolt was as follows: Ali having, as already related, put his affairs into the hands of two arbitrators, some of the Irakians told him that he had done exceeding wrong, in referring to the judgment of men, what ought to be determined by God alone. Therefore they said, that instead of standing to the peace that he had made, he ought to pursue his enemies, who also were the enemies of God, without quarter. Ali answered, that having once passed his word, he was bound to keep it;

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* D'Herbolet, Ebn Al Athir.

and that in this he followed what the law of God prescribed. The people answered him, That there was no other judge or arbitrator between him and Moawiyah but God alone: that what he had done was a sin, and that he ought to repent of it.

Ali firmly remonstrated with them, telling them that the sin lay at their door, in showing so much inconstancy and stubbornness.* They ought also to remember, that when Moawiyah caused the Korans to be carried at the head of the two armies, he had warned them that it was only a trick of their enemies, yet nevertheless they had left off fighting without his order; and that, in short, it was very wrong in them to press him to the breach of a treaty, which they themselves had obliged him to sign.

The rebels, not at all satisfied with these reasons, chose for their captain Abdallah, the son of Waheb, who appointed Naharwan (a town between Bagdad and Waset, four miles east of the river Tigris) for the place of rendezvous. To this place every one who was discontented with his government repaired. Of the malcontents, a great number came from Cufah, Bassorah, and Arabia.

Ali took little notice of them at first, his thoughts being more taken up with Moawiyah, whom he looked upon as a much more formidable enemy; but being informed that they were increased to the number of five and twenty thousand men, that they condemned all persons as impious that did not fall in with their sentiments, and that they had already put to death several Mussulmans for refusing to comply with their measures; he resolved, in fine, to exterminate a sect which tended to the subversion of the very foundations of Mohammedanism. However, he preferred to win them over, if possible, by gentleness, and to bring them back to their duty by good advice; but these means proving powerless, he employed the forcible persuasion of a considerable army, at the head of which he presented himself to their view. Nevertheless he determined to try peaceful measures once more before he had recourse to force of arms. Accordingly, planting a standard without the camp, he made proclamation with sound of trumpet, that whosoever would come under it should have good quarter, and that all who should retire to Cufah, should there also find a sanctuary.

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* D'Herbelot.

This device succeeded well, for in a very little time the army of the Karegites dispersed itself of its own accord, and Abdallah, the son of Waheb, found himself reduced to four thousand men. However, even with this small number, the arch-rebel was resolved to signalize his bravery by a desperate attempt. Notwithstanding the inequality of his force, he boldly attacked Ali's army. But his rashness was duly punished; he and all his men were cut to pieces, nine only excepted, which also was the total number of the slain on Ali's side.

A little before this fight, Ali had foretold to his friends what would be the event. "You see," says he, "these people who make profession of reading the Koran, without observing its commandments, they will quit the profession which they make of their sect as quick as arrows fly from the bow when they are shot off."

This victory, which was gained in the thirty-eighth year of the Hejirah, having re-united all the Arabians under the government of Ali, the Syrians alone remained to be reduced. Ali was for marching against Moawiyah immediately after the victory, but some of his great men represented to him that it would be proper to give his army some refreshment, that every one might make preparation for a war, which it was plain would be more long-winded than the former. Ali followed their advice, and formed his camp at Nakila, not far from Cufah, where, that they might be the sooner in a readiness for their expedition into Syria, he made proclamation, that during the time of his encampment in that place, any one that had any business to do in town, might go for one day and return the next. The effect of this order was, that the camp was entirely forsaken, and the general finding himself left alone, was also obliged to go back to Cufah as well as the rest.

Ali, at the beginning of his caliphate, had conferred the government of Egypt upon Saïd, the son of Kais, who acquitted himself of his charge with great prudence; for there being in Egypt a numerous faction of Othman's partisans, he knew how to accommodate himself to the time, and managed them with much address. This conduct of Saïd furnished Moawiyah with an occasion of publishing it every where that this governor was his friend, and acted in concert with him. These reports he spread abroad on purpose to raise a suspicion of him in Ali's mind, who nevertheless had no better friend belonging to him. To promote this design, Moawiyah forged a letter in Saïd's name, directed to himself, wherein he was made to confess that the reason why he had not attacked the party of the Othmanians, was because he was entirely in Moawiyah's interest.[*] This device had its desired effect, for as soon as the news reached Ali's ears he recalled Saad from his government, and sent in his room Mohammed, the son of Abubeker, the first caliph, which was the cause of new troubles in that country; for Mohammed had no sooner set foot in Egypt than he began to chase out of it all those who pretended to have had any tie of friendship with Othman, or to preserve any respect for his memory.

His arrival, therefore, was quickly followed by dissensions and civil wars, and these disorders grew to such a height that Ali was obliged to send Malec Alashtar, who is sometimes called Malec Alashtar, to restore his authority there. But Moawiyah, who had notice of the sending of this new governor, instigated a countryman that lived upon the confines of Arabia and Egypt, and at whose house Malec Al Ashtar was to lodge on his way to Egypt, to give him poison in the entertainment which he had prepared for him.

This man, an old friend of Moawiyah's, punctually executed his orders, and gave Malec some poisoned honey at supper, of the effects of which he died before he stirred out of the house. As soon as Moawiyah heard it, he said, "Verily God hath armies of honey!"[*] Then he despatched Amrou Ebn Aas, with six thousand horse, to take possession of the government of Egypt in his name, who made such speed, that in a few days he came up to the capital city, where he was joined by Ebn Sharig, the chief of Othman's party. With this combined force the two marched together to engage Mohammed, the son of Abubeker, who as yet retained the name and authority of governor for Ali. Mohammed was routed, and fell into his enemies' hands alive, who quickly killed him, and, inclosing his dead body in the skin of an ass, burnt him to ashes. As soon as Ayesha heard of the death of her brother, Mohammed, she took it extremely to heart, and kneeled down, at the end of all her prayers, to beg a curse upon Moawiyah and Amrou.* Ali too was very much concerned, and said, "We shall reckon for him before God"

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[*] Abulfeda.

[†] Ibid.

All this year there was a continued succession of incursions made into Ali's territories, who was all this while daily employed in making speeches, and moving his army to go against Moawiyah, but all his eloquence made no impression upon them. Ali being informed of all this bad news, sent for Abdallah, the son of Abbas, from Bassorah, where he was governor, that he might comfort himself with his conversation, and by his advice take such resolutions as were most expedient in the present condition of his affairs.† Abdallah, having first constituted Ziyad his lieutenant in Bassorah, came to Ali, and once again promised him inviolable fidelity. Moawiyah, who was always watchful to take advantage of every opportunity, was no sooner informed that Ebn Abbas had left Bassorah, than he sent one Abdallah, surnamed Hadrami, with two thousand horse, to seize that place.

Ziyad, who had not troops sufficient to stand against Abdallah, left the city to him, and sent to inform Ali of the pressing necessity he was under, and that unless speedy succours were sent him, he should not be able to keep the field. Ali promptly sent him assistance, under the command of Hareth, which arrived so seasonably that Abdallah was beaten and killed in the battle, which was fought near Bassorah. Upon this the city surrendered to the government of Ali, who immediately sent back Abdallah Ebn Abbas to take the command of it, as he had done before. This was in the thirty-eighth year of the Hejirah.

The next year passed over without any considerable adventures, for the Syrians, weary of the war, attempted nothing against the Arabians, and the Arabians had enough to do to preserve themselves.‡ In the beginning of this year Abdallah Ebn Abbas, lieutenant of Bassorah, sent Ziyad to assume the government of Persia, which had been brought into great disorder by the dissensions between Ali and Moawiyah. Ziyad behaved himself so well in that post, and managed so much to the satisfaction of the people, that the Persians said they had never, since the days of Nushirwan, met with an administration equal to that of this Arabian. This Nushirwan was surnamed "the Just;" he was the son of Hormisdas, king of the Persians, and reigned contemporary with Maurice and Phocas. Mohammed was born in his reign, as he says himself, in the Koran, "I was born in the days of the Just king."

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* Abulfeda. † D'Herbelot. ‡ Abulfeda.

The truce, however, was but of short duration, for in the beginning of the fortieth year Moawiyah began to exert himself in earnest, and sent Ebn Arthah with three thousand horse towards that province of Arabia called Hejaz, to seize its two principal towns, Mecca and Medina, with which he had secretly kept up a correspondence ever since Othman's death, and by this means to open himself a way into Yemen, or "Arabia the Happy." Upon his approach Ali's two governors abandoned their respective charges, for want of forces sufficient to make a defence, and Ebn Arthah made the inhabitants take the oath of allegiance to Moawiyah. After shedding some blood at Medina, which gave the people an aversion to Moawiyah's government, he proceeded in his march to Arabia Felix, where he put some thousands to the sword.

All this while Moawiyah was in Syria, at Damascus, and Ali at Cufah. Ali always prayed publicly for Moawiyah, Amrou, and Dehoc; Moawiyah, on the other side, prayed for Ali, Hasan, and Hosein.

Abdallah,* governor of Yemen, foreseeing very well that he should be visited by Ebn Arthah, made the best preparation he was able, but to no purpose. He managed to escape himself, but was obliged to leave his two little boys behind him, both of whom Ebn Arthah barbarously murdered. This cruel act not only occasioned great grief to the father, but raised a just abhorrence in every body else. Ali was extremely touched, and cursed the author of such a horrible outrage, begging of God to take away his senses and understanding. They say, that towards the latter end of his days he did really turn fool, and was always calling for his sword, which his friends perceiving, gave him one made of wood, and another hollow one full of air; and that this poor wretch imagined that at every blow he struck with his wooden sword against the other, he killed an enemy.

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* D'Herbelot is here mistaken, for it was not, as he supposes, Abdallah Ebn Abbas, who was governor of Bassorah; but Abdallah, governor of Yemen, whom, as we have before noted, Ali put into that lieutenancy at his first coming to the caliphate. Besides, how should the governor of Bassorah receive a visit from him in his return from Arabia Felix into Syria?

However, Ali did not omit the sending Jariyah to pursue Ebn Arthah with four thousand horse; but he had scarce set out towards Yemen, when the other was returning into Syria. About the same time another great calamity befell Ali. His brother Okail went over to Moawiyah, who received him with open arms, and assigned him large revenues. Okail alleged no other excuse for his defection, but that his brother Ali had not entertained him according to his quality.*

A little while after the battle of Naharwan, three of those among the Karegites that were the most zealous for the advancement of their sect, met together at Mecca, and making frequent mention among themselves of those that were killed in the battle, magnified their merit and bewailed their loss. These three men, Abdarrhaman the son of Melgem, Barak the son of Abdallah, whom some surname Turk, and Amrou the son of Beker, said one to the other, "If Ali, Moawiyah, and Amrou the son of Aas, these false Imams, were dead, the affairs of the Mussulmans would be in good condition." Immediately the first of them said to his companions, "For my part, if you will, I will give you a good account of Ali." The second, hearing this discourse, said he would undertake to make a good riddance of Moawiyah; and the third promised to kill Amrou Ebn Aas. These three men being thus unanimously resolved to execute their murderous design, pitched upon a Friday (the day of the solemn assembly of the Mussulmans), which fell upon the seventeenth of the month Ramadan. After having poisoned their swords, every man took his road; the first that to Cufah, the second that to Damascus, and the third that to Egypt.

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* "Okail had complained to Ali of the slenderness of his means, and requested that an addition to his salary might be made him from the public treasury. This Ali refused to do, but upon being repeatedly urged by his brother, he at length desired Okail to meet him at night, when they would break into the house of a wealthy neighbour, and find ample means for his wants. 'Are you serious?' demanded Okail, with a mixture of surprise and indignation. 'On the great day of account,' replied Ali, 'how much easier shall I acquit myself against the accusation of a solitary individual, than against the united cry of the whole community of Islam, individually possessed of that property which you wish me to give to thee?'

"Other writers, however, say, that when Okail applied to his brother for an augmentation of his pension, the latter desired him to wait for a moment, and withdrawing into his own house, he presently returned with a piece of red-hot iron, which he requested Okail to hold in his hand. The latter of course declined. 'Nay, then,' said Ali, 'if you cannot sustain the heat which has been produced by man, how can you expect me to expose myself to the fire which God will kindle.' Okail thus seeing that his application would not be attended to, left Cufah, and joined Moawiyah."—*Price's Mohammedan History.*

Barak, one of the three devotees, being arrived at Damascus, struck Moawiyah in the reins, but the wound was not mortal. The surgeon that was called to see him, after having searched and considered it, gave him his choice, either to be cauterized, or drink a potion that should render him incapable of generation. Moawiyah without any hesitation chose the latter, and did in reality remain the rest of his days without having any other children besides those which were born to him before he received his wound.

The assassin, who was instantly seized, discovered the conspiracy which he had made with his two comrades, and was condemned to have his hands and feet cut off, and be suffered to live. He did survive the execution of this sentence; but one of Moawiyah's friends being informed of it, said that it was by no means reasonable that the assassin who had hindered Moawiyah from having children should have any of his own, went and killed him with his own hands.

Amrou Ebn Beker, the second of the conspirators, was in Egypt, on Friday the seventeenth of the month Ramadan, the day appointed to strike his blow; Amrou Ebn Aas was then, fortunately for him, troubled with a fit of the cholic, which hindered him that day from performing the office of Imam in the mosque; wherefore he appointed another to supply his place, who fell down dead with the blow, which the assassin, who mistook him for Amrou, gave him. The murderer, as he was led to execution, said, without any concern, "I designed Amrou, but God designed another." Other authors say,* that when he was brought before Amrou, he asked who that was. They told him Amrou. "Whom, then," said he, "have I killed?" They answered Karijah.

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* Abulfeda.

Then Amrou said to him, "You meant Amrou, but God meant Karijah."

The third of these conspirators, Abdarrhaman,* in the execution of his wicked design against Ali, had better success than his other two companions had against their intended victims. On his arrival at Cufah, he took up his lodgings at a woman's house, whose nearest relations had been killed at the battle of Naharwan, and who for that reason cherished in heart a strong desire of being revenged upon Ali.† Abdarrhaman, finding this woman in a position so favourable to his design, used his utmost efforts to gain her goodwill, at the same time making her an overture of marriage, to which she answered:—"The dowry which I will have of the man that marries me, shall be three thousand drachmas of silver, a slave, a maid, and Ali's head." Abdarrhaman instantly accepted the conditions. When he therefore was proceeding to put his design in execution, she joined with him two other men, whose names were Derwan and Sheith, to assist him.‡

During all the month of Ramadan in which he was killed, Ali had several presages of his death, and in private, among his friends, used occasionally to let drop some words to that purpose. Once, after he had undergone a great deal of uneasiness, he was heard to say, "Alas! my heart, there is need of patience, for there is no remedy against death!" In short, Friday the seventeenth of this month being come, he went out of his house early in the morning to go to the mosque, and it was observed that the household birds made a great noise as he passed through his yard; and that one of his slaves having thrown a cudgel at them to make them quiet, he said to him, "Let them alone, for their cries are only lamentations foreboding my death."

As soon as he came into the mosque, those three villains, who waited for him, pretended to quarrel among themselves, and drew their swords.

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* D'Herbelot.

† Price informs us that Abdarrhaman became violently enamoured of this woman, whose uncommon beauty and attractions he was unable to resist. Her name was Kettaumah. An Arab writer adds, "That her face was like the glorious reward of the virtuous, and the tresses which adorned her cheek like the black records of the villain's guilt."

‡ Abulfeda says, Werdan and Shabib. The same letters may be read for both. D'Herbelot seems to have read it in Persian, in which writing, *w* is like *d*, and sometimes *r*. But Werdan and Shabib are the right names.

Derwan* made a blow at Ali, but missed him, and the blow fell upon the gate of the mosque. Abdarrhaman struck him upon the head, just in the same place where he had received a wound in the battle of Ahzab, which was fought in Mohammed's time, and that stroke was mortal. The three assassins had time to make their escape, without being apprehended. Derwan† crept home, where a man who had seen him with his sword in hand against Ali, went and killed him. Shabib took to his heels, and ran so well, that he was never caught. Abdarrhaman concealed himself for some time. When Ali was asked who was the author of such an enormous attempt against his life, he answered, "You shall soon hear tidings of him." In short a Mussulman having found Abdarrhaman hid in a corner, with his sword in his hand, asked him if it was not he that had wounded Ali; the assassin, willing to deny it, was constrained by his own conscience to confess it; and was instantly brought before Ali. Ali delivered him in custody to his eldest son Hasan, with orders to let him want nothing; and if he died of his wound, then to execute his murderer at one stroke only. Hasan punctually obeyed the command of his father, who died on the 19th, 20th, or 21st of the same month, that is, the third, fourth, or fifth day after he was wounded. This is the account which the learned D'Herbelot gives of the death of the murderer, taken, as I suppose, from out of his Persian authors. But Tabari and Abulfeda, authors of great account among the Arabians, relate it quite differently; Abulfeda says, "That first his hand was cut off, and then his foot on the opposite side; next they put out his eyes with a red hot iron, then cut out his tongue, and afterwards burned him;" to which he adds, "the curse of God be upon him."‡ This account I take to be much the more probable, considering the heinousness of the crime and the temper of that people. For though it is not at all improbable that Ali gave such orders, yet I can by no means be induced to believe that they were so mercifully executed. Doubtful, however, as may be the manner of his death, it is quite certain that the heretics look upon him as a martyr.

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* Werdan. † Id. ‡ Abulfeda.

As to Ali's age, also, authors differ. Some say he was sixty-three, others sixty-six, and some fifty-nine. The time of his caliphate was five years all but three months. Neither are writers better agreed as to the place of his burial; according to some he was buried opposite to the mosque in Cufah, or according to others in the royal palace; while a third class again asserted that his son Hasan conveyed him to Medina, and laid him by the side of his wife Fatima.* The most probable opinion is, that he was buried in that place which, to this day, is visited by the Mussulmans as his tomb; at which a great many oblations are usually left by the devotees.

As to his person, he had a very red face, large eyes, a prominent belly, a bald head, a large beard; he was very hairy on the breast, rather short than middle-sized; of a good look, florid and youthful, and frequently smiling. He had in all nine wives, the first of whom was Fatima, Mohammed's daughter, during whose life he married no other. By her he had three children, Hasan, Hosein, and Mohassan, of whom the last died in infancy.

The second wife was Omm-al Nebiyin, by whom he had four children, Abdallah, Abbas, Othman, and Jaasar, who were all four killed at the battle of Kerbelah.†

His third wife, named Asimah, was the mother of Jahya and Aoun.

The fourth, whose name was Omm Habibah was the mother of Omar.

The sixth, whose name was Caulah, was the mother of Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah, of whom we shall give a further account in the sequel of the history.

I find no particular mention of the names of the rest of his wives; two more sons, however, are mentioned, Mohammed the younger, and Amrou, who were born of some one or other of them.

Though there are but fourteen sons mentioned here, it is certain he had fifteen, whereof five only left any posterity behind them: namely, Hasan, Hosein, Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah, Abbas, and Amrou. As for the number of his daughters, they are usually reckoned at eighteen.

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* Abulfeda says that in this opinion he chooses to follow Ebn Al Athir.

† D'Herbelot.

This particular account of Ali's family may seem superfluous to some, but it will not be so regarded by those who consider the great changes and revolutions which have been made by it in the several succeeding generations of the Mussulmans, and of what importance it is throughout the whole course of their history.

Strange things are reported of Ali. One thing particularly deserving to be noticed is that his mother was delivered of him at Mecca, in the very temple itself; which never happened to any one else. The name that his mother gave him first was Caid; but Mohammed his cousin-german changed it into Ali.

Among the many surnames, or honourable titles, which the Mussulmans bestow upon Ali, there are two principal ones; the first of which is Wasi, which signifies, in Arabic, legatee, mandatary, executor of a man's will, and heir, "that is, of Mohammed.* His second title is Mortada or Mortadi,† which signifies "beloved by, or acceptable to, God." They called him, even whilst he was alive, Esed Allah algalib, "the victorious lion of God;" to which may be added, Haidar, which also in the Arabic language signifies "a lion." The Shii, who are his followers, or rather adorers, frequently call him Faid alanwar, "the distributer of lights or graces." And in Persian, Shah Mordman, "the king of men," and Shir Khoda "the lion of God."

The greatest part of the Mussulmans pretend that Ali was the first that embraced their religion. And according to tradition he was a very early Mussulman indeed, for it seems he made profession of that religion in his mother's womb. For all the time she was big of him he hindered her from prostrating herself before her idol which she used to worship. The form of benediction or blessing which the Mussulmans always add when they name him, is "God glorify the face of him." They say, moreover, that Mohammed, talking of him, said, "Ali is for me, and I am for him; he stands to me in the same rank as Aaron did to Moses; I am the town in which all knowledge is shut up, and he is the gate of it."

However, these great eulogies did not hinder his name, and that of all his family, from being cursed, and their persons excommunicated through all the mosques of the empire of the caliphs of the house of Ommiyah, from Moawiyah down to the time of Omar Ebn Abdalaziz, who suppressed this solemn malediction. There were besides several caliphs of the house of Abbas, who expressed a great aversion to Ali and all his posterity; such as Motaded and Motawakkel, to whom he is reported to have appeared in their sleep and threatened with his indignation. On the other hand, the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt caused his name to be added to that of Mohammed in the publication of the times of prayer, which is made from the turrets of the mosques.

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* D'Herbelot.

† From whence it is that our European travellers corruptly call him Mortis Ali, which the readers take to have been his name.

It is said that the sepulchre of Ali was kept hid during the reign of the family of Ommiyah, and not discovered till the accession of the Abbasides, which is not credible. In the year 367 of the Hejirah (A.D. 977), Abhaudedaulat built a sumptuous monument over it, which the Persians generally call Konbud Faid alanwar, "the dome of the dispenser of the lights and graces." Now, notwithstanding the sepulchre of Ali, near the city of Cufah, is very well known, there are some of his sect who believe him to be still alive, and affirm, that he will come again at the end of the world, and fill the earth with justice. Some among them are so extravagant as to make him a divine person. The more moderate say, that he is not truly God, but that in a great many things he partakes of the divine nature.

Among all the Mohammedans alike Ali has a great reputation for wisdom. There is extant of his a "Centiloquium," or "a hundred sentences," which have been translated out of Arabic into Turkish and Persian. There is likewise a collection of verses by him under the title of "Anwar Alokail." And in the Bodleian library there is a large book of his sentences, a specimen whereof we have annexed to this history. But his most celebrated piece is that entitled "Jefr we Jame." It is written on parchment in a mystic character intermixed with figures, which narrate or typify all the grand events that are to happen from the foundation of Mussulmanism to the end of the world. This parchment, which is deposited in the hands of his family, has not up to this time been deciphered. Jaafer Sadek has indeed succeeded in partially interpreting it; but the entire explication of it is reserved for the twelfth Imam, who is surnamed by way of excellence, the Mohdi, or "Grand Director."

Besides these books of which we have been speaking, we find in different authors several sentences and apophthegms, under the name of Ali. The following, which is one of the most instructive, is quoted by the author of "Rabi Alakyar," "He that would be rich without means, powerful without subjects, and subject without a master, hath nothing to do but to leave off sinning and serve God, and he will find these three things." One of his captains having asked him one day, with impudence enough, what was the reason that the reigns of Abubeker and Omar his predecessors were so peaceable, and that of Othman and his own were so full of troubles and divisions, Ali answered him very wisely; "The reason is plain, it is because Othman and I served Abubeker and Omar during their reigns; and Othman and I found nobody to serve us but you, and such as are like you."

Somebody having told Ali one day that Moawiyah had said that he and those of his house distinguished themselves by their bravery, Zobeir and his family made a noise with their magnificence, but that for his own part and his family's, they did not pretend to distinguish themselves from others, or by anything but their humanity and clemency. Ali answered those that told him so, that it looked as if Moawiyah had made use of artifice in his discourse, having a mind, if possible, to spur on Zobeir and him to show off their magnificence and bravery; to the end that the one, throwing himself into a vast expense, and the other into great hazards, they might not be in a condition to oppose his usurpation; while he himself sought to gain the affections of the people by boasting of the sweetness of his temper.

There is, moreover, in the book entitled "Rabi Alakyar" another maxim of Ali, which is very memorable and very contrary to the conduct of those who vaunt themselves upon the account of their being of his sect. "Take great care," said he, "never to separate yourselves from the fellowship of the other Mussulmans; for he that separates himself from them belongs to the devil, as the sheep that leave the flock belong to the wolf. Therefore give no quarter to him who marches under the standard of schism, though he has my turban upon his head, for he carries along with him the infallible mark of a man that is out of the way." It should here be remarked, by the way, that those of the sect of Ali have not only a turban made after a particular fashion; but that they also twist their hair after a manner quite different from the rest of the Mussulmans.*

Hosain Waez also, in his paraphrase and commentary upon the Koran, recites the following passage from Ali:—"God hath given men two Imams, that is to say, two pontifs or mediators between him and them. The first is the prophet who is gone, and is no more among them. The second which remains and shall continue always with them is the prayer which they make to obtain pardon of sins."

Ali's sectaries are called by the Mussulmans (who entitle themselves Somnites, that is, observers of the tradition, or orthodox) by the scandalous name of Shii, which is formed from the term Shiyah, and signifies properly a scandalous, reprobate sect. A sect that follows approved opinions, is called by the Arabs, Medheb. But these sectaries of Ali, of whom we are speaking, do not call themselves by that opprobrious designation. On the contrary, they apply it to their adversaries, calling their own sect Adaliyah, which means the religion of them that follow justice and the right side.

The partisans of Ali have, in greater or less numbers, always been dispersed throughout all the countries of the empire of the Mussulmans, and have from time to time raised considerable disturbances. They have possessed several kingdoms both in Asia and Africa. At this day all the great empire of the Persians, and one half of the princes of the Uzbecks, whose dominions lie beyond the river Gihon, and some Mohammedan kings of the Indies, make profession of this sect.†

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* D'Herbelot.

† *Somnites* and *Shiites* are the two leading sects into which the Mohammedan world is divided; and they have gone on cursing and persecuting each other, without any intermission for about eleven hundred years. The *Somni* is the established sect in Turkey, and the *Shia* in Persia. The differences between them turn chiefly upon trivial points, which are thus happily satirized by Thomas Moore in the sixth letter of his "Twopenny Post Bag."

"You know our Somnites,—hateful dogs
Whom every pious Shiite flogs,

These are the principal memoirs relating to that great caliph, who, laying aside all those impertinent fabulous stories which they tell of him, was, if he be considered with

Or longs to flog*—'tis true, they pray
To God, but in an ill-bred way;
With neither arms, nor legs, nor faces,
Stuck in their right canonic places.†
'Tis true, they worship Ali's name ‡—
Their heaven and *ours* are just the same—
(A Persian's heaven is eas'ly made,
'Tis but black eyes and lemonade.)
Yet, though we've tried for centuries back—
We can't persuade this stubborn pack,
By bastinadoes, screws, or nippers,
To wear th' established pea-green slippers.§
Then, only think, the libertines!
They wash their toes—they comb their chins ||—
With many more such deadly sins;
And what's the worse (though last I rank it),
Believe the Chapter of the Blanket!

"Yet, spite of tenets so flagitious,
(Which *must*, at bottom, be seditious;
Since no man living would refuse
Green slippers, but from treasonous views;
Nor wash his toes, but with intent
To overturn the government,)—
Such is our mild and tolerant way,
We only curse them twice a day,
(According to a form that's set),
And, far from torturing, only let
All orthodox believers beat 'em,
And twitch their beards, where'er they meet 'em."

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* "Les Somnites, qui étaient comme les Catholiques de Musulmanisme." —*D'Herbelot.*

† "In contradistinction to the Sounis, who in their prayers cross their hands on the lower part of the breast, the Schiahs drop their arms in straight lines; and the Sounis, at certain periods of the prayer, press their foreheads on the ground or carpet, the Schiahs."—*Forster's Voyage.*

‡ "Les Turcs ne detestent pas Ali réciproquement; au contraire, ils le reconnaissent," &c., &c.—*Chardin.*

§ "The Shiites wear green slippers, which the Somnites consider as a great abomination."—*Mariti.*

|| For these points of difference, as well as for the Chapter of the Blanket, see *Picart's Mohammedan Sects*

regard to his courage, temper, piety, and understanding, one of the greatest men that was ever born in that nation. The inscription of his seal was, "The kingdom belongs to the only mighty God." *

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* The following anecdotes of Ali are chiefly extracted from "Oriental Table Talk," translated by Jonathan Scott, Esq. See Ouseley's "Oriental Collections."

Once when Mohammed and Ali were eating dates together, the former placed all the shells on the plate of the latter unperceived, and on finishing their repast, he said, "He who has most shells must have eaten most." "No," says Ali, "he surely must have eaten most who has swallowed the shells also."

An Arabian once, in a mosque where Ali was present, said his prayers in such an improper manner of pronunciation, as enraged the caliph, who, when he had ended, reproved him, and, hurling his slippers at his breast. commanded him to repeat them, which the Arab did with great propriety of tone and emphasis. After he had done, says Ali, "Surely thy last prayers were better than the former." "By no means," replied the Arab, "for the first I said from devotion to God, but the last from dread of thy slippers."

A Jew said to the venerable Ali, in argument on the truth of their respective religions, "You had not even deposited your prophet's body in the earth when you quarrelled among yourselves." Ali replied, "Our divisions proceeded from the loss of him, not concerning our faith; but *your* feet were not yet dry from the mud of the Red Sea, when you cried unto Moses, saying, make us gods like those of the idolaters, that we may worship them." The Jew was confounded.

A person complained to Ali, saying, "A man has declared he dreamed that he slept with my mother, may I not inflict upon him the punishment of the law?—what is it?" Ali replied, "Place him in the sun, and beat his shadow; for what can be inflicted on an imaginary crime but imaginary correction?"

The following decision is creditable to the ingenuity of Ali:—Two travellers sat down to dine; the one had five loaves, the other three. A stranger passing by, asked leave to eat with them, and they hospitably agreed thereto. After dinner, the stranger laid down eight pieces of money for his fare, and departed. The owner of the five loaves took up five pieces, and left three for the other, who insisted upon getting half. The case was brought before Ali for his decision, and he gave the following judgment:—"Let the owner of the five loaves take seven pieces of money, and the other but one." And this was the exact proportion of what each furnished for the stranger's entertainment; for, dividing each loaf into three shares, the eight loaves gave twenty-four shares, and as they all fared alike, each person's proportion was a third of the whole, or eight shares. The stranger therefore, ate seven shares of the five loaves, and only one of the three loaves; and in this manner the caliph divided the money between the owners.

SENTENCES OF ALI,

SON-IN-LAW OF MOHAMMED, AND HIS FOURTH SUCCESSOR.

PREFACE.

If providence hath removed us to a greater distance from the influence of those genial rays which ripen the wits of the eastern nations, it hath made us abundant amends, by indulging us in this conceit, that we are wiser than all the rest of the world besides.

There are some sorts of pleasing madness of which it would be cruelty to cure a man. By bringing him to his senses you make him miserable.

You will ask me, perhaps, what is the meaning of all this? Why, in good truth, the meaning of it is, a just indignation against the impertinence of those who imagine that they know every thing, when in reality they understand nothing.

And, to be more particular, the folly of the westerns, in despising the wisdom of the eastern nations, and looking upon them as brutes and barbarians; whilst we arrogate to ourselves every thing that is wise and polite; and if we chance to light upon a just thought, we applaud ourselves upon the discovery, though it was better understood three thousand years ago.

This happens to us through want of good reading, and a true way of thinking; for the case is this, that little smattering of knowledge which we have is entirely derived from the east. They first communicated it to the Greeks (a vain, conceited people, who never penetrated into the depths of oriental wisdom); from whom the Romans had theirs. And after barbarity had spread itself over the western world, the Arabians, by their conquests, restored it again in Europe. And it is the wildest conceit that can be imagined, for us to suppose that we have greater geniuses, or greater application, than is to be found in those countries. If it be allowed that we have of late made greater advances in the sciences, that is not so much to our present purpose, as the consideration of things of universal necessity, the fear of God, the regulation of our appetites, prudent economy, decency and sobriety of behaviour in all conditions and emergencies of life; in any of which articles (which, after all, are the grand concern), if the westerns have made any, even the least improvement, upon the eastern wisdom, I must confess myself to be very much mistaken.

They have their wisdom by inheritance, derived from their forefathers through numerous generations. They are tenacious of their ancient customs, and retain the precepts of their ancestors; they couch more solid wisdom under one single aphorism, than some European writers would put into a system.

They govern their families with prudence and discretion. We make their polygamy an objection against them; but we must consider that they are not Christians, and therefore continue their way of living after the patriarchal manner. But, to say no more upon that point, how would they abhor and abominate the horrible instances which we have of European lewdness!

How would they smile, to see a man jangling it out with his wife, for thirty or forty years together, which of the two should govern the family! Others, calling riot and excess, impertinence and rage, good fellowship! Another, bespeaking a new suit this week, lest he should be the jest of the town and country for being out of fashion the next! And some, encumbering one house with far-fetched and dear-bought superfluities, at such an expense as would provide decent furniture for fifty!

Some persons of understanding have been of opinion, that the wisdom of a nation may be judged of by the sententiousness of their proverbs and sayings in common use among them: in this the Arabs excel all nations. As for their proverbs, strictly so called, in which there is allusion to some history, animal, vegetable, or the like, they cannot be understood without a comment, and do not come under our present consideration. What we here present the reader with, is a little collection of wise sentences, calculated for the direction of a man's conduct in affairs of the greatest consideration, and are of the same nature as the Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus.

They are called the Sentences of Ali the Son of Abu Taleb. The whole book is, as near as I can guess, not much less in bulk than our New Testament. I shall not add any more concerning Ali in this place, because I have written his life at large.

But I am far from believing that Ali was the author of all these sentences. He might collect them, for aught I know, and add some more of his own; but this I am sure of, that they savour of much greater antiquity than the time in which he lived. He was contemporary with Mohammed, who flourished in the year of our Lord six hundred and twenty-two. Perhaps there are some who will not allow the Arabians to have had so much learning among them at that time, as to be able to undertake such a work. But I shall not enter into that dispute at present.

The book is a venerable piece of antiquity, and it is pity but we had it all translated; which would be difficult to be exactly performed, unless by a person who has had the advantage of travelling into the eastern countries.

To criticise upon it in the proper manner, one ought to have regard not only to precepts of that kind, contained in the Old Testament, but whatsoever else can be found that is Jewish, either in Ecclesiasticus, the Talmud, Sentences of Ben Syra, or any other rabbinical records. Not that I believe that the Arabians derived their knowledge from the Jews, but that they were collateral with them in that respect; and that there are a great many things which they derived from Abraham and Ishmael. The same is to be conceived of the Idumeans, Moabites, and Ammonites; of all which there is no question but there are remains in Arabia, though as yet lying undiscovered.

Which, that I may not seem to suggest without any reason at all, give me leave to offer this for the present; that the contest, before the time of Alexander the Great, lay between the eastern powers and the more western parts of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Ethiopia. The peninsula of Arabia being conterminous, and yet quite out of the way of those numerous armies; it is reasonable to suppose that the distressed inhabitants, through whose country these forces were to pass, retired thither. And it was their custom always, either at the parting with their children, and especially upon their death-beds, to recommend to them some few precepts founded upon their own or their forefathers' experience, which, afterwards increasing, were collected into volumes by wise and learned men. After the same manner Ecclesiasticus was written, as appears by the preface of it, and this Arabic one of ours, without all question; but how or by whom remains yet undiscovered.

The sentences are full, and to the purpose. They breathe a spirit of devotion, strictness of life, and express the greatest gravity, and a most profound experience in all the affairs of human life. It is not expected that there should be a point in every one of them, nor that we need be surprised at every line, when we knew from the divine books the contents of it before.

All that I say, is, that there is enough, even in this little handful, to vindicate the Arabians from the imputation of that gross ignorance fastened upon them by modern novices.

SENTENCES OF ALI.

1. Fear God, and you will have no cause to fear any one else.

2. Resist thyself, and thou shalt have peace.

3. The fear of God purifieth the heart.

4. The best riches are those employed in the service of God.

5. Resignation to the divine will, is the healing of the heart.

6. The disease of the heart is in concupiscence.

7. A man's behaviour is the index of the man; and his discourse is the index of his understanding.

8. The coin of the miser is as worthless as a pebble.

9. A single offence counts for much, a thousand services for very little.

10. The remembrance of youth is a sigh.

11. The sight of a friend brighteneth the eye.

12. Honour thy father, and thy son will honour thee.

13. The enjoyment and delight of life consisteth in security.

14. The order of a wise man is the highest of orders.

15. Thy lot (or portion of life) is seeking after thee; therefore be at rest from seeking after it.

16. The restraining the soul [or self] from its appetite, is the greatest holy war.

17. Consider well the consequences, and thou shalt escape from all false steps.

18. The favour of God is the greatest of all ends to be obtained.

19. The favour of God is joined to obedience to him.

20. Thy delight in thyself arises from the corruption of thy understanding.

21. Thy delight in the world arises from the badness of thy choice, and the misery of thy labour.

22. He delights in contempt who confideth his grievance to another.

23. The showing mercy to the afflicted bringeth down mercy.

24. He delights in disappointment who depends upon bad men for his subsistence.

25. I delight more in the determination [or opinion] of a Religious,* than in the strength of a man.

26. The control of thy appetites will procure thee riches.

27. The control of the appetites cuts off men's observation.

28. A man's advice is the proof of his understanding.

29. Every man's portion is as much determined as his latter end.

30. A man's advice is according to the measure of his experience.

31. A man's subsistence is according to what he proposeth, i. e. according to his management; because every action of his life tends to something or other which contributes either to the increasing or diminishing him. Not that this can be affirmed of every action considered abstractedly, but as it connects those actions together which necessarily tend to the determining a man's condition of life.

32. Gentle behaviour and liberality procure the love even of your enemies.

33. A man's messenger is the interpreter of his meaning; but his letter is of more efficacy than his discourse.

34. The apostles of God, he be praised, are the interpreters of the truth, and the ambassadors between the Creator and the creature.

35. The delight of the servant in himself is inseparable from the displeasure of his master.

36. Consider before thou doest any thing, and thou shalt not be blamed in what thou doest.

37. The glittering ornaments of the world spoil weak understandings.

38. Liberality produces love.

39. The performance of promises causes unity.

40. Abstinence is the pathway of pure religion.

41. Concupiscence is the forerunner of certain destruction.

42. Trust in God is the cause of pure faith.

43. Desire tends to the destruction of the understanding.

44. The love of the present world is the source of misery.

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* In the Arabic it is *Assheick,* which signifies a professed doctor, that liveth up to the strictness of the law.

45. Infidelity is the cause of the removal of God's blessing.

46. Giving way to anger is the cause of destruction.

47. Good education is the cause of a refined disposition.

48. Gentleness of behaviour causes esteem.

49. The power of religion enforces abstinence.

50. Thankfulness engenders increase.

51. For the soul to be employed about what shall not accompany it after death, is the greatest weakness.

52. To depend upon every one without distinction, is weakness of understanding.

53. He is the man of understanding, that overcometh his appetite, and will not sell his world to come for his present world.

54. He is the cunning man that looks more narrowly after himself than other people.

55. It is fear which withholds the soul from sin, and restrains it from transgression.

56. He is a prudent man that restrains his tongue from detraction.

57. He is a believer that purifieth his heart from doubt.

58. Riches are a damage to the owner, except that part of them which he sends before him.

59. The world is the shadow of a cloud, and the dream of sleep.

60. The works of the truly pious are pure, their eyes weeping, and their hearts trembling.

61. The souls of the truly pious are contented, and their appetites dead; their countenances cheerful, and their hearts sorrowful.

62. The believer always remembers God, and is full of thought: he is thankful in prosperity, and patient in adversity.

63. Partnership in possession leadeth to confusion: partnership in counsel leadeth the right way.

64. Knowledge calleth out to practice; and if it answereth, well; if not, it goeth away.

65. The things of this life proceed by divine decree, not by our administration.

66. There are two sorts of patience; the one, by which we bear up in adversity, which is fine and beautiful; but the other that by which we withstand the commission of evil, is better.

67. A man's entertaining a mean opinion of himself is a demonstration of the gravity of his understanding, and a branch of the abundance of his excellency.

68. A man's admiring himself is a demonstration of his deficiency, and a branch of the weakness of his understanding.

69. He that firmly believeth in a future state, is, upon his own account, the most melancholy man of all men in the world.

70. He that perishes, is one that busies himself beside himself, and whose to-day is worse than his yesterday.

71. He is thy true friend, that takes care of thee as himself, and prefers thee to his riches, children, and wife.

72. He is a wise man who can govern himself both in his anger, desire, and fear.

73. Weeping out of the fear of God, enlighteneth the heart, and fortifieth against the return of sin.

74. Opportunity is swift of flight, slow of return.

75. To make one good action constantly succeed another is the perfection of goodness.

76. Patience in poverty, with a good reputation, is better than a plentiful maintenance with contempt.

77. A wise enemy is better than a foolish friend.

78. A man's affliction is the forerunner of his prosperity.

79. Men are more like the time they live in than they are like their fathers.

80. A man that knoweth the just value of himself doth not perish.

81. The value of every man is the good which he doth.

82. He that knows himself, knows his Lord.

83. A man is hid under his tongue.

84. No praise with pride.

85. Innocence is incompatible with covetousness.

86. There is no rest where there is envy.

87. It concerns thee more to flee from thyself, than from a lion.

88. He that hath no courage, hath no religion.

89. A wise man is never poor.

90. There is no generosity in a liar.

91. He that is fearful, will be secure at his journey's end.

92. No health with gluttony.

93. No generosity of spirit with a bad education.

94. A man governeth his people by doing them good.

95. The tongue of a wise man lieth behind his heart.

96. The heart of a fool lieth behind his tongue.

97. The complaisance of a fool is like a garden in a dunghill.

98. Impatience is more irksome than patience.

99. He that pursueth that which is not suitable for him, loseth that which is suitable for him.

100. A man that is given to jesting will never fail of hatred nor contempt.

101. Despair is a freeman, hope is a slave.*

102. The opinion of a wise man is as an oracle.

103. Enmity is business enough.

104. A covetous man doth not live.

105. His life is long whose labour is short.

106. The pursuit of good education is better than the pursuit of riches.

107. His grief is long whose hope is short.

108. Happy is he that hath no family.

109. It is better that kings should be unjust, than mean-spirited.

110. The thirst after wealth is greater than the thirst after drink.

111. He cheats you who makes you angry about a trifle.

112. A man's glory from his virtue is greater than the glory of his pedigree.

113. Your victory over your enemy is your forbearance.

114. The freedom of a man consists in speaking truth.†

115. The strength of the heart is from the soundness of the faith.

116. The word of God is the medicine of the heart.

117. Death will rid you of the faults of the world.

118. There is a cure for all enmity but the enmity of the envious man.

119. Being acquainted with bad men is going to sea.

120. He that holdeth his peace doth not repent.

121. He that gives a listening ear to reproach is one of those that deserve reproach.

122. Your being angry is reproachful before God.

123. The praise of a man is under his tongue.

124. The conversation of young men is destructive of religion.

125. A learned conversation is the garden of paradise.

126. The destruction of a man is the vehemency of his temper.

127. The forgetfulness of death is the rust of the heart.

128. The light of thy heart is in prayer in the darkness of the night.

129. The greyness of thy head is the news ‡ of thy own death.

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* So long as a man is in expectation, his thoughts are in suspense, and he is in a slavish condition; but as soon as he gives over his pursuit, he is free and at liberty.

† Not that a man is obliged to speak every truth that he knows or believes, but that a habit of speaking truth, as it flows from, so it naturally supports, a generosity and freedom of spirit.

‡ That word which is here translated news, is used in a very particularly emphatic manner, for it signifies the report of any person's death.

130. Trust in God is the believer's castle.

131. Holy wars* are the pillars of religion, and the highways of the happy: and to those that are engaged in them, the gates of heaven shall be open.

132. Repentance purifieth the heart, and washeth away sin.

133. Mankind is divided into two parts or sorts: the one seeketh, and doth not find; another findeth, and is not contented.

134. The good man liveth, though he be translated to the mansions of the dead.

135. The abstinence from evil is better even than doing good.

136. Knowledge is the ornament of the rich, and the riches of the poor.

137. He that omitteth practice hath not sufficient faith in the reward annexed to it.

138. Clemency in power, is a defence against the vengeance of God.

139. The reverence of God blotteth out a great many sins.

140. Resignation to the providence of God makes the greatest afflictions easy.

141. Quarrelling discovereth a man's folly, but addeth nothing to the truth of his cause.

142. Truth is the conformity of speech to the end for which God ordained it.

143. A lie is perverting language from the end for which God ordained it.

144. Adversity makes no impression upon a brave soul.

145. Trust in God is a castle of defence to him that fleeth to it.

146. Impatience under affliction is worse than the affliction.

147. That man hath a brave soul who abstaineth from things unlawful, and keepeth at a distance from what is criminal.

148. Covetousness is the head of poverty, and the foundation of wickedness.

149. A deceiver's tongue is sweet, and his heart bitter.

150. Perfection consists in three things; patience in affliction; moderation in our pursuits; and assisting him that asketh.

151. A wise man knoweth a fool, because he hath formerly been ignorant himself; but a fool doth not know a wise man, because he never was wise himself.

152. The believer is always cautious of his sins: he dreads temptation, and hopes for the mercy of his Lord.

153. Religion is a tree, the root of which is faith; the branch, the fear of God; the flower, modesty;† and the fruit, generosity of spirit.

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* That is, wars undertaken for the support of religion, i. e. Mohammedan.

† Modesty is not here to be understood in opposition to unchasteness; but as proper deportment.

154. Anger is a fire kindled : he that restraineth it, putteth it out ; but he that letteth it loose, is the first that is consumed by it.

155. Folly is an incurable disease.

156. They whose friendship is fixed on the Most High, their love remaineth as long as the cause of it : but as for the friends of this present world, their love is broken off as soon as the causes of it cease.

157. A fool doth not know what maketh him look little; neither will he hearken to him that adviseth him.

158. Riches, without God, are the greatest poverty and misery.

159. Liberality and fortitude are noble things ; which God, giveth to him whom he loveth and maketh trial of.

160. That man travels the longest journey, that undertakes the search of a sincere friend.

161. He is the greatest of all fools, that doth no good, and would yet be respected ; and doth that which is evil, and yet expecteth the reward of the good.

162. The most odious of men to the most high God is he whose thoughts are fixed upon his belly and his lust.

163. The most happy man, as to this life, is he to whom God hath given wherewithal to be content, and a good wife.

164. He is the most just man that doth justice upon himself without any one else to judge him.

165. That man best deserveth a kindness who, when he is put off, beareth it patiently ; when he is refused, excuseth it ; and when he receiveth it, is thankful.

166. The diligence of the world, is idleness ; the honour of it, vileness ; the height of it, lowness.

167. He that walketh upon the back of the earth,* is going into its belly.

168. A believer should be ashamed, when any action passeth him which his religion doth not oblige him to do.

169. Justice is the balance of God, which he hath set for men ; wherefore do not contradict him in his balance, nor oppose him in his dominion.

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* By the back of the earth, he means the outside ; by the belly, the grave.

HASAN THE SON OF ALI, THE FIFTH CALIPH AFTER MOHAMMED.

Hejirah 40, 41. A.D. 660, 661.

AFTER Ali had received his mortal wound, and there was no room left for any hopes of recovery; his friends inquired his wishes as to his successor. He told them, that with regard to that affair, he intended to follow the example of the apostle of God, who did not nominate any successor. That if it did please God to favour the people, he would undoubtedly unite their judgments, and enable them to make a good choice. So the election fell of course without any scruple upon Ali's eldest son Hasan, a man who inherited more of his father's piety than his courage; and was reverenced not only upon the account of his near relationship to Ali, but also because he was very studious of the practical part of religion, and accounted by all a very good man.

As soon as his father Ali was dead, Hasan performed the office which belonged properly to him as the eldest son. Standing up he pronounced his father's eulogy, and said to the people; "You have killed a man (meaning his father) on that same night in which the Koran came down from heaven, and Isa (Jesus), upon whom be peace, was lifted up to heaven, and in which Joshua the son of Nun was killed; by God, none of his predecessors exceeded him, nor will any of his successors ever be equal to him."* After this they proceeded to Hasan's inauguration, which was begun by Kais, addressing him in this form:—"Stretch out your hand, as a token that you will stand by the book of God and the tradition of the apostle, and make war against all opposers."† Hasan answered, "As to the book of God and the tradition of the apostle, they will stand." Then the rest came in, with whom he stipulated, that they should be subject and obedient to him, and be at peace with his friends, and at war with his enemies. This they generally did, but some of the Irakians, who were quite weary of the Syrian war, hesitated at that condition, and said, "This man will never serve us for a master; we are for no more fighting."

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* Ebn Al Athir.

† Abulfeda.

Notwithstanding the remissness and insubordination of the greater party of Ali's men, forty (and some say sixty) thousand had, it is said, before he was murdered, bound themselves in an association, to stand by him to death, and that he was making preparation to march against his rival at the head of them. With this trusty body of his father's troops, Hasan was persuaded, contrary to his own inclination, to insist upon his right, and renew the dispute with Moawiyah, who held possession of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, and was proclaimed caliph in those countries, even before Ali was killed, and refused to acknowledge Hasan's title, because he accused him of having been an accomplice in the murder of Othman.

Hasan was totally unqualified for such an undertaking, being naturally of a peaceable disposition, and looking upon the effusion of Mussulmans' blood with the greatest horror imaginable. Over-persuaded however, by others, he set forwards on his march, having sent Kais before him with twelve thousand men. Moawiyah was already on his route to meet them, and after a skirmish between Kais and the Syrians, he halted and determined to await Hasan's arrival. When the latter came to Madayan, a disturbance broke out in his camp, occasioned by the sudden murder of one of his men, which was no sooner known, but the whole host was in such an uproar, that no regard was paid to his dignity or presence, but in the tumult he was not only jostled from his seat, but received a wound.* Upon this he retired into Madayan castle, where the governor's nephew proposed to his uncle to put him in irons, and make a present of him to Moawiyah: his uncle gave him a hearty curse, and said, "What! would you betray the son of the daughter of the apostle of God?" Hasan perceiving the people divided, and himself ill used and almost deserted by the Irakians, weary of the fatigue and disorders of the government, wrote to Moawiyah, proffering to resign the caliphate to him upon certain terms.

Hosein his younger brother was utterly against Hasan's abdication, as being a reflection upon, and disparagement to the memory of their father Ali;† but Hasan, well apprised of

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* Ebn Al Athir.

† Abulfaragius.

Moawiyah's resolution on the one side, and the fickleness of his own Irakians on the other, persisted in his determination.* It is said that before the last battle he wrote to Moawiyah, proposing certain conditions; but that Moawiyah, before he received his letter, had sent him a blank paper signed at the bottom, bidding Hasan write what terms he pleased in it, and he would take care to see them punctually performed. Hasan took the paper and doubled the conditions which he had demanded in his letter; and when he and Moawiyah came together, he insisted upon the terms written in the blank paper: which Moawiyah refused, and told him, that it was reasonable he should be contented with those that he had expressed in his letter, since it was his own proposition. The articles that Hasan then stipulated for were these. First, that Moawiyah should give him all the money in the treasury of Cufah. Secondly, the revenues of a vast estate in Persia. Thirdly, that Moawiyah should make no reproachful reflection upon his father Ali.† Moawiyah would not consent to the last article. Then Hasan requested that he would at least forbear doing it in his hearing; which Moawiyah promised him, but did not keep to his engagement.‡

The conditions agreed upon, Hasan and Moawiyah went into Cufah together, when Amrou Ebn Al Aas gave Moawiyah a hint, that he thought it proper for him to order Hasan to stand up and testify his abdication.§ Moawiyah did not approve of that motion, for he knew very well that it was superfluous for Hasan to acquaint the people with what they were all eye-witnesses of, and that if he did speak at all, it was more than probable that he would leave a sting behind him; but, overcome with Amrou's importunity, he at length commanded Hasan to do it. Then Hasan stood up, and having first praised God, said, "O people! God, whose name be magnified and glorified, directed you the right way by the help of the first of our family, and hath prevented the effusion of your blood by the means of the last of us. Moawiyah contended with me concerning a matter, to which I had a better pretension than he; but I chose rather to surrender it to him, than to shed the blood of the people.

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* Tabari. Elmakin.

† Abulfeda.

‡ Darajerd.

§ Tabari. Elmakin.

But even this affair also hath a time prefixed for its duration, and the world is liable to changes."* Which last words, as presaging a revolution, Moawiyah so disrelished, that he immediately commanded Hasan to sit down, and chid Amrou severely for his advice. Some authors, moreover, go so far as to say, that he was so exasperated against Amrou, as never to be heartily reconciled to him as long as he lived.† Hasan, before his departure, stood up and told the Irakians, that he had three things to lay to their charge:—The murder of his father, the affronts offered to his own person, and the robbing him of his goods. For, though Moawiyah had promised him the treasury of Cufah, they refused to let him have it, insisting that it was their property, and could not, therefore, be alienated without their consent.

However, it was no great loss to him, for Moawiyah, once possessed of the caliphate, which was the only thing he aimed at, never grudged him any amount of revenue he might require. He assigned him about a hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year, besides large presents. He and his brother Hosein retired and lived privately at Medina.‡ He spent most of his vast revenue in deeds of charity. So little was he attached to the things of this world, that twice in his life-time he stripped himself of all that he had; and three other several times he divided half his substance among the poor. His seal or motto during his caliphate was, "There is no God but God, the true and manifest King."

Authors differ as to the precise time of his reign; but most assign him about six months, or a little over. Upon his coming to Medina,§ Hasan was blamed by some of his friends there for having so tamely and easily resigned; but the followers of Ali, Hasan, and Hosein to this very day look upon it as a singular demonstration of his excellent disposition, and tender care of the people, upon account of which he had been before commended by the prophet himself. To those that asked him what induced him to resign so easily, he answered, that he was weary of the world. Besides that, the Cufians were such a faithless people, that among them never a man ever trusted another but he was a sufferer by it; that never two of them concurred in their opinion and desire of the same thing; nor had they any regard either to good or evil. Moreover, that their behaviour towards his father had quite turned his thoughts from entertaining any the least hopes of rectifying, by their assistance, anything that was amiss; and, to sum up their character, they were the most thievish, mischievous people in the world.

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* Abulfaragius.

† MS. Hunt. No. 495.

‡ D'Herbelot.

§ MS. Hunt. No. 495.

Though this is the true character of the Cufians they yet expressed a great reverence and affection for Hasan. For when, having made up his mind to resign, he began his speech to them with these words: "We are your commanders and your chiefs, and we are of the family of the house of your prophet, from which God hath removed pollution, and whom he hath purified;" there was not a man present in the congregation but wept so loud that you might hear him sob. At his departure, too, from Cufah to Medina, they evinced their love and sorrow with tears.

Whilst Hasan was living at Medina, some of the Karegites, those heretics that had given his father so much disturbance, made an insurrection against Moawiyah, who wrote to Hasan, calling upon him to take the field against them. Hasan desired to be excused; and told him that he had relinquished the chief care of public affairs on purpose to avoid it; and that if he had cared for fighting at all, it should have been against him.

At last, in the forty-ninth year of their date, which falls in with the six hundred and sixty-ninth of ours, Hasan died at Medina, of poison, administered to him by one of his wives,* whom Yezid, the son of Moawiyah, suborned to commit that wickedness, on the promise of marrying her afterwards. But instead of a new husband, she was forced to be contented with a good sum of money, which Moawiyah gave her for her pains; for Yezid was not so mad as to trust himself to her embraces.

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* "The woman's name was Jaidah, the daughter of Ashaath. The method which she adopted for the accomplishment of her design was not less remarkable than its consummate perfidy. Upon an occasion of anointing her husband's person after the bath, she used a napkin which she had previously impregnated with poison. The subtle preparation soon pervaded the frame of Hasan, and speedy and inevitable death was the consequence. It is stated, on respectable authority, that she had made five

Some writers say, that Moawiyah himself suborned some of Hasan's servants, and not his wife, to poison him. However that may be, when the time of his death drew near, his physician, as he was walking backwards and forwards about the room, and, eyeing him narrowly, had said that his bowels were eaten up with poison, his brother Hosein begged of him to tell who had given him the fatal draught, and swore to avenge his death on the murderer with his own hand before his burial, if he could reach him; if not, to send somebody that should. But Hasan answered, "O brother! the life of this world is made up of nights which vanish away; let him alone till he and I meet together before God:" and refused to mention the person.

Hasan was born at Medina, in the middle of the month Ramadan, in the third year of the Hejirah. There is an infinity of traditions concerning him and his brother Hosein; and no wonder, considering they were the grandchildren of one reputed to be an inspired prophet by his only daughter. Hasan is said to have been in person very like his grandfather Mohammed, who, when he was born, spit in his mouth and named him Hasan. Mohammed was used to express his fondness for his grandchild in his infancy after the strangest manner possible. And after he was a little older, when he was kneeling at prayers, he would elbow the little Hasan to come and clamber upon him; and, to humour him, Mohammed would hold him on, and prolong the prayers on purpose.* Nay, sometimes in the midst of a discourse to the people, if he saw Hasan and Hosein running towards him, he would come down to them and embrace them, and take them up with him into the pulpit; then, making a short apology in behalf of their innocency and tender age, proceed in his discourse.

One of my authors† says, "That the Syrians indeed set up

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successive attempts without effect, but his constitution yielded to the sixth. The sum which Jaidah is said to have received was 50,000 dirhems, about £1,146."—*Price.*

* The Mohammedans say their prayers prostrated, so that their foreheads touch the ground, though not all the while. And so we are to understand it in the Old Testament, when it is said of any one, "he fell down and worshipped;" for the same word that signifies worship is used for a Mohammedan's saying his prayers.

† MS. Hunt. No. 495.

Moawiyah at Jerusalem, because there was none to oppose them, and that the Irakians set up Hasan against him, and would undoubtedly have succeeded in their attempt, but for their mismanagement and divisions among themselves. Had they but understood aright, they would have magnified the mercy of God in giving them the apostle's grandson. What we find in the book entitled, 'The Demonstrations of Prophecy,' from the tradition of Sephinah, who was a servant or freedman of the apostle of God, is a proof that he was the right successor. Here Mohammed is recorded to have said, 'The caliphate shall continue after me thirty years, and after that shall be a kingdom.' Now Mohammed died in the eleventh year of the Hejirah, and Hasan's abdication was in the fortieth. From whence it is plain, not only that Mohammed is a prophet, but that Hasan is his rightful successor. Mohammed, too, had prophetically praised Hasan, for thus relinquishing the present perishable world, and desiring that other which is permanent, and on this account sparing to shed the blood of this people; for Mohammed having one day mounted the pulpit, while Hasan sat by him (which he frequently used to do), after looking sometimes upon him, and sometimes upon the people, called out, 'O people! this son of mine is lord, and God shall unite by his means two great contending parties of the Mussulmans.'" The last anecdote is from Al Bokhari, the great collector of the traditions of Mohammed.*

A woman once having presented Hasan with a bunch of fine herbs, he asked her if she was a free woman; the woman told him she was a slave, but that the present she had made was rare and curious. Hasan gave her her liberty, saying to those that were present, "We have received this instruction from God himself, that we ought to give to those that make us presents something of more value than that which they give us."* Meaning, that this moral instruction is couched in the Koran, which the Mussulmans, blind as they are, yet as they look upon it as the word of God, are careful to obey.

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* I have not yet been able to find out who this author is from whom I have taken this last argument, because the book is imperfect both at the beginning and the end, and I could never find any other copy of him. But he hath been of singular use to me throughout the whole course of this history to the life of Merwan, the son of Hakem, where the copy fails. I find in another passage, that he was himself the author of the book of the 'Demonstrations of Prophecy which he mentions. He also affirms, that he wrote another treatise to prove that it was impracticable for Mohammed to marry Abu Sofian's daughter, of which more afterwards. Whoever he was, it is certain he was a great Imam.

A wonderful instance is related of the moderation of the caliph. A slave having spilled upon him, as he sat at table, a dish of scalding broth, instantly threw himself down at his knees, repeating these words of the Koran, "Paradise is open to those that govern their passion;" Hasan answered him, "I am not at all in a passion." Encouraged by this mildness, the slave went on, "And to those who pardon offences." "I pardon you yours," said Hasan. And when the slave continued to the end of the verse, which says, "God loves those above all who do good to them that have offended them;" Hasan concluded too, with these generous words, "Since it is so, I give you your liberty and four hundred drachms of silver."

Among my authorities I find one who, treating of Hasan's death, asserted that in the treaties between him and Moawiyah, it had been stipulated that Moawiyah should never declare a successor so long as Hasan lived, but should leave, as Omar had done before, the election in the hands of a certain number of persons, to be nominated by Hasan. Moawiyah therefore being desirous of leaving the caliphate to his son Yezid, and thinking he could not bring his design about so long as Hasan was alive, determined to get rid of him.

Hasan had twenty children, fifteen sons and five daughters. Though his wives were all of them remarkably fond of him, yet he was apt very frequently to divorce them and marry new ones.† Among the sectaries of Ali some draw the line or descent of the true Imams from Abdallah, one of Hasan's children, who had a son named Yahya; while, according to the Persians, the succession passed from Hasan to his younger brother Hosein.

The Mussulmans are fond of quoting the following sentence of Hasan's: "The tears which are let fall through devotion should not be wiped off, nor the water which remains upon the body after legal washing; because this water makes the face of the faithful to shine, when they present themselves before God."

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* D'Herbelot.

† MS. Hunt. ubi supra. D'Herbelot.

He died at the age of forty-seven years, in the month Sefer of the forty-ninth year of the Hejirah.* He left directions in his will that he should be buried near his grandfather Mohammed: but to prevent any disturbance, and lest his body should be forcibly carried to the common burial-place, he thought it proper to ask Ayesha's leave, which she granted. Notwithstanding this, when he was dead, Saïd who was governor of the town, and Merwan the son of Hakem, and all the whole family of the house of Ommiyah that were then at Medinah, opposed it. Upon which the heats between the two families arose to a great height. At last Ayesha said, "that it was her house, and that she would not allow him to be buried there." Wherefore they laid him in the common burying-place. When Moawiyah heard of Hasan's death, he fell down and worshipped.

OMMIADES.

THE CALIPHS OF THE FAMILY OF OMMIYAH,† WHICH ARE FOURTEEN IN ALL, THE FIRST OF WHICH IS, MOAWIYAH I., THE SON OF ABU SOFIAN, BEING THE SIXTH CALIPH AFTER MOHAMMED.

Hejirah 41—60. A.D. 661—679.

ALL opposition being now removed by the death of Hasan, Moawiyah‡ took possession of the whole caliphate. The family of Hashem, of which were Mohammed and Ali, lay like coals raked up in embers not able to stir.§ The hearts of the people were entirely in the interest of Hosein the younger brother of Hasan, but Moawiyah had possession and the army, and was, moreover, a man of great abilities and steady conduct. But before we proceed to give an account of his government, it will not be amiss to inquire a little into his origin.*

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* Ebn Al Athir.

† From the middle of the seventh to a like period of the eighth century of the Christian era (a space of about ninety-two years) the family of Moawiyah were invested with the regal and sacerdotal office. This dynasty is called the dynasty of the Ommiades, from the caliph Moawiyah or Ommia, the first of the house, the son of Abu Sofian, the successor of Abu Talet, in the principality of Mecca.—*Mills.*

‡ "Moawiyah was called the 'son of the liver-eater,' because, after the battle of Ohud (see Life of Mohammed), his mother Hind, finding the body of Hamza, Mohammed's uncle, amongst the slain, immediately tore out his liver, and eat it in her rage."—*Weil.*

§ MS. Hunt. No. 495.

His father Abu Sofian was one of the heads of the noble tribe of the Koreish, to which Mohammed also belonged. When Mohammed took up arms, not so much for the defence as for the propagation of his pretended revelation, Abu Sofian was made generalissimo of the infidels against him: and after the battle of Beder, he stood very fair for the headship of that tribe. He wanted nothing to recommend him; his courage, his gravity and immense riches, set him above competition. But† at last he was convinced (as it seems, by a signal victory gained by Mohammed over his enemies), of the truth of the prophet's pretensions. The conversion of Abu Sofian was no small accession to Mohammed's party, which had been sufficiently galled and harassed by the Koreish. Moawiyah with his wife came in on the same day as their father, who, on his adhesion to the new religion, begged three things of Mohammed. The first was, that in order to make amends for the offences committed by him against the true religion, when he commanded the forces of the infidels, he might now have the honour of leading the army of the faithful against the infidels; a request which was readily granted. His second petition was, that his son Moawiyah might be his secretary, to which also Mohammed assented. The third was, that the apostle would vouchsafe to marry his second daughter Gazah;—an honour which Mohammed begged leave to decline. Our author says, it was not lawful; but he omits to give the reason, referring us to a particular treatise which, as we have before observed, he hath written on that subject.

Moawiyah was no sooner settled in his government, but the Karegites, enemies to all government both ecclesiastical and civil, began to disturb him.‡ It was one of their opinions that the person who had the rule in spirituals should not be one of man's appointment, nor descend by any succession; but one whose spirituality should recommend him to the approbation of the godly. Upon Hasan's refusal to take up arms, Moawiyah ordered the Syrians to march against them; but the Separatists beat the Syrians. So he applied himself to his new subjects the Cufians, and the inhabitants of all that part of Babylonia, telling them that now was their time to give him proof of the sincerity of their obedience; and that he could have no better security for their loyalty than their vigorous opposition to this rebellion. When accordingly they took up arms, the Separatists would have persuaded them to desist, and asked them whether or no Moawiyah was not their common enemy. "Let us alone," said the Karegites, "to make war upon him; if we kill him, we shall have ridden you of your enemy; if he kills us, you are rid of us." The Cufians did not think it prudent to hearken to this suggestion, and the war was soon ended by the discomfiture of the rebels.

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* "The families of Moawiyah, and of Mohammed, were of the same tribe, but, according to the principles of legitimacy, the throne belonged to the descendants of Fatima, and even the children of Albas, the uncle of the prophet, had a claim prior to that of Moawiyah."—*Mills.*

† Yaumal phethi. "The day of victory.

‡ Ebn Al Athir.

After this rebellion we meet with little worth observing till the three and fortieth year;* which was remarkable for the death of the famous Amrou,† of whom it is reported by tradition, that Mohammed said, "There is no truer Mussulman, nor one more stedfast in the faith than Amrou."‡ He served in the wars of Syria, where he behaved with singular courage and resolution. Always excellent in advice, he was also steady in execution. Afterwards Omar sent him into Egypt, which he reduced, and became lieutenant of the conquered country. Othman continued him in that post four years, and then removed him; whereupon he retired to Palestine, where he lived privately till Othman's death. Upon this event, he went over to Moawiyah upon his invitation; and took a great part in the dispute between Ali and Moawiyah. The latter restored him to the lieutenancy of Egypt, and continued him in it till his death, allowing him all the revenues of that rich country, upon condition that he should maintain the necessary troops for its defence.

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* MS. Hunt. No. 495.

† An. Hej. 43, cœpit April 14, A.D. 663.

‡ When Amrou perceived death approaching, he wept like a child, which caused his son to ask him if he feared its approach. "No," he replied, "but I dread that which follows it!" When the young man endeavoured to cheer him by reminding him of his victories in the cause of Islamism, he said, "My life has been divided into three periods. Had I died within the first two, then I should have known what the world would have said of me. When Mohammed began to preach his mission, I was his bitterest foe, and wished for nothing better than his death. Had I died then, people would have exclaimed, 'Amrou has left this world an unbeliever, an enemy to God and his ambassador; and he will belong to the inhabitants of hell.' But after that God filled my heart with faith, and I repaired to Mahommed, and held out my hand towards him and said, 'I yield reverence to thee if thou wilt ensure me forgiveness for all my past sins,' for I believed at that time that I should sin no more as a Mussulman. The ambassador of God replied, 'Amrou! Islamism brings forgiveness for all past transgressions.' If I had died then, people would

Amrou was justly reckoned one of the most considerable men among the Arabians, both for the quickness of his natural parts, and also for his valour and good judgment. Before he turned Mohammedan, he was one of the three poets who were famous for writing lampoons upon Mohammed, in which style of composition Amrou particularly excelled. There are some fine proverbs of his remaining, and also some good verses. His dying speech to his children is pathetic and masculine. He laments in it very much, his ever having exercised his wit in ridiculing the prophet.*

have said, 'Amrou has become one of the faithful, and has fought with the apostle of the Lord; we hope he will find happiness with God.' Then I was made governor, and this was the time of temptation which I dreaded. Oh! Allah, I cannot justify myself before thee, but only beseech thee for thy grace; for I have not done that which thou hast commanded me to do, but have done that which thou hast forbidden. There is no other God but thee!" These last words were then repeated by Amrou till his breath failed him and he expired.—*Weil.*

* "Amrou was one of Mohammed's earliest proselytes. In the battles of the prophet, and in every war of Abubeker and Omar, he exhibited the various qualifications of a commander and a soldier. His satirical verses in early youth display vivacity of talent; and his observation in riper years has been justly preserved among the sayings of the wise. 'Show me,' demanded Omar, 'the sword with which you have fought so many battles, and slain so many thousands of infidels.' Amrou unsheathed his scimitar, and to the caliph's ejaculation of surprise and contempt at its common appearance, made reply, 'Alas! the sword itself, without the arm of its master is neither sharper, nor more weighty, than the sword of Farezdak the poet.' [Farezdak was a poet famous for his fine description of a sword, but not equally renowned for his personal prowess.]"—*Mills.*

The same year died Abdallah Ben Salem a Jewish Rabbi, who had turned Mahommedan betimes. He used to say that when Mahommed came first to Medina, he pressed amongst the crowd to get a sight of him; and that at the first glance he perceived that he had nothing in his countenance that looked like an impostor.

We have before observed,* that Ziyad was in Ali's reign made lieutenant of Persia; this office he discharged much to his own credit, and to the advantage of the people. He was a man of incomparable parts, and singular greatness of spirit. He was Moawiyah's brother by the father's side, but a bastard; and old Abu Sofian durst not own him for fear of Omar's severity. He was born in the year of the Hejirah, and as he grew up, quickly distinguished himself by his great abilities and masterly eloquence. So powerful was his rhetoric that once in the reign of Omar, at a meeting of the companions, he made so great an impression that Amrou said, "Had the father of this youth been of the family of the Koreish, he would have driven all the Arabians before him with his walking-stick." Moawiyah was resolved to secure him in his interest; and he thought nothing so likely to effect this object as publicly to own him for his brother. Ziyad, in Omar's time, was made a Cadi or judge; and when witnesses came before him, accusing Al Mogeirah of incontinency, whether out of favour, or because they failed in their proof, he not only acquitted Al Mogeirah, but also scourged the witnesses severely. This endeared him to Al Mogeirah for ever after. Ziyad, having been placed in the lieutenancy of Persia by Ali, upon Hasan's resignation in favour of Moawiyah, he kept at a distance from the new caliph, and refused to acknowledge his government. This gave Moawiyah no small uneasiness, who was much afraid lest Ziyad should make a league with the family of Hashem, and embroil his affairs by renewing the war. However, Al Mogeirah, to whom Moawiyah had given the lieutenancy of Cufah, making the caliph a visit in the forty-second year, was informed by Moawiyah of the causes of his uneasiness. The lieutenant of Cufah, in consequence, asked leave to go to Ziyad, to which the caliph consented, and sent by him a civil letter to the Persian governor, with a kind invitation. Al Mogeirah made so good use of his friendship with Ziyad, that he never ceased importuning him till he had prevailed upon him to go along with him to Moawiyah. Upon his arrival at Damascus, he immediately acknowledged him caliph. Soon after which, Moawiyah owned him to be his brother by his father's side.

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* An. Hej. 44, cœpit Apr. 3, A.D. 664.

For Abu Sofian, in the days of ignorance, before drinking wine was made a sin by the Koran, while travelling in Taïf, put up at a public house. Here, after drinking somewhat freely, he lay with this Ziyad's mother, Somyah, who was then married to a Greek slave. The old man that kept the house was yet alive; and Moawiyah, in order to make his recognition of Ziyad as public as might be, had him examined upon a set day in a full assembly, touching the conversation of Abu Sofian with Somyah. The old man gave in such a strong evidence that Ziyad was acknowledged to be a true Arabian, of the noble blood of the family of the Koreish, which, though illegitimate, was a greater honour than he could otherwise have ever obtained. For let his achievements have been never so great, he must still have been obnoxious to reproach on account of the baseness of his origin.

It is observed that this is the first time that the law, i.e. the Koran, was openly violated in a judicial way of proceeding.* For the child belonged to his legal father, the Greek slave that married his mother. Moreover, Mohammed had left it as his decision in such cases, "The child to the blankets, and the adulteress to the stone." That is, bring up the child, and stone the adulteress. As for Moawiyah's relations, they stormed, and were quite out of patience at the proceedings; they said that he had not only introduced the son of a harlot into the family, to the disparagement of all their kindred; but had raked into the ashes of old Abu Sofian his father, who had lived and died with a good reputation. Moawiyah, however, could well bear all their murmurs very patiently. He knew he had gained his point, and entirely secured in his interest the greatest man of the age.

Abdallah, the son of Ammar, was at this time governor of Bassorah; but Moawiyah removed him as unequal to that charge, because of the too great gentleness of his disposition: for the country was overrun with thieves and murderers for want of discipline. Abdallah, for his part, never cared to punish any, but thought rather to win and reform them by the sweetness of his temper, and his gentle rule. Insupportably afflicted with this grievance, the people made their complaint to Moawiyah, who appointed Hareth for a time, until he could make them amends for Abdallah's lenity, by sending them Ziyad, who drew the sword, and with exemplary punishments chastised the insolence of the brigands.* When he came to Bassorah things were in such a bad condition that there was hardly any walking the streets, even in the day; but still less in the night, which was always marked by disorder and bloodshed. On his arrival at Bassorah he made a very severe speech to the inhabitants, at which he had an excellent talent, being reckoned the best orator next to Ali, who never had any equal.† One of the polite Arabians used to say "That he never in his life heard a man speak well, but he wished he would say no more, for he always began to be in pain for him, lest he should fall beneath himself, and speak worse." With Ziyad, however, this was never the case, for the more he spoke, the more you felt he would still excel. In this speech, he acquainted the Bassorians that he was very well aware of the lamentable condition they were in, through these disorders; and that he was resolved to put an end to them. He next published an order forbidding, upon pain of death, any person, whatsoever might be his rank or quality, to appear in the streets, or other public place, after the hour of evening prayer. And to put his order into execution, he appointed a strong watch to go the rounds, and put to the sword every one they met out of their houses after that hour. Two hundred persons were killed the first night, but only five the second, and on the third, no blood at all was shed.

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* Abulfeda.

Besides the lieutenancy of Bassorah, Moawiyah gave Ziyad those of Khorassan, Sejestan, India, Bahrein, and Amman. Not unadvisedly; for the more he committed to his care, so much the lighter to himself was the burthen of the government. The very name of Ziyad made all the villains within the precints of his province tremble. He was not, indeed, savage or cruel in his temper, but strictly just, though, at the same time, absolute in his way of governing; impatient of the least neglect of his commands; and never giving up any of his authority. But notwithstanding all his greatness, he *met with a rebuff in* his five and fortieth year; which it is uncertain how he would have resented, if the person that offered it had lived a little longer. He had sent Hakem the son of Amar to take a place called Mount Ashal:* Hakem succeeded in the enterprise, killing a great number of the enemy, and carrying off all the riches of the place. Upon this, Ziyad sent him word that he had received a letter from Moawiyah, the emperor of the faithful, commanding him to put aside all the white and yellow (meaning thereby the silver and gold), from among the spoil, that it might be paid into the treasury. Now, as to this particular there is a decisive rule in the Koran, a chapter being made on the subject, occasioned by a mutiny among Mohammed's soldiers about the division of some spoil.† It is there ordered, that after any victory, a fifth part of the spoils shall first be taken out and reserved for the treasury, and the rest be divided among the soldiers. Hakem stuck close to the text of the Koran, and sent Ziyad word that the authority of the book of God was superior to that of the emperor of the faithful's letter; and that it had also this promise, "Though the heavens and the earth conspire together against a servant of God, who puts his trust in him, he shall find him a secure place of refuge, and a means of deliverance." Then he laid aside the fifth part of the spoil, according to the text; and divided the rest among the soldiers. After this, for he expected no mercy, he said:—"O God! if I be in the favour, take me." His request was granted; and he died soon after.

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* An. Hej. 45, cœpit Mart. 23, A.D. 664.

† MS. Hunt.

This same year died Zeid the son of Thabet, one of Mohammed's secretaries, to whom he dictated the Koran. He wrote that copy which was used by the caliphs or Imams at the command of Othman the son of Affan.

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* MS. Hunt. No. 495.

† Surat' alamphal. "The chapter of spoils," which is the eighth.

The author,* whom I am here following, had seen it; and adds, that all his writing was an extraordinary fair and strong hand. This Zeid was a man of the greatest parts of any in his age. He learned Hebrew in fifteen days, so as to be able to read the books of the Jews. He learned Persian in eighteen days, of one of Cosroes' ambassadors, and acquired a knowledge of Æthiopic, Greek, and Coptic, from one of Mohammed's slaves. He was fifteen years old at the battle of the Ditch; and was the most pleasant, facetious man in the world at home, and one of the most reserved when abroad. Once he saw the people coming from prayers, and he made what haste he could to get out of their way, as not wishing to be seen by them, for he used to say, "He that doth not reverence men will not reverence God."

This year Merwan the son of Hakem went on pilgrimage to Mecca; he was governor of Medina.

The next year Abdarrhaman son of Kaled the Great, was poisoned in Syria.† His death was occasioned by Moawiyah's jealousy; for the soldiers of Abdarrhaman, especially those who had been witnesses of the skill and courage of his father, whose equal he appeared in every respect, favoured him to that degree, that Moawiyah was afraid of him. During his absence, therefore, upon an expedition against the Greeks, the caliph tampered with a Christian servant of his to poison him, promising not only to remit him his own tribute, but to give him the lieutenancy of Hems. Upon Abdarrhaman's return, the conditions were punctually performed on both sides. But the murderer did not long enjoy the reward of his treachery; for Kaled the son of Abdarrhaman, receiving information of it, came into Syria, and revenged his father's death upon that wicked slave. For this act Kaled was imprisoned for a time, by Moawiyah, who also made him pay the money for the expiation of his murder. After a short incarceration he was liberated, and the caliph returned to Medina.

Not long after this, happened the death of a very great man among the followers of Ali.‡ His name was Hejer, a person remarkable for his singular abstinence, piety, and strictness of life, his constant purifications according to the Mohammedan law, and exactness in observing the hours of devotion. He lived at Cufah. Now, it was the custom of Moawiyah and his lieutenants, in their harangues every Friday to the people, to be very lavish in the praise and commendation of Othman, but to rail at and revile Ali. This was done by Al Mogeirah when he was lieutenant of Cufah, more out of complaisance to Moawiyah, than from any inclination of his own. As he was one day pronouncing these reproaches against Ali, Hejer and his company stood up, and interrupted him, and returned the ill language back again upon himself; but Mogeirah passed it by, and forgave them, without taking any further notice. Hejer, however, was not so quietly treated by Ziyad upon a similar provocation. The latter used to divide the year into two equal parts, residing six months at Cufah, and the other six at Bassorah. Coming according to his custom to Cufah, in his harangue he called Ali by the name of Abu Torah, which signifies in Arabic, "Father of dust."* This was the most acceptable nick-name to Ali in the world, having been given him by Mohammed himself. But Hejer, resolved to affront Ziyad, stood up and said, "He seems to have designed a compliment to Ali." This remark provoked Ziyad to such a degree, that he immediately seized him, and thirteen of his companions, and sent them all in chains to Moawiyah.

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* MS. Hunt. No. 495.

† Altabari. Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 46, cœpit Mart. 13. A.D. 666.

‡ Abulfeda.

But though this was the occasion of Hejer's punishment, it was not the sole cause; there were, besides, several old offences.† For before this, Ziyad, fearing lest the peace and quiet of the reigning caliph should be disturbed by Hejer, who was an avowed enemy of Moawiyah, but the declared friend of Ali and his party, and moreover, extremely popular on account of his piety, wished to carry him along with him to Bassorah from Cufah. But Hejer excused himself, by saying that he was indisposed. Ziyad answered angrily, that he was indisposed as to his religion, heart, and understanding; adding with an oath, that he would have an eye over him, and that if he dared to raise any commotion, he should suffer for it. Another time, when Ziyad was making a speech to the people, he spoke so long, that the hour of prayer came before he had finished. Hejer, who in all things belonging to the exercise of his religion was the strictest man alive, cried out, Salat; "to prayers." Ziyad took no notice of him, but went on with his discourse. Hejer fearing, lest the time should be past, began the prayers in the congregation himself, upon which Ziyad was forced to break off, and come down and join with them. This affront he never forgave, looking upon it as a great detriment to his own character for piety, but wrote a long letter to Moawiyah, aggravating the matter, and desiring that he might put Hejer in irons, and send him to him. But there was also a still sorer and more recent provocation. Ziyad having returned from Bassorah to Cufah, Hejer and his company refused to acknowledge his lieutenant, and even went so far as to throw dust at him as often as he entered the pulpit. Upon receiving this information, Ziyad was forced to return to Cufah, where, dressed in a silk cassock, and a vest of gold brocade, he went into the pulpit and made a severe speech to the people, telling them, he should make but a very insignificant figure in his post, if he suffered his authority to be thus set at nought and trampled upon, without making an example of Hejer. In his oration he frequently, as occasion served, used these words, "And it belongs to the emperor of the faithful;" at which Hejer took up a handful of dust and flung it at him, with these words: "God curse thee, thou liest." Whereupon Ziyad came down and went among the people. Then retiring to the castle, he sent for Hejer, who refusing to come, he sent a party to fetch him, between whom and Hejer's friends there was a little skirmish with stones and cudgels, so that they did not carry him off that time. But he was taken soon after in the mosque, and sent to Moawiyah, attended with a sufficient number of witnesses to testify against him, that he had spoken reproachfully of the caliph, affronted the emir (Ziyad), and affirmed, that the government did not, of right, belong to any but the family of Ali. On their arrival, Moawiyah sent officers with orders to put them to death, and authors differ as to the circumstance of their being admitted into his presence or not. Gadrah, a village behind Damascus, was the place appointed for their imprisonment; and during their stay there, Moawiyah advised with his friends how they should be disposed of. Some were for putting them to death, others for dispersing them through the several territories of his vast dominions. Ziyad sent him word, that if he wished to retain the kingdom of Irak, they must die. Notwithstanding, the chief men of the court begged off six of them. When Hejer was come near the place of execution, he desired space to wash himself, which he always punctually observed. This being granted, having made his ablutions, he repeated two short prayers, and rising up, said, "If I had been afraid of death, I could have made them longer." When, however, he saw the grave ready dug for him, his winding-sheet spread out, and the executioner with his naked sword, he was observed to tremble. Whereupon, being asked if he had not said a moment before that he was not afraid; he merely asked in turn, "If it was possible not to be moved at such a sight?" When the executioner bade him stretch out his neck straight, he answered that he would not be assistant to his own death. After these words, his head was struck off. His body being washed, he was, according to his own directions, buried in his chains.

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* Or dusty, for it is common with the Arabians to use the word "father" in such cases.

† Ebn Al Athir. M.S. Hunt.

Ayesha had sent a messenger to intercede for him, who unfortunately arrived too late. Afterwards, when Moawiyah went to Medina, he visited Ayesha, who said to him from behind the curtain, "What was become of your compassion, Moawiyah, when you killed Hejer and his companions?" "I lose that, mother," said he, "when I am absent from such persons as you are."

About the latter end of the eight and fortieth year, Moawiyah sent his son Yezid with a powerful army to besiege Constantinople. Our authors give us no account of the particulars of that siege, but only mention three or four of the most eminent of the companions, whose zeal, notwithstanding their great age, prompted them to undergo such fatigue and hazard. The army suffered the greatest extremities and hardships in their march; but they had a tradition sufficient to encourage them in all their sufferings, it being no less than a plenary indulgence.* *Mohammed*, the tradition ran, had said, "The sins of the first army that takes the city of Cæsar are forgiven." It was in this expedition that the famous Abu Jyub was killed, who had been with Mohammed at the battles of Beder and Ohud. His tomb is held in such veneration by the Mohammedans, that to this very day the emperors of the Ottoman family, upon their accession to the throne, go to it to have their swords girt on.*

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* MS. Hunt. No. 495. Albokkari.

In the fiftieth year† of the Hejirah died Al Mogeirah, the governor of Cufah. A great plague had been raging in the city, which made him retire from it; but returning upon its violence abating, he nevertheless caught it, and died of it. He was an active man, and of very good parts; he had lost one of his eyes at the battle of Yermouk, though some say that it was with looking upon an eclipse. By the followers of Ali he was accounted to be of the wrong party, and one of the chief of them. For thus they reckon: there are five elders on Ali's side; Mohammed, Ali, Fatima, Hasan, Hosein; and to these are opposed, Abubeker, Omar, Moawiyah, Amrou, and Al Mogeirah.

The same year Kairwan, the metropolis of that province which is properly called Africa, was built, though not finished till the fifty-fifth year.‡ It lies thirty-three leagues distant from Carthage, towards the north-east, and twelve from the sea. The account the Saracens give of it is as follows:—The place of the governor's residence before being in Zeweilah and Barca, it was the custom of the inhabitants of this neighbourhood, upon the approach of the Saracen army, to make profession of Mohammedanism, and upon their departure to return to their old religion again. But Moawiyah having constituted Okbah § governor of the province of Africa, he put all those to the sword that had revolted from Islam. Resolving to have a garrison on the spot, to keep the people in awe, he pitched upon Kairwan. As his march had been interrupted and perplexed by the woodiness of the country, which was full of wild beasts and serpents, he felled all the trees in the neighbourhood, and employed them in the building. This city was of great use to the Saracens; it was well situated for keeping the country in subjection; and being remote from the sea, and bordering upon the desert, was secure from the invasions of the Sicilian and Roman navies. It soon became a flourishing city, considerable not only for its public and private buildings, riches, and the like, but also for the study of the sciences and polite literature.

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* D'Herbelot. † An Hej. 50, cœpit Jan. 28, A.D. 670.

‡ Abulfeda. Golius in Alfergak. p. 162. Ebn Al Athir.

§ "This general crossed the wilderness, in which were afterwards erected the magnificent cities of Fez and Morocco, and arrived at the Atlantic Ocean, at the mouth of the Susa. He spurred his horse into the waves, and raising his eyes to heaven, exclaimed, "Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on, to the unknown kingdoms of the west, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods but thee."—*Mills.*

This same year is remarkable for the death of one Rahya, who was one of the earliest professors of Mohammedanism, although he was not present at the battle of Beder.* Mohammed used to say of him, that of all the men he had ever seen, Rahya did most resemble the angel Gabriel. The year after died Saïd Ben Zend; he was the last of those (I think they were ten in all) that had a positive promise of paradise.†

About this time Moawiyah, who kept his constant residence at Damascus, had a fancy to remove Mohammed's pulpit thither from Medina. He said, that the walking-stick and pulpit of the apostle of God should not remain in the hands of the murderers of Othman.‡ Great search was made for the walking-stick, which was at last found. Then they went, in obedience to his commands, to remove the pulpit; but immediately, to their great terror and amazement, the sun was eclipsed to that degree that the stars appeared. This put them all into a great consternation, for they looked upon it as a manifest indication of the divine displeasure, for their presuming to lay hands upon the apostle's pulpit, and attempting to remove it from the place where he had himself set it up. This made Moawiyah desist from the enterprise, and the Medinians were left in the peaceable possession of this holy relic, till some years afterwards, when Abdalmelik had a mind to it. On this occasion, however, one of the Medinians said to him, "For God's sake do not attempt such a thing, for Moawiyah did but move it once, and the sun was eclipsed!" He urged besides a tradition from Mohammed, who was reported to have said, "Whosoever shall swear upon my pulpit falsely, hell shall be his mansion." "And," added he, "will you go and take away the pulpit from the Medinians, when it is to them the ordeal of all their controversies?" This representation prevailed, and Abdalmelik forbore, and never mentioned the subject again. After him Al Walid, in his pilgrimage, made the same attempt, but when he sent for it his messenger received this answer, "Bid your master fear God, and not expose himself to the divine displeasure." With which answer Al Walid remained very well satisfied. Afterwards, when Solyman, the son of Abdalmelik came on pilgrimage that way, Amrou, the son of Abdalaziz, was mentioning these things to him, "I do not love," answered Solyman, "to hear these things mentioned either of the emperor Abdalmelik, or of Walid. What have we to do with it? We have taken possession of the world, and it is in our hands, and we will stand to the determination of the Mussulman doctors."

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* Abulfeda.

† An. 51, 52.

‡ Ebn Al Athir. Altabari. It must be in the year 54, for then there was an eclipse of the sun.

And now the famous Ziyad's time was come. He died of the plague on the third day of the month Ramadan in the fifty-third year of the Hejirah,* and also of his own age. A little before he died he wrote a letter † to Moawiyah, acquainting him that he had reduced all Irak, from north to south, into perfect subjection to his authority, and begged the caliph to give him the lieutenancy of Arabia Petræa. It is superfluous to add that it was granted, for it was not in Moawiyah's power to deny him anything, or rather, shall I say? because it was his interest to have him employed everywhere, if possible. As soon as the Arabians ‡ heard of the appointment, they were under the greatest concern in the world, for fear he should exercise his tyranny over them as he had done before upon the poor Irakians. Upon the first news of it, the son of Ammar rose up and went to the temple of Mecca to deprecate his coming amongst them, § and the people prayed in faith. Ziyad, struck with the plague, felt such an intolerable pain in his hand that he consulted a cadi, as a point of conscience, whether it were better to cut it off or not. The cadi told him, that he was afraid, if his time was come, he would have to go before God without that hand, which was cut off to avoid the appearing before him; and if it was not come, he would remain lame among men, which would be a reproach to his child;* wherefore he was of opnion, that live or die he had better let it alone: and so left him. However, notwithstanding this grave decision, Ziyad, impatient of the pain which increased every moment, resolved to have it cut off, but when he saw the fire, and the cauterizing irons, his heart failed him. It is said, that he had about him no less than a hundred and fifty physicians, three of which had belonged to Cosroes, the son of Hormuz, king of Persia, but it was not in their power to reverse the sealed decree, nor the thing that was determined. He had been Moawiyah's lieutenant over Irak five years. He was buried near Cufah, which he had passed in his journey towards Arabia, in order to take possession of his new government there. When Abdallah, the son of Ammar, heard of his death, he said, "Go thy way, thou son of Somyah, this world did not stay with thee, neither hast thou attained to the other."

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* An. Hej. 53, cœpit Dec. 26, A. D. 672.

† MS. Hunt. No. 495.

‡ Ebn Al Athir.

§ Arab. Waonaso Yuminuna.

Upon the death of Al Mogeirah, Moawiyah, who could never do enough for his brother Ziyad, or rather for himself, had added the lieutenancy of Cufah to all those vast territories he had entrusted him with before. He was the first that joined those two great trusts of Bassorah and Cufah together. When Ziyad first came to Cufah, having left Bassorah to the care of Samrah, in his inaugural address he told the Cufians, that he once had thoughts of bringing along with him two thousand of his guards, but recollecting that they were honest men, he had brought no other attendance but only his own family. They threw dust at him, upon which he sat down and gave private directions to some of his domestics to close and guard the doors of the mosque. This being done, he placed himself upon a seat near the principal door, and had the people brought before him, four by four, and made every one of them swear distinctly, "It was none of us four that threw dust." Those that took the oath he dismissed, they that refused it were bound and ordered to stand aside. When he had thus gone through the whole congregation, there remained thirty, and some say fourscore, that would not take the oath, whose hands were immediately cut off upon the spot.

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* There is nothing more common among the Arabians than to nick-name children from the imperfections of their parents, as to call such an one the son of the lame, or the son of the blind.

Not long after Ziyad entered upon his government, he issued an order that no one should appear in the street after a certain hour, and that every citizen should leave his door open all night, engaging to be responsible for all the damage that any person should sustain in consequence.* One night it happened that some cattle getting into a shop, put the things in disorder. As soon as Ziyad was informed of this, he gave every one leave to have a hurdle or harrow at his door, which continued in use ever after, not only in Bassorah, but in a great many other towns of Irak, of which he was governor.

One night his archers that were upon the watch, having met with a shepherd coming through the town with his flock, carried him before Ziyad. The shepherd excused himself upon the account of his being a stranger, and ignorant of the order. Ziyad said to him, "I am willing to believe that what thou tellest me is true; but since the safety of the inhabitants of this town depends upon thy death, it is necessary that thou shouldst die," and instantly commanded his head to be cut off.†

Now though Ziyad was so strict in seeing his orders punctually executed, and severe in inflicting exemplary punishments, yet his behaviour was gentle in respect of that of Samrah, his lieutenant at Bassorah, who was abhorred by all men for his cruelty.‡ Ziyad himself was ashamed of it. For during Ziyad's six months' absence at Cufah, Samrah had put to death no less than eight thousand persons at Bassorah. Ziyad asked him if he was not afraid lest in such a number he might have put to death one innocent man. He answered, that he should be under no concern, if at the same time that he had killed them, he had killed as many more. Abu Sawar said that he killed seven and forty of his men one morning, every one of which had got the Koran by heart.

Once as Samrah's horsemen went out on an expedition, they met with a countryman, and one of them struck him through with his lance. They went on, and Samrah coming up after them, found the poor man wallowing in his own blood. Inquiring what was the matter, he was answered, that the man having met the vanguard the soldiers had killed him. All that Samrah said to it was merely to repeat the verse, "When you hear we are mounted, beware of our lances."

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* D'Herbelot.

† D'Herbelot of Khondemir.

‡ Ebn Al Athir. MS. No. 495.

When Ziyad came to Cufah, he inquired who was the most religious man there, and one Abul Mogeirah was recommended to him in this character. He sent for him, and told him, that if he would keep within his own doors, and not go out, he would give him as much money as he desired. The religious told him, that if he would give him the empire of the whole world, he would not omit going out to say his prayers on the congregation-day.* "Well then," says Ziyad, "go to the congregation, but do not talk about anything." He said he could not help "Encouraging that which is good, and reproving that which is evil."† For which answer Ziyad commanded him to be beheaded.

A little before his death, he gathered the people together, and filled both mosque, and street, and castle with them, in order to impose upon them by oath the renunciation of the line of Ali. Whilst they were waiting, full of vexation and perplexity, one of his servants came out, and told them, that they might go about their business, for his master was not at leisure. The plague had just seized him, and the incident was afterwards looked upon by all as a providential deliverance.

A famous Persian historian‡ reports, that a letter written by Ziyad to Moawiyah, when he asked him for the lieutenancy of Arabia, was expressed in these terms: "My left hand is employed here in governing the people of Irak. In the meantime my right hand lies idle. Give it Arabia to govern, and it will render you a good account of its administration."

He adds, with some little variation from my Arabic author above-mentioned, that Moawiyah having granted him this government, the principal inhabitants of Medina, who were afraid of his rough and violent temper, were very much alarmed; and that Abdallah the son of Zobeir,* who was one of them, made this public prayer to God, Allahomma ectaphi yemin Ziyadihi. "O God! Satisfy this right hand, which is idle and superfluous to Ziyad." There is in these words a very elegant allusion to the name of Ziyad, which signifies in Arabic, "abundant and superfluous." And they say, that immediately after this prayer, a pestilential ulcer broke out in one of the fingers of his right hand, of which he died a few days after.

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* Yaumo'l Jom-ah, i. e. Friday.

† It is a precept frequently repeated in the Koran.

‡ Khondemir. See D'Herbelot in the word Ziad.

There was afterwards a dynasty of princes of his posterity, who reigned in Arabia Felix under the name of the children of Ziyad.

Several persons, both of the sect of Ali, and of the Karegites or heretics, endeavoured to disturb Ziyad's administration, but these commotions were soon extinguished by his skilful management. The particulars are to be found at large in our historians; but I have purposely omitted them, because they would only interrupt the thread of our history, and contribute nothing either to illustrate the character of this great man, or to throw light on the customs and genius of the people.

This same fifty-third year died Jabaleh, the son of Ayham, the last king of the tribe of Gasan, who were Christian Arabs, and of whom we have already given a full account.

We will now return to Moawiyah,† who in the fifty-fourth year deposed Saïd from the government of Medina, restoring Merwan, the son of Hakem to that office. Then he wrote to Merwan commanding him to demolish Saïd's house, and to seize all his effects that were in Hejaz. Merwan accordingly proceeded to execute the caliph's command, and took his mule along with him to carry away whatsoever he found of value. Saïd was surprised, and told him he hoped he would not serve him so. Merwan answered, "It must needs be;" adding, "If Moawiyah had commanded you to have pulled down my house, when you were governor, you would certainly have done it." But upon this Saïd produced a letter of the caliph's to himself, when he was governor, commanding him to demolish Merwan's house; which however, out of friendship, he had ventured to disobey, and by so doing incurred the displeasure of the caliph. Merwan was surprised at this. and readily acknowledged the superior generosity of Saïd's temper. They both perceived too, that this was only a contrivance of the caliph's to set them at variance, though it really proved the means of uniting them in a stricter friendship than ever. Merwan never left off interceding with Moawiyah, till he desisted from urging the execution of his unjust command. Moawiyah was himself ashamed afterwards of his ungenerous dealing, and asked the pardon of both his intended victims.

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* My author says Abdallah the son of Ammar.

† Ebn Al Athir. MS. Hunt. No. 495.

This year Moawiyah deposed Samrah, who was Ziyad's deputy over Bassorah. As soon as Samrah heard the news, he said, "God curse Moawiyah. If I had served God so well as I have served him, he would never have damned me to all eternity." One of my authors tells this without any reserve; another seems to scruple at the truth of it.

Ziyad being dead, Obeidollah his son came to pay his duty to Moawiyah, who received him very courteously, and inquired of him concerning the characters and behaviour of his father's deputies in their respective provinces. He gave him such a satisfactory account, that he made him lieutenant of Khorassan, when he was but twenty-five years old. He went to his charge, and passed over the river as far as the mountains of Bockhara. There he encountered the Turks, and having bravely charged them, he put them to such a precipitate flight, that the Turkish queen had only time to put on one of her buskins, and left the other behind her in the camp, for the Arabians, who valued it at two thousand pieces of gold.

Obeidollah* the son of Ziyad did not continue long in his lieutenancy of Khorassan, being removed to Bassorah, the place of Abdallah the son of Amrou. The occasion of Abdallah's removal was this. A leading man of one of the tribes of the Arabs threw dust at him, whilst he was preaching. He followed Ziyad's example, and commanded his hand to be cut off. Upon this some of the man's tribe came to Abdallah and told him, that if the emperor of the faithful should know that he had cut off the man's hand for such an action, he would deal with him, and all that belonged to him, as he had done by Hejer and his companions. Wherefore, added they, give it us under your hand, that you did it indiscreetly. This he foolishly complied with, imagining thereby to pacify them, as he knew them to be greatly provoked. They kept the paper by them for a time, and went with it afterwards to Moawiyah, and complaining that his deputy over Bassorah had cut off their master's hand upon an uncertainty; and desired of him to execute the law of retaliation upon him. Moawiyah said, "They could have no retaliation against his deputy; but a mulct they should have:" which was accordingly paid out of the treasury.* And Abdallah, to satisfy them, was deposed from his lieutenancy, and Obeidollah the son of Ziyad substituted in his room. Obeidollah left Khorassan to oneAslam, a worthless man, who did nothing in his government deserving of notice. This same year Merwan, the son of Hakem, and governor of Medina, conducted the pilgrims to Mecca.

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* An. Hej. 55, cœpit Dec. 5, A.D. 674.

The next year† Moawiyah made Saïd, who was Othman's grandson, lieutenant of Khorassan, who, passing over the river Jibon (formerly Oxus), marched to Samarcand, (afterwards the capital of the great Tamerlane), and Sogd.‡ Having there routed the idolaters, he proceeded to Tarmud, which surrendered to him.

Hitherto the caliphate had been elective; but Moawiyah designed, if possible, to secure the succession in his own family, and make it hereditary. For this end he used all the means imaginable to induce the people to declare his son Yezid his heir and successor.§ He seems to have first entertained some thoughts of it in the days of Al Mogeirah; for Al Mogeirah had come to Moawiyah, to beg leave to resign the lieutenancy of Cufah; which, in consideration of his great age and infirmities, Moawiyah granted him, and designed to put Saïd the son of Aas in his place. But when Al Mogeirah heard this, he repented of what he had done: and advised Yezid to go to his father, and beg him to nominate him his heir. Upon Yezid's coming with this request, Moawiyah asked him who had counselled him to make this demand. He told him Al Mogeirah; which surprised Moawiyah, and he restored him immediately to his lieutenancy of Cufah. This proposal wrought so powerfully upon Moawiyah's mind, that he wrote to Ziyad to ask his advice about it; who however did not by any means approve of it, for he knew that Yezid was a profligate young fellow, wholly given up to sporting, gaming, and drinking. Wherefore he sent an intimate friend of his to Damascus, to divert both the father and the son from the project. This friend first applied himself to Yezid, and satisfied him that it would be much better to desist, at least for the present. Afterwards he talked with Moawiyah; till at last he also consented to lay it aside. Thus it rested as long as Ziyad lived; till, in this fifty-sixth year, Moawiyah, who had fondly cherished the idea ever since the day it was first suggested, at last revived it again in good earnest, and wrote circular letters about it to all the provinces. The Syrians and Irakians concurred at once in the proposal. Malec, who was then governor of Medina, would have had him proclaimed in that city heir-apparent to his father: but Hosein the son of Ali, Abdallah the son of Ammar, Abdarrhaman the son of Abubeker, and Ayesha's brother, and Abdallah the son of Zobeir, absolutely refused it. Their protest kept the people back. Moawiyah, to forward the business with his presence, went in person to Medina, with a thousand horse, where he had a conference with Ayesha about it.* The result was, that in general the people of the province of Hejaz came into the measure. However, the four already mentioned, with their adherents, stood it out to the last. Though Moawiyah blustered in the mosque, and would have terrified them if he could; they stood their ground resolutely, and let him see by their answers that they despised his threats; and though he was vehemently angry, he was obliged to content himself with menaces, for they were too considerable, and too popular to suffer any violence.

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* MS. Hunt. Num. 494.

† An Hej. 56, cœpit Nov. 24, A.D. 675.

‡ Abulfeda.

§ MS. Hunt.

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* There is a tradition that Ayesha was murdered by the direction of Moawiyah, and the following particulars are recorded :—Ayesha having resolutely and insultingly refused to engage her allegiance to Yezid, Moawiyah invited her to an entertainment, where he had prepared a very deep well or pit in that part of the chamber reserved for her reception, and had the mouth of it deceptively covered over with leaves and straw. A chair was then placed upon the fatal spot, and Ayesha, on being conducted to her seat, instantly sank into eternal night, and the mouth of the pit was immediately covered with stones and mortar.—See *Price.*

After this, Moawiyah took an opportunity of saying to his son Yezid, "Look you, you see I have made the way plain before you: there is none that refuses to come in, except these four only. Hosein has the Irakians in his interest, who will never let him rest till they draw him out into the field. Remember, however, that he is your near relation, and a person of merit, wherefore if he comes under your power let him go. Abdallah the son of Ammar is a man wholly given up to devotion; and when nobody else stands out, he will come in. As for Abdarrhaman, he is guided by example; what he sees other people do, that he does too. For himself he minds nothing but women and play. But the man that will attack thee with the strength of the lion, and the subtilty of the fox, is Abdallah the son of Zobeir; if you get him into your power, cut him to pieces."*

In the fifty-eighth year † died Ayesha, daughter of Abubeker,‡ who had that name from her. For Mohammed marrying his daughter Ayesha when she was very young, his name was changed into Abubeker, that is "the father of the girl." She survived her husband Mohammed a long time, who died in the eleventh year of the Hejirah. She was invariably treated with the utmost respect, except on one occasion when she exposed herself in the expedition against Ali. Sometimes she was called prophetess, and generally when any one spoke to her, he qualified her with the title of "mother of the faithful." Her brother Abdarrhaman, one of the four who stood out against Yezid's inauguration, died the same year.

The next year died§ Abu Horeirah, that is "the father of the cat;" so nicknamed by Mohammed, because of his fondness of a cat, which he always carried about with him. He was called so constantly by this name, that his true name is not known, nor his pedigree. He was such a constant attendant upon Mohammed, that a great many traditions go under his name; so many, indeed, that the multitude of them make people suspect them. Nevertheless others receive them all without the least hesitation, as of an undoubted authority.

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* MS. Hunt. No. 495.

† An. Hej. 58, cœpit Nov. 2, A.D. 677. Abulfeda.

‡ Becr, in Arabic, signifies "a girl," and Abu, "father."

§ An. Hej 59. cœpit Oct. 22, A.D. 678.

I find nothing worth remarking between this great attempt of Moawiyah, to change an elective monarchy into a hereditary one, and his death.* Great it may very justly be called, considering not only the strength of Ali's party, who, though kept under for the present, would be sure to fall into any measures opposite to Moawiyah their mortal enemy; but also with regard to the fact, that several of the old companions of the apostle still survived, who looked for the dissolution of Moawiyah, with no less impatience than the papal cardinals long for the possession of the apostolic chair. Besides Yezid's character was so obnoxious, whatsoever it might seem in his father's eyes, that his uncle Ziyad, who had capacity and experience to understand men, as well as courage and spirit to govern them, thought him too unpopular to be the subject of such a proposition to the provinces. And yet, notwithstanding all these difficulties, Moawiyah so managed matters, that the son was more secure of succeeding the father, than could have been supposed by any who considered the insolence and innovation of the attempt, and the vigorous opposition it was likely to provoke. And Moawiyah at last succeeded in getting his son acknowledged for his successor. As soon as this point was settled, Yezid sat and gave audience to the ambassadors, who were sent from all the countries round to proffer their allegiance, and to congratulate him.† Amongst the rest came old Al Ahnaf, who was Yezid's uncle. Moawiyah, who was very fond of his son, bade Al Ahnaf discourse with him; and to give him a fair opportunity of trying his parts, left them some time alone. When Al Ahnaf came out, Moawiyah asked him what he thought of his nephew. The old man very gravely answered:—"If we lie, we fear to offend God; if we speak truth, we fear to offend you. You know best both his night and his day; his inside and his outside; his coming in and his going out; and you know best what you design to do. It is our business to hear and obey; yours to give counsel to the people."‡

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* Anno 60.

† MS. No. 495.

‡ Several sayings of this celebrated chief are recorded in the Biographical Dictionary of Ebn Khallikan, translated by Baron De Slane. We extract the following:—

"At the battle of Seffein (see reign of Ali), Al Ahnaf had fought on the side of Ali, and when Moawiyah was solidly established on the throne, he came one day to his presence. 'By Allah,' said the caliph, 'never till

It was part of the agreement between Moawiyah and Hasan, that after Moawiyah's decease, the government should return to Hasan; but he being dead, Moawiyah's thoughts were entirely bent upon his own son Yezid; and there either really was in him, or else paternal tenderness made him fancy it, something so grand and majestic, and a capacity so well fitted for the government of a mighty empire, that his father grew every day fonder of him; and though in other respects, a wise and prudent man, he could not help frequently expressing in conversation the great opinion he entertained of his abilities. It is said, that once, in one of his harangues to the people after this business was over, he said, "O God! if thou knowest that I have settled the government upon him, because according to the best of my judgment I think him qualified for it, confirm it to him! But if I have done it out of affection, confirm it not!"

The last speech made in public, when he perceived himself in a weak condition, was to this purpose:*—"I am like the corn that is to be reaped, and I have governed you a long time till we are both weary of one another; both willing

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the day of judgment shall I call to mind the battle of Seffein, without feeling my heart glow with anger.' 'By Allah,' replied Al Ahnaf, 'we have still in our bosoms those hearts which detested you, and we still bear in our scabbards those swords with which we fought you; if you advance an inch towards war, we shall advance a foot; and if you walk to give us battle, we shall run to meet you!' He then rose up and withdrew. A sister of Moawiyah, who had heard the conversation from behind the tapestry, then asked him who was the person who had used such threatening language, and Moawiyah answered:—'That is the man, who, if angered, has 100,000 of the tribe of Tamin to share his anger, without asking him the reason of it?'

"One of Al Ahnaf's sayings was this:—'I have followed three lines of conduct: I never interfered between two parties unless invited by them to do so; I never went to the door of princes unless sent for by them; and I never rose from my place to obtain a thing which all men were anxious to possess.' Another time he said, 'Excess in laughter drives away respect; excess in jesting drives away politeness; and the man is known by the company he keeps.' Again, he said, 'In our assemblies avoid the mention of women or of food; I detest the man who is always speaking of his belly or his pleasures.'

"Al Ahnaf had a weak and indolent son called Bahr. The latter was once asked why he did not take example from his father. He replied, 'from laziness.' With him died all Al Ahnaf's posterity."

* Ebn Al Athir.

to part. I am superior to all who shall come after me; as my predecessors were superior to me. Whosoever loves to meet God, God loves to meet him. O God! I love to meet thee! do thou love to meet me!" He had not walked far after this speech before he was taken very ill. When he perceived death approaching, his son Yezid being absent,* he called the captain of his guards to him, and another faithful servant, and said to them, "Remember me to Yezid, and tell him this from me:—Look upon the Arabians as your root and foundation, and whenever they send you any ambassadors, be sure to treat them with courtesy and respect. Take care of the Syrians, for they are entirely in your interest, and you may depend upon them whenever you are insulted by your enemies. But if ever you have occasion to make use of them out of their own country, as soon as they have answered your purpose, send them home again; for they alter for the worse with being abroad. Oblige the Irakians, though they were to ask you for a new deputy every day; you had better in such a case part with the dearest friend you have in this world, than have a hundred thousand swords drawn upon you. I am not in fear for you from any of the Koreish but three, Hosein, Ben Ammar, and Abdallah son of Zobeir (here he repeated the characters given of them before). If Abdallah appears against you, oppose him; if he offers you peace, accept it, and spare the blood of your people as much as lies in your power."

Moawiyah reigned nineteen years three months and seven and twenty days, from the time that the government came entirely into his hands upon Hasan's resignation.† There are different reports concerning his age; some say seventy years, and others seventy-five. When he was dead, Dehac, the son of Kais, went into the mosque, and stepped up into the pulpit with Moawiyah's winding-sheet in his hand; where, having made an encomium upon him, and satisfied the people that he was dead, and that that was his winding-sheet, he said the burial prayers over him. Yezid was then absent at a town called Hawarin, belonging to the territory of Hems. They wrote to him and desired his presence; but he did not come till after his father was buried, and then went and prayed at the tomb.

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* MS. Hunt. No. 495.

† Abulfeda.

Moawiyah embraced the Mohammedan religion at the same time with his father, which was in the year of the victory. Mohammed made him his secretary, and Omar gave him the lieutenancy of Syria, which he held during four years of that caliph's life. Othman continued him in that post during the whole space of his reign, which was about twelve years. Four years more he kept Syria in his own hands by force, whilst he held out against Ali. Taking all together, therefore, he had held possession of Syria, either as governor or caliph, for nearly forty years.

He was of a merciful disposition, courageous, of a quick capacity, thoroughly skilled in the administration of government. His good nature prevailed over his anger, and the sweetness of his temper exceeded its fierceness.[*] He was easy of access, and very obliging in his behaviour.[†]

There is a tradition that goes under the name of one Hasan, a Bassorian, of great authority among the traditionists.[‡] According to it, four things are to be objected against Moawiyah, for each of which he deserved destruction. 1. His having seized the caliphate by force of arms, without having first consulted the people, amongst whom, besides the companions of the apostle, there were a great many persons of merit and distinction. 2. His leaving the caliphate by way of inheritance to his son Yezid, a man of scandalous character, a drunkard, a lover of music, and one that wore silk. 3. His disgraceful procedure in the business of Ziyad, when he owned him for his brother, in violation of the rule of Mohammed for the regulation of such matters. 4. His cruelty to Hejer and his companions. Shaphei reports, that he put Ali Rebiyah in chains, because there were four of the companions whose testimony he rejected, viz. Moawiyah, Amrou, Al Mogeirah, and Ziyad.

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[*] The reader will easily perceive that this manner of expression is not English but Arabic, as he may observe in abundance of passages throughout the whole book.

[†] "Moawiyah was so voracious, that his greediness was proverbial, and in old age he became inordinately fat."—See *Freytag's Proverbia Meidanii.*

"Abu Abdarrhaman, the chief traditionist of his age, and author of a Sunan, advocated the rights of Ali, and was one day asked what traditions he knew of Moawiyah. Abdarrhaman replied, 'I know of none to his special merit, save this, *May God never satiate thy belly.*' This circumstance took place at Damascus, and the sarcasm is said to have been so bitter, that the people struck him on all sides, and his death was occasioned by the injuries he then received."—*Ebn Khallikan's Biog. Dict. transl. by Baron de Slane.*

[‡] MS. Hunt. No. 495.

Once, when the caliph was holding his court for the redress of wrongs, there came before him a young man, and repeated to him a copy of verses, detailing his present condition, and demanding justice at his hands. Moawiyah was very well pleased with the verses.* The Arabians delight in poetry, and to address the severest tyrant of them all after this manner, with something that is fanciful and pungent, is the surest way in the world either for a man to gain his point, or, if such be the necessity, to save his neck. The young man's case, however, was not quite so extreme. He had married a fair Arabian purely for love, and out of fondness had spent upon her all his substance, which was considerable. She was charmingly beautiful; and the governor of Cufah cast his wanton eyes upon her, and by force tore her from her husband's bosom. He, to whom the loss of his property, though it had been all the world, was nothing in comparison with the loss of her, being pierced to the very heart, and ready to die with sorrow and vexation, made his appeal to Moawiyah. Moawiyah resolved to do him justice, and sent an express to the governor commanding to give up the woman. The governor, who had not the worst taste in the world, told the messenger, that if the caliph would be pleased to allow him to retain her one twelvemonth, he would be content to pay for so much happiness by having his head struck off at the end of it. But the caliph rigidly insisted upon her being delivered up, and had her brought before him. He was very much surprised at her beauty, but much more at the politeness and elegance of her expression. He that had received so many embassies, and always conversed with the greatest men of his country, had never in his life heard such a torrent of eloquence as flowed from the mouth of that charming Arabian. The caliph asked her jocosely, which she would have, him, or the governor, or her husband. She answered him in verse; and I forbear to translate her answer, because I have no hopes of coming up to the spirit of it. It was, however, marked with the modesty that became her sex, and the general sense of it was, that though a person in his eminent station might be able to do for her much that was beyond her merit or expectation, yet it could not be put into the balance against everlasting damnation; she therefore begged of him, if he really designed her any favour, to restore her to her own dear husband. This he very generously performed, and moreover presented her with a very rich equipage and plenty of gold, to repair her husband's shattered circumstances.

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* Moawiyah was a great patron of letters. Sismondi says he was more favourably disposed towards them than even Ali. The same writer adds, "He assembled at his court all who were most distinguished by scientific acquirements; he surrounded himself with poets; and as he had subjected to his dominion many of the Grecian isles and provinces, the sciences of Greece first began, under him, to obtain an influence over the Arabians."

He was in fact always munificent. He made a present to Ayesha of a bracelet worth a hundred thousand pieces of gold, which she accepted. He gave Hasan three hundred thousand pieces, and Abdallah, the son of Zobeir, one hundred thousand. He used to bid those that came to see him to take away with them anything they desired. He bestowed a hundred thousand pieces upon Hosein, who distributed them among ten of his acquaintance. A hundred thousand more were granted by him to Abdallah, the son of Faafar, who gave them to his wife at her request. Merwan, the son of Hakem, who was afterwards caliph, received from him a hundred thousand pieces, half of which he divided amongst his friends. At another time he bestowed four millions on Hasan.*

The following anecdote is related of Moawiyah by Abulfaragius. It happened that Sapor, who had seized Armenia by force of arms, sent an ambassador named Sergius, to Moawiyah, desiring his assistance against the Grecian emperor, who, at the same time, sent one Andrew, a eunuch, a great favourite. Moawiyah told them, that they were both equally enemies, and that he would assist that side that offered him most.

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* "Strict Mussulmans were not a little offended at the richness of Moawiyah's dress; for till his time the caliphs had worn only woollen garments. But as soon as he became governor of Syria, he began to make use of silk, and ever afterwards was clothed in rich and costly array. He also lived in a very splendid manner, and made no scruple of constantly drinking wine, contrary to the usage of his predecessors, who had always looked upon that liquor to be totally prohibited."—*Marigny.*

Moawiyah was the first caliph that introduced the meksourah into the mosque, or that spoke to the people sitting.* The meksourah is a place raised above, and separate from the rest of the mosque, where the caliph, who was chief pontiff in religious, as well as sovereign in civil affairs, began and chanted the prayers, which are, as one may say, the public office of the Mussulmans. It was in this place also, that he made the cotbah to the people, which is a sort of homily or preachment. Before his time it used to follow the prayers, but Moawiyah commenced with it, for fear he should forget what he had prepared to say.† He was also the first caliph that obliged the people to swear allegiance to his son.‡ The first that laid post horses upon the roads.§

An Arabian robber being once condemned to have his hand cut off, Moawiyah pardoned him for the sake of four very ingenious verses that he made and repeated to him on the spot.‖ They remark that this was the first sentence pronounced among the Mussulmans that was not put in execution; the caliphs not having as yet, before this instance of Moawiyah, taken the liberty of showing favour to those whom the ordinary judges had condemned.

Abulfeda relates the following as a remarkable instance of his patience and clemency. Arwah, the daughter of Hareth, the son of Abdal Motaleb, the son of Hashem, came to make him a visit. She was his aunt, a very old woman, and of Ali's branch of the family. As soon as Moawiyah had saluted her, she began to reproach him, "O nephew," said she, "you have been very ungrateful, and injurious to your cousin, who was a companion of the apostle; and you called yourself by a name that was none of your own, and took possession of what you had no right to. And our family exceeded all men in sufferings for this religion, till God took his prophet to reward his labours, and to exalt his station; and then you insulted us, and we were amongst you like the children of Israel in the family of Pharaoh; though Ali was to the prophet, as Aaron was to Moses." Upon this, Amrou, who was then present, had no patience, but took her up, and said, "Hold your tongue, old woman, and do not talk thus like one out of your wits." "What," says she, "do you prate to me who am an honest woman, while your mother was known all over Mecca to be of very easy virtue, and as you were most like old Aasi, he was forced to father you?" Moawiyah, however, only said to her, "God forgive what is past: what would you have?" She answered, "Two thousand pieces, to buy an estate for the poor of our family; and two thousand more to marry our poor relations: and two thousand more for myself to secure me in time of extremity." All which was, by Moawiyah's command, immediately paid down to her.

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* Abulfeda. D'Herbelot. † Abulfaragius. ‡ Abulfeda.

§ "Moawiyah was also the first caliph who allowed Mussulmans to embark in ships, and who sent maritime expeditions against the enemies of his empire. Previous to his reign no Arab had been permitted to go on board a vessel: the cause of the prohibition was as follows. When Egypt was conquered by Amrou Ebn Aas, in the reign of Omar, that caliph wrote to his lieutenant for a description of the sea. Amrou replied: 'The sea is a great pool which some inconsiderate people furrow, looking like worms on logs of wood.' On the receipt of this answer, Omar forbade all navigation amongst the Mussulmans, and from that time until the reign of Moawiyah all transgressors were severely punished. The real cause of this prohibition was, that when the Arabs began their conquests they were entirely unaccustomed to that element; while, on the contrary, the Romans and the Franks, through their almost continual practice, and their education in the midst of the waves, were enabled to navigate the seas, and, by dint of experience and successful enterprize, to become almost congenial to that element."—*Don Pascual de Gayangos.*

‖ D'Herbelot from Rabialakyar.

This caliph was buried in Damascus, where he had established the seat of the caliphate; and that city always retained this prerogative of dignity so long as the Ommiyades, or defenders of Moawiyah reigned. In the time of the Abbasides it was transferred to Anbar, Haschemyah, and Bagdad. The inscription of Moawiyah's seal was, "Every work hath its reward," or as others say, "There is no strength but in God." *

* It was during the reign of Moawiyah that some of the principal incidents connected with the Paradise of Sheddad the son of Ad,† are said to have taken place. This Paradise, though invisible, is still supposed to be standing in the deserts of Aden, and sometimes, though very rarely, God permits it to be seen. Lane in his notes to the Arabian Nights relates the following story:—

"Abdallah the son of Aboo Kilabeh, proceeding one day over the deserts of El Yemen in search of a runaway camel, chanced to arrive at a vast city encompassed by enormous fortifications, around the circuit of which were pavilions rearing their heads into the clouds. As he approached it, he imagined that there must be inhabitants within it; but he found it desolate and in utter solitude.

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† The Addites are a race of ancient Arabs: the smallest of their tribe is said to have been 60 cubits high, and the largest 100 cubits!

"'I alighted from my camel,' says he, 'and entered the city. I found the fortifications had two enormous gates, the like of which I had never seen for size and height, and these were set with a variety of jewels and jacinths, white, red, yellow, and green. In a state of terror, and with a wandering mind, I entered the fortifications, and found them to be as extensive as the city; they comprised elevated pavilions, every one of which contained lofty chambers, constructed of gold and silver, and adorned with rubies, chrysolites, pearls, and various coloured jewels. The folding-doors of these pavilions were as beautiful as the gates of the fortifications, and the floors were overlaid with large pearls and with balls like hazel-nuts, composed of musk and ambergris and saffron. And I came into the midst of the city, but I saw not a single created being of the sons of Adam; and I almost died of terror. I then looked down from the summits of the lofty chambers and pavilions, and saw rivers running beneath them; and in the great thorough-fare streets of the city were fruit-bearing trees, and tall palm-trees; and the construction of the city was of alternate bricks of gold and silver: so I said within myself, 'No doubt this is the Paradise promised in the world to come.'

"'I carried away of the jewels, which were as its gravel, and of the musk which was as its dust, as much as I could bear, and returned to my district, and acquainted my people with the occurrence. And when the news reached Moawiyah, he wrote to his lieutenant, and I was summoned to his presence. And I informed the caliph of what I had seen, and showed him the pearls, and the balls of ambergris, musk, and saffron; and the latter retained somewhat of their sweet scent, but the pearls were yellow and discoloured.

"'At the sight of these Moawiyah wondered, and sent for Kaab-el-Ahbar,* who, on hearing the story, said that the city was Irem-el-Emad, and accordingly related the following:

"'Ad the Greater had two sons, Shedeed and Sheddad, and on the death of their father they reigned conjointly over the whole earth. At length Shedeed died, and his brother Sheddad ruled after him. Sheddad was fond of reading the ancient books, and when he met with descriptions of Paradise and of the world to come, his heart enticed him to build its like upon the earth. He had under his authority 100,000 kings, each of whom commanded 100,000 chieftains, and each of these were at the head of 100,000 soldiers. And he summoned them all before him, and said, 'I desire to make a Paradise upon earth. Depart ye therefore to the most pleasant and most spacious vacant tract in the earth, and build for me in it a city of gold and silver; for its gravel spread chrysolites, rubies, and pearls; and make columns of chrysolite as supports for the vaulted roofs. Fill the city with pavilions, and over the pavilions construct lofty chambers, and beneath them plant, in the by-streets and great throughfare-streets, varieties of trees bearing different kinds of ripe fruits, and make rivers to run beneath them in channels of gold and silver.' To this they all replied, 'How can we accomplish that which you have described?' But he said, 'Know ye not that all the kings of the earth are under my authority? Depart to the mines and the pearl provinces: gather their contents and take ye from the hands of men such things as ye find: spare no exertions and beware of disobedience!'

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* A famous traditionist of the tribe of Hemyer, who embraced Islamism in the reign of Omar, and died in the year of the Hej. 32, during the reign of Othman; the anecdote therefore presents an anachronism.

"'Sheddad then wrote to each of the kings of the earth, commanding them to collect all the above-mentioned riches that their subjects possessed, and to gather them from the mines; and all this was done in the space of twenty years. Then he sent forth geometricians, sages, labourers, and artificers from all countries and regions; and they dispersed themselves until they came to a desert, wherein was a vast open plain, clear from hills and mountains; in the plain were springs flowing and rivers gushing, and here they busied themselves in building the city according to his commands. Then the kings of the earth sent thither their gold and jewels and riches upon camels and in great ships, beyond all description and calculation: and the workmen laboured at the city for three hundred years. When it was completed, king Sheddad desired them to build around it impregnable fortifications, and to construct around the circuit of the fortifications a thousand pavilions, each with a thousand pillars beneath it, in order that each pavilion might hold a vizier. This also was accomplished in twenty years.

"'Then Sheddad ordered his thousand viziers, and his chief officers and principal troops to prepare themselves for departing to Irem-el-Emad; he also ordered those whom he chose from his women, his harem, his female slaves, and his eunuchs, to fit themselves out: and they passed twenty years in equipping themselves. Then Sheddad proceeded with his troops, his women, and his slaves till he came within one day's journey of Irem-el-Eamad, when God sent down upon him and the obstinate infidels who accompanied him, a loud cry from the heaven of his power, and it destroyed them all by the vehemence of its sound. Neither Sheddad nor any that were with him arrived at the city, and God obliterated all traces of the road; and there that city remaineth until the day of judgment.'

"At this narrative related by Kaab, Moawiyah wondered and asked if any one of mankind could arrive at that city. To which Kaab replied that one of the 'companions of the prophet,' like Abdallah, could do so, without doubt."

Esh Shaabe relates that when Sheddad was destroyed, his son Sheddad the Less reigned after him; and soon as the latter heard of his father's death, he ordered the body to be carried to Hadramant, where a sepulchre was excavated for him in a cavern. The corpse was then covered with seventy robes, interwoven with gold and adorned with precious jewels, and placed upon a couch in the cavern.

The history of Zobeide in the Arabian Nights is evidently founded upon this tradition, and it will be immediately recognized by all readers of Southey's poem of "Thalaba."

YEZID I., THE SON OF MOAWIYAH, THE SECOND CALIPH OF THE HOUSE OF OMMIYAH, AND THE SEVENTH AFTER MOHAMMED.

Hejirah 60—64. A. D. 679—683.

YEZID, the son of Moawiyah, was inaugurated caliph on the new moon of the month Rejeb, of the sixtieth year of the Hejirah, which coincides with the seventh day of April, in the year of our Lord six hundred and eighty.* He was born in the twenty-sixth year of the Hejirah, according to which account he was thirty-four (lunar) years old when he was saluted emperor. He was forthwith acknowledged lawful caliph in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Persia, and all the other Mohammedan countries. But the cities of Mecca and Medina, and some others of Chaldea, refused at first to submit themselves to him. Among the great ones none but Hosein and Abdallah the son of Zobeir opposed his succession, and they disputed the caliphate with him to their death.

He confirmed all his father's lieutenants and officers in their appointments. The governor of Medina was Walid the son of Otbah; of Cufah, Nooman the son of Bashir; of Bassorah, Obeidollah the son of Ziyad; of Mecca, Abdallah Amrou. After his accession, the object he had most at heart was to bring in those that had opposed his nomination as his father's heir and successor. With this view, he wrote the following letter to Walid governor of Medina. "In the name of the most merciful God. From Yezid emperor of the faithful to Walid the son of Otbah. Moawiyah was one of the servants of God, who honoured him and made him caliph, and extended his dominions, and established him. He lived his appointed time, and God took him to his mercy. He lived beloved, and died pure and innocent. Farewell. Hold Hosein, and Abdallah the son of Ammar, and Abdallah the son of Zobeir, close to the inauguration without any remission or relaxation." Walid, upon the receipt of this letter, sent for Merwan the son of Hakem, and consulted him on the contents of it. Merwan advised him to send for Hosein and Abdallah, and tender them the oath before they were apprized of the caliph's death; and if they refused to take it, then at once to strike off their heads. But either this scheme was not so closely concerted but the parties concerned received some private intelligence of it, or else they had themselves suspicion of it. Whichever way it was, Walid's messenger, who found them at the mosque, was sent back with this answer, "That they would come presently." After a short deliberation, Hosein went to the governor's house, attended with a number of his friends and domestics, whom he placed about the door, with orders to rush in if they should hear any disturbance. The governor, having acquainted him with Moawiyah's decease, invited him to swear allegiance to Yezid. He answered, "That men of his distinction did not use to do things of that nature in private; neither did he expect that he would ever have desired it of him; that he thought it better to wait till, according to the custom upon such occasions, all the people were met together, and then do it with one accord. Walid consented. But Merwan, who easily saw through this excuse (as indeed the governor did too), said to Walid, "If he does not do it now, before he goes away, there will be a great deal of blood shed between you and him; wherefore hold him close, and do not let him go out till he hath owned his allegiance; but if he will not, strike his head off." Hosein leaped out, and having first reproached Merwan for his advice, went to his own house. Merwan swore to the governor that he was never like to see Hosein any more. The governor told him he did not trouble himself about it; adding, that he had everything he desired in this world, and as for the next, that he did not believe that that man's balance would be light who should be guilty of the murder of Hosein. It is an article of the Mohammedan faith, that at the last day there shall be a balance, supported by the divine power, that shall extend to the utmost limits of heaven and earth, in which the most minute actions of mortal men shall be weighed, and he whose evil deeds outweigh his good ones shall be damned; on the contrary, he whose good deeds overbalance his evil ones, shall be saved. For this reason Walid said, "That his balance, who should kill Hosein, would not be light," meaning that wherein his evil deeds were put. Then Walid sent for Abdallah the son of Zobeir, who put him off for a space of four and twenty hours; and, in the meantime, taking along with him all his family and his brother Jaafar, departed for Mecca. Walid sent a party of horse to pursue him, but to no purpose. Whilst Walid was thus taken up with Abdallah, he had little time to take notice of Hosein, who, whenever he sent for him, put him off with an excuse, and in the meantime made all the preparation he could in secret to follow Abdallah. He left none of all his family behind him except his brother Mohammed Hanifiyah, who, before they parted, expressing the most tender affection and concern for him that can be imagined, advised him by no means to venture himself in any of the provinces, but to lie close either in the deserts or the mountains, till his friends were gathered together in a considerable body, and then he might trust himself with them. But if he was resolved to go into a town, he could not be so safe anywhere as in Mecca: where, if he met with the least appearance of anything to alarm him, he should immediately withdraw and retire to the mountains. Hosein, having thanked him heartily for his sincere advice, made the best of his way to Mecca, where he met with Abdallah.

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* MS. Hunt. No. 495. Abulfeda.

Yezid, not well pleased with Walid's remissness, removed him from the government of Medina, and gave it to Amrou, a very proud man, the son of Saïd, who was governor of Mecca. He gave Amer the son of Zobeir, who mortally hated his brother Abdallah, a commission to march against him. Abdallah engaged him in the field, routed him, and put him in prison, where he kept him till he died.

Now though Abdallah seemed to have interest sufficient to carry his point, and had beat down all opposition before him, and the Medinians had openly declared for him, so that his fame was spread round about the country, yet Hosein's glory so far outshone his that he had no chance of being the choice of the people, so long as he was alive. Hosein, both upon the account of his near relationship to Mohammed, and his own personal qualifications, was reverenced above all men alive. Moawiyah, so long as he lived, treated him with the utmost respect. And when Hasan had resigned in favour of Moawiyah, the caliph used often to invite both him and his brother Hosein, always receiving them with the utmost courtesy, and never failing to dismiss them with noble presents. After Hasan's death, Hosein frequently sent to Moawiyah, and paid him a visit once every year. He also joined with his son Yezid in his expedition against Constantinople. Hosein was the hopes of all the Irakians; never were people more overjoyed than they were at the death of Moawiyah, whom they had all along detested as a tyrant and usurper. They thought that now there was a period put to their slavery, and they should be under the gentle government of a man that was sprung of an almost divine race. The Cufians were so impatient, that they sent message after message to him, assuring them that if he would but make his appearance amongst them, he should not only be secure of his own person, but in consideration of the esteem which they had for his father Ali, and his family, they would render him their homage and services, and acknowledge him for the only lawful and true caliph. They assured him that there was no manner of difficulty in the matter; all the country being entirely devoted to him, and ready to expend in his cause their lives and fortunes. The messengers they had sent, one after another, came to him at last in a body, pressing him with the utmost vehemence, to do what he himself had little aversion to; only he thought it the part of a prudent man, in an affair of so great consequence, and attended with so much hazard, to use a little caution and circumspection. Accordingly, he sent his cousin Muslim into Irak, to feel the pulse of the people, and see whether or no they were so unanimously in his interest as had been represented; and ordering him, that if he found things favourable, to head a body of them, and beat down all opposition that should be made. Besides he gave him a letter to the Cufians to the same purport. Muslim left Mecca and passed through Medina, from whence he took along with him a couple of guides, who led him into a vast desert, where there was no road; one of them perished with thirst, and the other soon after died of the colic. This unprosperous beginning seemed ominous to Muslim, and discouraged him to that degree, that having reached a spot where there was water, he refused to proceeed in his journey, till he should receive further instructions from Hosein, to whom he despatched a messenger. Hosein ordered him, by all means, to go on to Cufah, and act pursuant to the directions he had already received. When he came to Cufah, he communicated his business privately to such as he could trust, and the matter was so cautiously whispered about, that they reckoned themselves secure of eighteen thousand adherents before Yezid's deputy Nooman had heard of it. Muslim, satisfied with this success, did not defer to acquaint Hosein with it. He wrote to him, and told him that every thing was made plain and easy for him now, and that nothing was wanting but his presence. Upon this notice, Hosein set out upon his journey from Mecca to Cufah.

Nooman at last received information of the increasing popularity of Hosein, and the forwardness of his party. Surprised and concerned, he immediately made a speech to the people, exhorting them to a peaceful behaviour, and to avoid all manner of strife and contention. He assured them that for his own part he would not be the aggressor, nor meddle with any person, unless he was first insulted or provoked; nor would he take up any man upon suspicion. But at the same time he swore by that God, besides whom is no other, that if they revolted from their Imam (Yezid), and withdrew their allegiance, he would fight against them as long as he could hold a sword in his hand. Upon this one of the bystanders told him that this was a matter that required stirring, but that he talked like one of the weak ones. He answered, that "He had rather be one of the weak ones in obedience to God, than one of the strong ones in rebelling against him." With those words Nooman came down. News of the whole was carried to Yezid, who sent immediately and removed Nooman from the lieutenancy of Cufah, and gave it to Obeidollah, the son of Ziyad, together with that of Bassorah, which he had before. This he did at the instance of Sarchun, the son of Moawiyah; for before that time he was not affected well towards Obeidollah, probably because his father, Ziyad, was against his being declared heir to Moawiyah.

Upon this appointment Obeidollah went from Bassorah to Cufah. He rode into the town in the evening, with a black turban on (which was Hosein's dress), and as he passed along and saluted the crowd, he was re-saluted by the title of the son of the apostle, they imagining it had been Hosein, of whose coming they were in hourly expectation. But to their no small grief and mortification, they were soon undeceived, when some of Obeidollah's retinue bid them stand off, and make room for the Emir Obeidollah. With his retinue, which was but seventeen horse in all, he went directly to the castle, and began to think of proper means for the extinguishing this sedition. For this purpose, he gave three thousand pieces to one of his domestics, who was to pretend that he had come out of Syria to promote the inauguration of Hosein, and to contribute to his interest. Muslim had a house in town, where he polled great numbers every day. Here accordingly Obeidollah's man presented himself, and managed his business so well, that he easily gained credit to his story, and was introduced to Muslim, who took down his vote for Hosein. And the better to colour the matter, he gave some of his money towards the buying arms, to one whom Muslim had appointed to receive all the money that was contributed by the party, and to purchase arms with it. He also continued a few days among the adherents of Hosein, till he had sufficiently informed himself of all their plans and circumstances, and then made his report to Obeidollah. Muslim had changed his quarters, which at first he had taken up at Hani's house, and removed to Sharik's, who was one of the grand Omeras. Sharik being sick, Obeidollah sent him word that he would pay him a visit. Upon this Muslim was secreted in the chamber, with the design of surprising and killing the governor. The signal for his onslaught was to be the sick man's calling for water. Obeidollah came attended by Hani and one servant. They sat down (except the servant) and talked with Sharik a while, but Muslim's courage failed him. The girl that was bringing the water, spying Muslim standing there, was ashamed, and went back with it three times.* At last Sharik called out loud, "Bring me some water, though it kills me." This made Obeidollah's man suspect that there was something more than ordinary in the matter, so he gave a hint to his master, who immediately left the house. When they were gone Hani and Sharik asked Muslim why he did not kill him. He answered, "He had heard a tradition of the apostle, who had said, 'The faith is contrary to murder: let not a believer murder a man unawares.' Wherefore," he said, "he durst not kill him in his house." They told him that if he had done it, nobody would have concerned themselves to revenge his death, and they could have secured him in the possession of the castle.

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* MS. Hunt. No. 495.

Sharik died three days after. As for Hani, upon Obeidollah's commanding the registers* to be strictly searched, under the severest penalty, he was found standing upon record as an old offender, and one that had opposed Obeidollah before. Obeidollah remembered him, and sent some of the Omeras, who brought him to the castle. When he came there, Obeidollah asked him what was become of Muslim. He at first pretended to know nothing of him, but being confronted by Obeidollah's servant, who had seen Muslim at his house, and paid him money to buy arms for the service of Hosein, he had nothing to say for himself but that Muslim intruded himself upon him into his house, and did not come thither by his invitation. Obeidollah commanded him to produce him. He answered, "That if he was under his feet, he would not take them off from him." At this Obeidollah gave him such a blow with his mace, that he wounded him in the face, and broke his nose. Upon this Hani attempted to seize one of the swords of the guards, but was prevented. Obeidollah told him he had forfeited his life, and commanded him to be imprisoned in a room in the castle. The people of Hani's tribe presently came flocking about the castle, imagining that he was murdered, but the cadi sent one to tell them that he only was detained to be asked some questions about Muslim, and bade them be quiet, and return peaceably to their houses, for though the emir had struck him, the blow was not mortal. Muslim having heard this news, mounted his horse, and gave the word, "Ya mensour ommet!"† which was the signal for a general rising agreed upon among Hosein's party. Four thousand men joined him, and he led them to the castle under two colours, the one red, the other green.‡ Obeidollah was then in the castle prison, discoursing with the Omeras and chief men concerning Hani's business, and cautioning them against sedition, when the watch came and surprised them all with the news of Muslim's appearance before the castle. Obeidollah sent out of the castle several men of note and authority among the people, who rode backwards and forwards, dissuading them from hazarding their lives in so perilous an enterprise. In the meantime Obeidollah bade those that were with him to look out of the castle, and encourage the loyalists. A woman called out to Muslim, and told him he might go about his business, or the people would find him more work than he would like; and Muslim's followers, considering that the event was dubious, began to desert by degrees, till he had no more than thirty men left with him; so he retired in the evening and hid himself. Taking the opportunity of the twilight, he departed from Cufah, without so much as a guide left to show him the way, or any one to comfort him or give him shelter. Night came on, and he was upon the road alone in the dark, not knowing one step of the way, nor whither he was going. At last he found a house standing alone in the field, and knocked at the door, and was answered by an old woman. In the days of her youth and beauty she had belonged to a great man, but afterwards had by another a son, whom she expected out of the field. Muslim asked her for some water, which she gave him; but perceiving that he made no haste to go away, she told him that it was not proper for him to stand there at her door, neither would she allow it. At last he let her understand that it was in her power to do a thing which she should have no reason to repent of. She asked him what it was; he told her his name was Muslim, and that the people of the country had deceived him. She no sooner heard his name but she readily let him in, and having conveyed him into the most secret and retired part of her house, made the best provision for him she was able. At last her son came home, and observing his mother going backwards and forwards very often, would not rest satisfied till she had acquainted him with the occasion of it, which to satisfy his importunity she did, having first enjoined him to secrecy. But he, having heard that Obeidollah had promised a reward to any one who should give information of Muslim's hiding place, went and informed in the morning. Wherefore, before Muslim well knew where he was, he found himself surrounded with three or four score horse. In this strait he betook him to his sword, and defended himself bravely, for he beat them thrice out of the house. They pelted him with stones, and put fire upon the ends of canes, and flung at him; till at last he went out and fought them in the open air. Here, overpowered with numbers, and grievously wounded in a great many places, particularly in his lips, which were almost cut to pieces, he was seized and disarmed, and being bound, was mounted upon his own mule. When he perceived that it was quite out of his power to help himself, he wept. One of the men that was present told him that it did not become a man that had entered upon so great an undertaking to weep; but he answered that it was not upon his own account that he shed tears, but for the sake of Hosein and his family, who he feared were upon their journey from Mecca to Cufah, having, as he supposed, set out either that very day or the day before. Then turning to Mohammed, the son of Alashat, he begged of him, if it was possible, to send to him in his name, to entreat him to go back. This Mohammed granted, but the messenger did not do his part. When Muslim came to the castle gate, he found there a great many of the Omeras, some of whom he knew, and others knew him, waiting for admission to Obeidollah. Muslim was very thirsty, and begged for a draught of water; but one of the men told him he should have no drink till he drank the hanim, that is, the scalding liquor which the Mohammedans feign is to be the drink of the damned in hell. When Muslim was brought into the presence of Obeidollah, he did not salaam or salute him, at which, when the bystanders wondered, he said if Yezid were there himself, he should not think himself obliged to do it, unless he would give him his life. Obeidollah told him that he had come thither to make a disturbance, and sow the seeds of division amongst people that were all unanimous, and all agreed upon the same thing. Muslim resolutely answered, "It is not so; but the people of this province know very well that your father, Ziyad, has killed the best of their men, and shed their blood, and exercised over them the tyranny of a Cosroes or a Cæsar, and we come to govern with justice, and appeal to the determination of the book." Obeidollah called him a rogue, and told him he did not use to appeal to the determination of the book when he was tippling wine at Medina. For the truth of which accusation Muslim appealed to God. Having leave given him to make his will, he whispered one of his friends, and left him seven hundred pieces, desiring him to beg his dead body of Obeidollah, and to take care to prevent

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* See Esther vi. 1.

† "O thou that art helped by the people!" meaning Hosein.

‡ "Red was the colour of the Ommiyades, green that of the Alides, and black that of the Abassides."—*Baron De Slane.*

Hosein's advancing any further in his journey. He was overheard by one that stood by, who told every word he said to Obeidollah. He did not disapprove of any one article in it; and as for Hosein, he said if he would be quiet nobody would meddle with him, but if he was the aggressor, they would not flinch from him. Muslim was then carried to the top of the castle and beheaded. The head was first thrown down to the bottom, and the body after it. Then Hani was brought forth and beheaded in the street. Both the heads were sent for a present to Yezid, with a letter specifying the several circumstances of their crime and death. This was on the eighth day of the month Dulhagiah, in the sixtieth year of the Hejirah.

The earnest and repeated solicitations of the Cufians made Hosein resolve to accept their invitation, and go directly to Cufah. They had sent him in a poll of a hundred and forty thousand: which, together with their letters he bundled up, to carry along with him. The wisest of his friends looked upon it as nothing less than madness, to embark in so desperate an undertaking. At last, when he seemed resolved to go, they told him it was his destiny that precipitated him. Abdallah, the son of Abbas,* told him, that there was a report spread of his intended journey to Cufah, and desired to know what he meant by it. Hosein told him, that if it pleased God he had so determined. The son of Abbas answered, "that indeed if the Cufians had taken arms, killed their emir [Obeidollah], and taken the whole country into their own hands, and then invited him to come and assume the government, there would be something in it, and he should advise him to go. But that so long as they were under the command of their emir, whose forces were dispersed throughout those territories for the security of the country, they had, in effect, done nothing more than invite him to a war; and that he had no security that they would not oppose him, and that they who had been the most forward in showing an interest in his cause might not in the end prove his greatest enemies." Hosein said, "he would leave the event to God." After this, Abdallah, the son of Zobeir came to make him a visit, and inquire into his design. Among other discourses, he said, "I do not see any reason why we should leave everything to the disposal of these men, when we are the sons of the Mohajerins or Refugees, and have a better right and claim to the government than they." Hosein told him that the chief of the nobility had written to him, and that his sect (the Shii) were already to stand up for him to a man. To which the son of Zobeir answered, "that for himself, if he had such a sect to stand up for him, he would not neglect the opportunity." Hosein easily saw through his meaning; for Abdallah, who was a man of a restless, aspiring temper, knew very well that all his own pretensions would be in vain, so long as Hosein should be alive, but if any thing should befall him, the way to the caliphate would be made clearer for himself; and this, as soon as he was gone, Hosein took notice of. However, Abdallah the son of Abbas, was still very uneasy; and resolved to leave no means untried to dissuade him from his undertaking. He came again to Hosein, and represented to him the fickle temper of the Irakians, and entreated him either to stay till they had got rid of their enemy the emir, or at least to go into that part of Hejaz, where there were places of strength. He had recommended him, if he was determined on making the attempt, to write circular letters to all his friends, and keep himself retired till they had formed a body, and were capable of making a formidable appearance. By this course, things, he hoped, might succeed according to his desire. Hosein told him, he knew that he advised him as a friend. "At least," added the son of Abbas, "if you be resolved to go, do not take your wives and children along with you, for, by God, I fear your case will be like Othman's, who was murdered whilst his wives and children stood looking on. Besides, you have rejoiced the heart of Abdallah the son of Zobeir, in leaving him behind you in Hejaz. And," he concluded, "by that God, besides whom there is no other, if I knew that by taking you by the hair of the head I should succeed in detaining you at Mecca, I would do it." Then he left him, and, meeting with Abdallah the son of Zobeir, he told him, he had no reason to be sad, and immediately repeated the verses "Ya leka ming kobeiratin," &c., in which the Arabian poet so beautifully addresses the lark, and bids her, as long as the field and season favour her, to enjoy herself, and sing, and take pleasure in her young ones, and whatsoever else delighted her; but still to assure herself she should not escape the nets of the fowler.

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* MS. Hunt. No. 495.

No remonstrance having any influence on Hosein,* though Abdallah the son of Abbas sat up with him all night, trying to move him from his purpose, he set out from Mecca with a suitable retinue on the eighth day of the month Dulhagiah, being the very same day on which his cousin Muslim was killed at Cufah, (though some say the day before) concerning whom he had received no other intelligence than what he had sent him, that all things went well. The Emir Obeidollah was apprised of Hosein's approach; and sent a body of a thousand horse to meet him under the command of Harro the son of Yezid, of the tribe of Temimah, a man no way disaffected to Hosein's cause. It was at Asseraph that the two armies came together; Hosein's men had been for water at the river, and drawn a great deal for the horses, which he ordered them not to make use of for themselves alone, but also to water the horses of his enemies. At noon he commanded the people to be called together, according to the custom of the Mohammedans, and came out to them with nothing on but his vest, his girdle and his shoes, and alleged the invitation of the Cufians as the reason of his undertaking that expedition. Then he asked Harro, "if he would pray amongst his men;" who replied, "that after him he would." They parted that night and went every man to his tent, and the next day Hosein made a speech to them, wherein he asserted his title to the caliphate, and exhorted them to submit to him, and oppose all that stood against him, and who wrongfully usurped authority over the people. Harro told him, "That he did not know who had written to him, nor on what subject." Upon Hosein's producing the letter, Harro said, after he had read a little of it, "We are none of those that had any hand in writing of it, and we are commanded as soon as we meet you to bring you directly to Cufah into the presence of Obeidollah the son of Ziyad." Hosein told him, that he would sooner die than submit to that, and gave the word of command to his men to ride; but Harro wheeled about and intercepted them; which provoked Hosein to say, "May your mother be childless of you!"† (a common curse amongst the Arabians.)

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* MS. Laud. No. 161, A.

† Arab. Thacolatka Ommoka.

"What do you mean?" Harro answered, "If any man but yourself had said so much to me, I would have had satisfaction, but I have no wish to mention your mother, otherwise than with the greatest respect." Then speaking to his men they retreated, and he told Hosein, that he had no commission to fight with him, but was commanded not to part with him, till he had conducted him to Cufah. But he bade him choose any road that did not go directly to Cufah, or back again to Medinah. "And do you," says he, "write to Yezid or Obeidollah, and I will write to Obeidollah. Perhaps it may please God that something will occur to relieve me from the risk of being exposed to any extremity upon your account." Hosein, upon this, turned a little out of the way towards Adib and Kadesia, and Harro told him, "that it was his opinion, that if he would be the aggressor and first set upon the Cufians, he might gain his point; but if he suffered himself to be attacked he would perish." Hosein asked him, "if he thought to terrify him with death." When they came to Adib they met with four horsemen, who turned out of the way to come up to Hosein. Harro would have ridden between them and Hosein, but he would not permit it. As soon as they came up, Hosein asked them what news. Thirmah, who was their guide, answered, "All the nobility, to a man, are against you; as for the rest, their hearts are with you, but to-morrow their swords will be drawn against you." Hosein then asked him, if he could give him any tidings of his messenger Kais? (one that he had sent before him to prepare the way). Thirmah said, "As for your messenger Kais he was brought before Obeidollah, who commanded him to curse you and your father Ali; instead of which he stood up and prayed for you and your father, and cursed Obeidollah and his father Ziyad, and exhorted the people to come into your assistance, and gave them notice of your coming. For which Obeidollah commanded him to be thrown down headlong from the top of the castle." At this news Hosein wept, and repeated this verse of the Koran, "There are some of them who are already dead, and some of them that stay in expectation and have not changed." He then added, "O God! let their mansions be in paradise, and gather us and them together, in the fixed resting-place of thy mercy, and the delights of thy reward." "Then," said Thirmah to him, "I do not think the people that are along with you a sufficient match for those that are against you. How is it possible, when all the plains of Cufah are full of horse and foot ready to meet you? I beg of you, for God's sake, if it be possible, do not go a span's breadth nearer to them; but if you please, I will conduct you to our impregnable mountain Aja, in which God hath secured us from the kings of Gasan and Hamyar, and from Nooman,* the son of Almundir, and from the black and the red; you may retire thither, and stay among us as long as you please. And if any calamity befalls us then you can send to the tribe of Tay; for I believe there will be no less than ten thousand of that tribe with their swords ready at your service, and by God, nobody shall ever get at us." Hosein said, "God reward thee;" but still persisted in his resolution of going forwards, and Thirmah took his leave.

When night came on, he ordered his men to provide as much water as they should have occasion for, and continued his march.† As he went on he dosed a little, and waking on a sudden, said, "We belong to God, and to him we return. I saw a horseman, who said, 'Men travel by night, and the destinies travel by night towards them.' This I know to be a message of our deaths." In the morning, as soon as the prayers were over, he mended his pace, and taking the left hand road came to Nineve (not the ancient, but another town of the same name), and as he rode, with his bow upon his shoulders, there came up a person who saluted Al Harro, but took no notice of him. He delivered a letter to Al Harro, containing orders from Obeidollah, to lead Hosein and his men into a place where there was neither town nor fortification, till his messengers and forces should come up. This was on Friday the second day of the month Moharrem, in the sixty-first year of the Hejirah, that is, on the first day of October, in the year of our Lord six hundred and eighty.

The day after, Amer the son of Saïd came up with four thousand men, which Obeidollah had ordered to Deilam. They had pitched their tents without the walls of Cufah; and when they heard of Hosein's coming, Obeidollah commanded Amer to defer his intended march to Deilam, and go against Hosein. Amer begged his pardon; and when Obeidollah threatened him upon his refusal, he desired time to consider of it. Every one that he advised with dissuaded him from it; insomuch, that his nephew said to him, " Beware that you do not go against Hosein, and rebel against your Lord, and cut off mercy from you; by God, you had better be deprived of the dominion of the whole world, than meet your Lord with the blood of Hosein upon you." In these expostulations he seemed to acquiesce, and to be overruled; but, upon Obeidollah's renewing his threats, he marched against him; and, meeting him in the place abovementioned, sent to inquire what had brought him thither. Hosein answered, that the Cufians had written to him, but since they had rejected him he was willing to return to Mecca. Amer was glad to hear it, and said, he hoped in God he should be excused from fighting against him. Then Amer wrote concerning it to Obeidollah, who sent him this answer, " Get between him and the water, as he did by Othman the innocent and righteous, the injured emperor of the faithful. Make him and his companions acknowledge the government of the emperor of the faithful, Yezid; when they have done that, we will consider of further measures." From that time Amer's men began to hinder Hosein's from getting any water. Now the name of the place where they intercepted him was called Kerbela, and as soon as Hosein heard it, he said, " Kerb and bala;" that is, " trouble and affliction." At last, Hosein proposed a conference with Amer between the two armies. Accordingly they met, attended, each of them, by twenty horse, who whilst they discoursed kept a due distance. In this conference (according to Abulfeda and some others) Hosein proposed one of these three conditions for Amer's decision: either that he might go to Yezid, or else have leave to return back to Arabia, or else be placed in some garrison where he might fight against the Turks. Amer wrote word of this to Obeidollah, who seemed at first to look upon it as a reasonable proposal; till Shamer stood up and swore that he ought not to be admitted to terms till he had surrendered himself; adding, that he had been informed of a long conference between him and Amer. This remark totally changed Obeidollah's mind. There is a tradition from one that attended Hosein all the way from

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* Concerning him, see Socrates' Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. vii. cap. 18.

† MS. Laud. No. 161. A.

Mecca, and overheard *this conference*; according to which, Hosein did not ask either to be sent to Yezid, or to be put into any of the garrisons, but only that he might either have leave to return to the place from whence he came, or else be at liberty to go where he would about the country, till he should see which way the inclinations of the people would turn.

Obeidollah, who was resolved not to run any risk by suffering Hosein to come too near to Cufah, for fear of an insurrection, sent Shamer with orders to Amer, that if Hosein and his men would surrender themselves, they should be received; if not, that Amer should fall upon them and kill them, and trample them under their horses' feet. Shamer had besides secret instructions, authorizing him, if Amer neglected to execute these orders, to cut off his head, and command the forces himself. Obeidollah gave a letter of protection and security to four of Ali's sons, Abbas (whom he had by Obeidollah's aunt), Abdallah, Jaafar, and Othman; which they refused to accept, saying, that the security of God was better than that of the son of Somyah.* Obeidollah also sent a letter to Amer, chiding him for his remissness, which made him undertake to fight against Hosein when Shamer proposed it to him, without knowing that his refusal was to cost him his head. Amer drew up his forces in the evening, on the ninth of the month Moharram, and came up to Hosein's tent, who was sitting in his door just after evening prayer. He and his brother Abbas desired time till the next morning, when he would answer them to anything they should demand of him. This was granted; and one of Amer's men said, that if a Deilamite (a nation which they mortally hated) had asked such a small request, it ought not to have been refused. As they were keeping watch during the night, Hosein leaned upon his sword and slept. His sister came and waked him; and as he lifted up his head, he said, "I saw the prophet in my dream, who said, 'Thou shalt rest with us.'" Then, beating her face, she said, "Woe be to us;" but he answered, "Sister, you have no reason to complain. God have mercy upon you; hold your peace." In the night she came again to him sighing, and saying, "Alas, for the desolation of my family! I wish I had died yesterday, rather than have lived till to-day; my mother Fatima is dead, and my father Ali, and my brother Hasan! Alas, for the destruction that is past, and the dregs of it that remain behind." Hosein looked upon her and said, "Sister, do not let the devil take away your temper." Then beating her face, and tearing open her bosom, she fell down in a swoon. Hosein, having recovered her with a little cold water, said, "Sister, put your trust in God, and depend upon the comfort that comes from him; and know that all people of the earth must die, and the people of the heaven shall not remain; but everything shall perish, but the presence of God who created all things by his power, and shall make them return, and they shall return to him alone. My father was better than I, and my mother was better than I, and my brother was better than I; and I, and they, and every Mussulman has an example in the apostle of God." Then charging her not to use any such behaviour after his death, he took her by the hand, and led her into her tent; and addressing his friends, he told them, that these men wanted nobody but him, and desired them to shift for themselves, and get away if possible to their respective habitations; but Al Abbas replied, they would not, and said, "God forbid we should see the time wherein we should survive you." Upon this he commanded his men to cord the tents closer together, and to run the ropes into one another, that the enemy might not get between them. Thus they made a line of their tents, and a trench being dug at one end of it by Hosein's orders, they threw into it a quantity of wood and cane, which, to prevent their being surrounded, they set on fire, so that they could be attacked only in the front. They spent all that night in hearty prayer and supplication, the horse of the enemy's guard riding round about them all the while. The next morning both sides prepared for battle; and Hosein put his small force, which amounted to no more than two and thirty horse, and forty foot, into good order. Amer, having drawn up his men, and delivered his standard to one of his servants, advanced close to Hosein's camp. In the meantime, Hosein went into a tent, and having first washed and anointed, he then perfumed himself. Several of the great men did the like; and when one of them asked what was the use and meaning of so doing, another answered, "Alas!

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* Obeidollah was not the son of Somyah, but her grandson. The same style of designation is frequently used in the Old Testament.

there is nothing between us and the black-eyed girls, but only the brief interval till these people come down upon us and kill us." Then Hosein mounted his horse, and took the Koran and laid it before him, and, coming up to the people, invited them to the performance of their duty: adding, "O God, thou art my confidence in every trouble, and my hope in all adversity!" He set his son Ali on horseback, the eldest of that name, for there were two of them, but the other was very sick. Then he cried out, "Hearken to the advice that I am going to give you;" at which they all gave attention with profound silence. Then, having first praised God, he said, "O men! if you will hearken to me and do me justice, it will be better for you, and you shall find no handle for doing aught against me. But if you will not hearken to me, bring all that are concerned with you together that your matter be clear, and then make report of it to me without delay.* My protector is God, who sent down the book (i. e. the Koran), and he will be the protector of the righteous."†

As soon as he uttered these last words, his sisters and daughters lifted up their voices in weeping; at which Hosein said, "God reward the son of Abbas;" alluding to his having advised him to leave the women behind him. Then he sent his brother Al Abbas and his son Ali to keep them quiet. He next reminded them of his excellency, the nobility of his birth, the greatness of his power, and his high descent, and said, "Consider with yourselves whether or no such a man as I am is not better for you; I who am the son of your prophet's daughter, besides whom there is no other upon the face of the earth. Ali was my father; Jaafar and Hamza, the chief of the martyrs, were both my uncles; and the apostle of God, upon whom be peace, said both of me and my brother, that we were the chief of the youth of paradise. If you will believe me, what I say is true, for by God, I never told a lie in earnest since I had my understanding; for God hates a lie. If you do not believe me, ask the companions of the apostle of God [here he named them], and they will tell you the same. Let me go back to what I have." They asked, "What hindered him from being ruled by the rest of his relations." He answered, "God forbid that I should set my hand to the resignation of my right after a slavish manner. I have recourse to God from every tyrant that doth not believe in the day of account."

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* Koran, chap. x. 72.

† Ib. vi. 194.

Just upon this, a party of about thirty horse wheeled about, and came up to Hosein, who expected nothing less than to be attacked by them.* At the head of them was Harro, that had first met with Hosein. He came to testify his repentance, and proffer his service to Hosein, declaring that if he had once thought it would ever have come to that extremity, he would not have intercepted his march, but have gone with him directly to Yezid. However, to make the best amends for his mistake that his present circumstances would admit of, he was resolved now to die with him. Hosein accepted his repentance; whereupon Harro stood forth and called to the people (to Amer in particular), "Alas for you! Will you not accept those three articles, which the son of the apostle's daughter offers you." Amer told him, that if it lay in his power he would, but Obeidollah was against it, and had been chiding and reproaching the Cufians, for expressing the least inclination to hearken to them. Then said Harro, "Alas for you! You invited him till he came, and then deceived him; and this did not satisfy you, but you are even come out to fight against him! Nay, you have hindered him, and his wives, and his family, from the water of the Euphrates, where Jews, and Christians, and Sabæans drink, and hogs and dogs sport themselves; and he is like a prisoner in your hands, incapable of doing himself either good or hurt." Then Amer said to the slave, to whom he had given the flag, "Bring up the colours." As soon as they came up to the front of the troops, Shamer shot an arrow, and said, "Bear witness that I shot the first arrow." The battle thus begun, they exchanged arrows apace on both sides. Two of Amer's men, Yaser and Salem by name, went out, and offered themselves to single combat. Abdallah, the son of Ammar, having first asked leave of Hosein, answered them, and killed Yaser first, and Salem next; though Salem had first cut off all the fingers of his left hand. The next that offered himself came up close to Hosein, and said to him,

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* MS. Laud. No. 161. A. MS. Hunt. No. 495.

"Hosein, you are just at hell." To whom Hosein replied, "By no means; alas for thee, I go to a merciful Lord, full of forgiveness, easy to be obeyed; but you are more worthy of hell." Upon this, as the man turned about, his horse ran away with him, and he fell off. His left foot, however, was caught in the stirrup, and as he was dragged along, one of Hosein's men lopped off his right leg. His horse continuing his speed, his head was all the way dashed against the stones till he died. There were several single combats fought, in all which Hosein's men were superior, because they fought like men that were resolved to die. This made some of the leading men advise Amer not to expose his men any longer to the hazard of single combats. Then Amrou, the son of Hejaj, who commanded the right wing, gave an onset with these words, "Fight against those who separate from the religion, and from the Imam [Yezid], and from the congregation." "Alas!" said Hosein, "how is it that you thus encourage your men against us? Are we the men that separate from the religion, and you those that keep to it? When your souls are separated from your bodies, you will know which of us most deserve hell-fire." In this attack Muslim, the son of Ausajah was killed; he was the first that died on Hosein's side, and Hosein went and commiserated him at his last gasp. Hobeib said to him, having first told him that he was near paradise, "If I was not sure that I should soon follow you, I would fulfil your will, whatsoever it was." To whom Muslim answered in a very low voice, "This is my will (pointing to Hosein), that you die for him."

Then Shamer gave an onset with the left wing with such violence, that they almost penetrated to the spot where Hosein was, but Hosein's horse bravely repulsed them; so that they sent to Amer for some archers, who ordered above five hundred to advance. As soon as they came up, they let fly their arrows so thickly amongst Hosein's horsemen, that they were all immediately reduced to foot. Harro, perceiving his horse wounded, leaped off from him with his sword in his hand, as eager as a lion.

Amer, perceiving that the enemy was inaccessible every where but in the front, commanded his men to pull down the tents; but that not succeeding, for Hosein's followers killed those that went about it, Shamer, (God confound him,) called for fire to burn Hosein's tent (having first struck his javelin into it) with all that were in it. The women shrieked and ran out of it. "How," said Hosein, "what, wouldst thou burn my family? God burn thee in hell-fire." One of the great men came to Shamer, and represented to him how scandalous, and how unbecoming a soldier it was to scare the women. He began to be ashamed of it, and was thinking of retreating, when some of Hosein's men attacked him, and drove him off the ground with the loss of several of his men. It was now noon, and Hosein bade some of his friends speak to them to forbear, till he had said the prayers proper for that time of day. One of the Cufians said, "They will not be heard." Habib answered, "Alas for you, shall your prayers be heard, and not the prayers of the apostle's family, upon whom be peace!" Habib fought with great courage till he was killed. Then Hosein said the noon prayers amongst the poor remainder of his shattered company, and to the rest of the office he added the prayer of fear, never used but in cases of extremity. During the time of the fight he said several prayers, in one of which there is this pathetical expression, "Let not the dews of heaven distil upon them, and withhold thou from them the blessings of the earth, for they first invited me and then deceived me." After the prayers were over the fight was renewed with great vehemence on both sides, till the enemy came up close to Hosein, but his friends protected him. One of them killed ten besides those he wounded; till, at last, both his arms being broken, he was taken prisoner, when Shamer struck off his head. Hosein's party were now almost all cut off, and his eldest son Ali was first wounded with a lance, and afterwards cut in pieces.*

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* "Ali Akbar, the eldest son of Hosein, aspired to the distinction of being the first of his family to lay down his life in defence of his parent. Having announced aloud his name and descent, he rushed into the thickest of the enemy, and, animated by the presence of his father, he made ten different assaults, in each of which he sacrificed two or three of his opponents. At last, almost suffocated with heat and thirst, he complained bitterly of his sufferings. His agonised father arose, and introducing his own tongue within the parched lips of his favourite child, thus endeavoured to alleviate his sufferings by the only means of which his enemies had not yet been able to deprive him. The gallant youth then rushed for the last time into the conflict, but being wounded from behind, he fell and was cut to pieces in his father's sight. This overwhelming spectacle wrung from

The rest were most of them singled out by the archers and shot. As for Hosein, hardly any of them could find in his heart to kill him. At last one came and struck him with a sword upon the head and wounded him, so that his headpiece was full of blood, which he took off and flung away, saying, that he had neither eaten nor drunk out of it, and bound up his head in his turban. Quite tired out, he sat down at the door of his tent, and took his little son Abdallah upon his lap, who was presently killed with an arrow. Hosein took his hand full of the child's blood, and throwing it towards heaven, said, "O Lord! if thou withholdest help from us from heaven, give it to those that are better, and take vengeance upon the wicked." At last he grew extremely thirsty, and whilst he was drinking, he was shot in the mouth with an arrow. Then lifting up to heaven his two hands, which were full of blood, he prayed very earnestly. Shamer now encouraged some of the stoutest of his men to surround him. At the same time a little nephew of his, a beautiful child, with jewels in his ears, came to embrace him, and had his hand cut off with a sword: to whom Hosein said, "Thy reward, child, is with God; thou shalt go to thy pious forefathers." Being surrounded, he threw himself upon his foes, charging sometimes on the right, and sometimes on the left, and which way soever he turned himself, they flew off as so many deer from before a lion. His sister Zeinab, the daughter of Fatima, came out and said, "I wish the heaven would fall upon the earth:" then turning to Amer, she asked him if he could stand by and see Hosein killed. Whereupon the tears trickled down his beard, and he turned his face away from her. Nobody offered to meddle with him, till Shamer, with reproaches and curses, set on his men again, and one of them, for fear of Shamer, threw a lance at him, but made it fall short, because he would not hurt him. This act however emboldened the rest, and at last one wounded him upon the hand, a second upon the neck, whilst a third thrust him through with a spear. When he was dead, his head was cut off. In his body, when examined, thirty-three wounds were

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Hosein his first and only cry; whilst his sister Zeinab threw herself on the mangled remains of her nephew, and gave a loose to the most violent expressions of despair and sorrow."—*Price.*

counted, and thirty-four bruises.* Shamer would also have killed Ali the youngest son of Hosein, who was afterwards called Zein Alabedin, i. e. " The ornament of the religious," but was then very sick, had not one of his companions dissuaded him.

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* The following pathetic circumstances attending the death of Hosein are extracted from Major Price :—

" An arrow having transfixed his horse, the unfortunate Hosein came to the ground, and was left, fainting with thirst and fatigue, to contend alone and on foot against a remorseless multitude. The hour of prayer, between noon and sunset, had arrived, and the devoted Imam began his religious duties. Whilst thus engaged several of the enemy drew near, but, impressed with a sentiment of awe at his appearance, successively retired. His child Abdallah was killed in his arms, and having repeated the passing formula for the spirit of his slaughtered infant, he implored his Creator to grant him patience under these accumulated afflictions. At length, almost exhausted by thirst, he directed his languid steps towards the Euphrates, but the enemy, with loud vociferations, endeavoured to frustrate his intentions. Hosein, however, had already thrown himself on his breast over the stream, and was beginning to taste the luxury of the refreshing element, when an arrow pierced his mouth. Rejecting the now ensanguined draught, Hosein indignantly arose, and having extracted the winged mischief, he withdrew to the entrance of the tents and there took his last stand, his mouth streaming with blood. His adversaries now closed round the person of the devoted Imam, who, notwithstanding, continued to defend himself with such admirable intrepidity and presence of mind as to excite the surprise and terror of his assailants, and kill or disable not a few of their number. Labouring under such extreme anguish of mind from the appalling spectacle of a murdered family, covered with wounds, deprived of water for so many days, and assailed by such multitudinous odds, as well as by distress and horror in every shape and form, he exhibited such an example of courage and constancy as seemed to be beyond the scope of human prowess. Wounded in four and thirty places by different weapons, extremely weakened through loss of blood, and fainting with intolerable heat and thirst, he still opposed an invincible resistance to the assaults which were directed against his person from every side. Reduced to this extremity he was at last approached by seven of the enemy, one of whom drawing near to assail him, found a fatal opportunity, and struck off one of his arms close to the shoulder. He now fell ; but, by a kind of convulsive effort he sprung once more to his feet and endeavoured to make at the assailant ; but again sinking to the earth, the soldier approached from behind and thurst him through the back with a javelin till the point came out at his breast ; then withdrawing the fatal weapon, the soul of Hosein fled through the orifice. His head was struck off, and his body was exposed by his murderers, whilst several of the barbarous conquerors proceeded to pillage the tents, and stripped the women of their head-dresses and wearing apparel, and would have proceeded to still greater outrage, had not Amer stopped the progress of the plunderers by ejecting them from the tents."

They took Hosein's spear, and the rest of the spoil, and divided all his riches, and his furniture, and even went so far in thus plundering, as to take away the women's richest clothes: though Amer had forbidden their going near the women, and had expressly declared, that whosoever took anything from them, should be made to return it again. For all this nothing was restored. All of Hosein's seventy-two men were killed* (seventeen of which were descended from Fatima), and on the other side, there were eighty-eight killed, besides the wounded. They now rode their horses over Hosein's body backwards and forwards so often, that they trampled it into the very ground. Haula, who had his head, went away post with it to Obeidollah; but finding the castle shut, he carried it home to his own house, and told his wife, that he had brought her the rarity of the world. The woman was in a rage, and said, "Other men make presents of gold and silver, and you have brought the head of the son of the apostle's daughter. By God, the same bed shall never hold us two any more;" and immediately leaped out of bed from him and ran away. He however, soon procured another of his countrywomen to supply her place, who afterwards reported that she was not able to sleep all that night, because of a light which she saw streaming up towards heaven from the place where Hosein's head lay, and white birds continually hovering about it. Haula the next morning carried the head to Obeidollah, who treated it with great indignity, and even struck it over the mouth with a stick. Upon which Zeid the son of Arkom said to him, "Cease striking with that stick, for I swear by him, besides whom there is no other God, I have seen the lips of the apostle of God (upon whom be peace) upon these lips." Obeidollah angrily replied, "That if he was not an old man, and out of his wits, he would strike his head off."

When the news of her nephew Hosein's disaster reached Zeinab, Ali's sister, she put on her worst clothes, and, attended by some of her maids, went and sat down in the castle. Obeidollah asked thrice her name before any one told him. As soon as he learned who she was, he said, "Praise be to God, who hath brought you to shame, and hath killed you, and proved your stories to be lies." But she answered, "Praise be to God, who hath honoured us with Mohammed (upon whom be God's peace), and hath purified us, and not [dealt with us] as you say, for [none but] the wicked is brought to shame, and the lie is given [to none but] to the evil one." He replied, "Do not you see how God hath dealt with your family?" She answered, "Death was decreed for them, and they are gone to their resting-place; God shall bring both you and them together, to plead your several causes before him." This put him into a rage; but one of his friends bade him remember that she was a woman, and not to take anything amiss that she said. Obeidollah then told her, "That God had given his soul full satisfaction over their chief [Hosein] and their whole rebellious family." Zeinab answered, "You have destroyed all my men, and my family, and cut off my branch, and tore up my root. If that be satisfaction to your soul, you have it." He swore, she was a women of courage, adding, "That her father was a poet, and a man of courage." She answered, "That courage was no ingredient in a woman's character, but she knew how to speak." Then, after ordering the women of Hosein's company to be sent to Yezid, he looked upon Ali, Hosein's son, and commanded him to be beheaded. Here Zeinab, all in tears, embraced her nephew, and asked Obeidollah, if he had not yet drunk deep enough of the blood of their family; and entreated him, if he was resolved to kill the lad, to give her leave to die along with him. Young Ali begged of him, for the sake of the near relationship that existed between him and the women, not to send them away without so much as one man to attend them in their journey. Obeidollah, pausing a while, and looking sometimes upon Zeinab, and sometimes upon Ali, was astonished at her tenderness, and swore he believed she was in good earnest, and had rather die with him than survive him. At last he dismissed him, and bade him go along with the women. This the people looked upon as a very providential deliverance, and said that Obeidollah would have killed Ali, but God diverted him from it.

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* MS. Laud. No. 161. A. MS. Hunt. No. 495.

Obeidollah now went from the castle to the great mosque, and going up into the pulpit, said, "Praise be to God, who hath manifestly shown the truth, and those that are in the possession of it; and hath assisted Yezid the governor of the faithful, and his party; and killed the liar the son of the liar, Hosein, the son of Ali and his party." This provoked Ali's party to the last degree; several of them rose up in great indignation, and amongst the rest there was one who was blind of both his eyes, which he had lost in two several battles, and used to continue in the mosque, praying from morning to night. He, hearing the son of Ziyad's speech, cried out, "O son of Merjanah! (that was his mother's name) the liar, the son of the liar, are you and your father, and he that gave you your commission and his father.* O son of Merjanah! you kill the sons of the prophets, and yet speak the words of honest men." For this speech the blind man was blamed by every one, even of his own party, who feared that by his rashness, he had not only brought destruction upon himself, but upon them too. He was seized by Obeidollah's order, but upon his crying out, he was rescued by his party, of whom there was not less than seven hundred at that time in the town. Notwithstanding his escape at the time, he was soon after killed, and his body hung upon a gibbet on the heath for an example.

Hosein's head was first set up in Cufah, and afterwards carried about the streets, and then sent to Yezid at Damascus, along with the women and young Ali. When Obeidollah's messenger came to Yezid, wishing him joy of his success, and the death of Hosein, Yezid wept and said :—"I should have been very well pleased without the death of Hosein. God curse the son of Somyah; if I had had Hosein in my power, I should have forgiven him. God loved Hosein, but did not suffer him to attain to anything." Shamer and Mephar, with a body of men, conducted the captives; but Ali, who travelled with a chain about his neck, would not vouchsafe one word to them all the way. It is said, that while they were upon the road, Yezid consulted with his courtiers how he should dispose of them. One of them said, "Never bring up the whelp of a cur; kill Ali the son of Hosein, and extinguish the whole generation of them." At this speech Yezid held his peace. Another of a milder temper said, "O emperor of the faithful, do with them as the apostle of God would do, if he were to see them in this condition." This moved him to compassion. When he saw Hosein's head, he said: "O Hosein, if I had had thee in my power, I would not have killed thee!" Then sitting down, he called in the chief of the Syrian nobility, and ordered Hosein's wives and children to be brought before him. When he saw the mean condition of the women he was very angry, and said, "God curse the son of Somyah; surely if he had ever been related to these women, he could never have treated them after this scandalous manner." Then turning to Ali, he said, pointing to Hosein's head:—"This was your father, who set at nought my right, and tried to jostle me out of my government; but God hath disposed of him as you see." Upon this Ali briskly answered with this verse of the Koran:—"There is no calamity befalls you, either in the earth, or in your ownselves, but it was in a book before we created it."* Yezid, turning to his son Kaled, bade him answer him; but Kaled was young and ignorant, and had nothing to say. Then said Yezid, "What calamity hath befallen you, is what your own hands have drawn upon you, and he pardoneth a great many."† One of the Syrians bagged Yezid to give him Fatima, Ali's daughter. She, being but a little girl, could not tell but it was in Yezid's power to grant this, and in a great fright, laid hold upon her sister Zeinab's clothes for protection, who knew very well that it was contrary to the law to force any one out of their own sect. Zeinab exclaimed:—"He lies! By God, though I die it neither is in your power nor his."‡ At which Yezid was angry, and told her, that it was in his power, and he would do it if he pleased. She, however, insisted that he could not force them out of their own religion; at which he started up in a passion, and demanded, "Is this the language that you come before me withal? It was your father and your brother that went out from the religion." Then, cried she, "You, and your father, and grandfather were all in the right!" This provoked him to call out, "It is thou that liest, thou enemy of God." "How," said Zeinab, "you, the governor of the faithful, and reproach us unjustly, and make an ill use of your power!" At which he blushed and held his peace. The Syrian petitioning again for Fatima, Yezid cursed him, and bade him be quiet. He then ordered the women to be conducted to the hot bath, and sent them clothes and all provisions necessary for their refreshment after the fatigue of their tedious journey. He entertained the women with all possible respect in his palace; and Moawiyah's wives came, and kept them company the space of three days, mourning for Hosein. So long as they stayed, he never walked abroad, but he took Ali and Amrou, Hosein's two sons, along with him. Once he asked Amrou, who was very little, whether he would fight with his son Kaled; Amrou immediately answered, "Give me a knife, and give him one." An enemy to the family of Ali, a court flatterer, said upon this:—"Depend upon it always, that one serpent is the parent of another."

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* That is Yezid and Moawijah.

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* Koran, ch. lvii. 22. † Ib. ch. xlii. 29.

‡ She used that word to express her contempt of him; and gave him the lie for demanding what was impracticable.

After they had taken a competent time for their refreshment, and were resolved to set out for Medina, Yezid sent for Hosein's wives and children to take their leave of him, and commanded Nooman, the son of Bashir, to provide them with all necessary provisions, and send them home under a safe convoy. When he dismissed them, he said to Ali, "God curse the son of Marjanah; if your father had fallen into my hands I would have granted him any condition he would have desired, and done whatsoever lay in my power to have saved him from death, though it had been with the loss of some of my own children. But God hath decreed what you see. Write to me: whatsoever you desire shall be done for you."

They travelled by night and day, and the person to whose care Yezid had committed them was very vigilant, and behaved himself so civilly and respectfully all the way, that Fatima said to her sister Zeinab, "Sister, this Syrian hath behaved himself so kindly to us, do not you think we ought to make him a present?" "Alas!" said Zeinab, "we have nothing to give him but our jewels." "Then," said the girl, "let us present him with them." She consented, and they took off their bracelets, and sent them to him with an apology, begging of him to accept of them as a token of their respect for his courtesy. He, however, modestly declined them with this generous answer, "If what I had done had been only with regard to this world, a less price than your jewels had been a sufficient reward; but what I did was for God's sake, and upon the account of your relationship to the prophet, God's peace be upon him." When they came to Medina there was such lamentation between them and the rest of the family of Hashem, as is beyond expression.

There are different reports as to what became of Hosein's head.* Some say it was sent to Medina, and buried by his mother; others, that it was buried at Damascus, in a place called the Garden-gate, from whence it was removed to Ascalon, and afterwards, by the caliphs of Egypt, to Grand Cairo, where they interred it, and erected a monument over it, which they called the "Sepulchre of Hosein the martyr."† Those Egyptian caliphs, who called themselves Fatimites, and had possession of Egypt from before the year four hundred, till after the year six hundred and sixty, pretend that Hosein's head came into Egypt after the five hundredth year of the Hejirah.‡ But the Imams of the learned say that there is no foundation for that story, but that they only invented it to give currency to their pretended nobility of extraction, since they called themselves Fatimites, as being descended from Mohammed's daughter Fatima.

Some again pretend to show its burying-place, near the river of Kerbela;§ others say that there are no traces of it remaining. The first Sultan, however, of the race of the Bovides built in that spot a sumptuous monument, which is visited to this very day with great devotion by the Persians.* This sultan called his edifice by the name of Kunbud Faïz, which signifies, in the Persian language, the "Magnificent Dome;" but it is now commonly called, in Arabic, Meshed Hosein, "The sepulchre of Hosein the martyr."

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* "A curious tradition respecting Hosein's head has been preserved by Imam Ismail: When Hosein's head was sent to be presented to Yezid, the escort that guarded it halting for the night in the city of Norwil, placed it in a box, which they locked up in a temple. One of the sentinels, in the midst of the night, looking through a chink in one of the doors, saw a man of immense stature, with a white and venerable beard, take Hosein's head out of the box, kiss it affectionately, and weep over it. Soon after, a crowd of venerable sages arrived, each of whom kissed the pallid lips, and wept bitterly. Fearing that these people might convey the head away, he unlocked the door and entered. Immediately, one of their number came up, gave him a violent slap on the face, and said, 'The prophets have come to pay a morning visit to the head of the martyr. Whither dost thou venture so disrespectfully?' The blow left a black mark on his cheek. In the morning he related the circumstances to the commander of the escort, and showed his cheeks, on which the impression of the hand and fingers was plainly perceptible."—*Taylor's Mohammedanism.*

† Meshed Hosein. ‡ MS. Hunt. No. 495. § Adhadedoulat.

The caliph Al Motawakkel, who began to reign in the year two hundred and thirty-two, persecuted the memory of Ali and his family to that degree, that he caused Hosein's sepulchre (called by the Persians "the holy, sublime, and pure place") to be quite razed and destroyed; and in order the more completely to obliterate the least vestige of it, designed to bring a canal of water over the spot. However, he was frustrated in this attempt, for the water would never come near the tomb, but, out of respect to the martyr, kept its distance. From this circumstance that water was called Haïr, which signifies "astonished" and "respectful," a name which, upon account of the miracle, has since passed to the sepulchre itself. Lastly, among the different statements of the fate of Hosein's head, we meet with an account of one Naïm, who used to be angry with any one that pretended to know the place of its burial.†

The two titles which they generally give Hosein in Persia are, that of Shahid, "the martyr," or that of Seyyid, "the lord;" and by the word Alseidani, which signifies "the two lords," without adding anything more, they always understand the two eldest sons of Ali, who were Hasan and Hosein.‡

Arabian writers report, amongst other acts of piety which Hosein practised, that he used every twenty-four hours to make a thousand adorations or prostrations before God, and that at the age of five and fifty years he had gone five and twenty pilgrimages on foot to Mecca, whereas, to be accounted a good Mussulman, it is not requisite to go above once in a whole life.

Yezdi, in a treatise concerning the divine love,§ relates that Hosein having one day asked his father, Ali, if he loved him, and Ali having answered that he loved him tenderly, Hosein asked him once more if he loved God, and Ali having also answered that question affirmatively, Hosein said to him, "Two loves can never meet in the same heart, neither hath

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* D'Herbelot in Motawakkel.

† MS. Hunt. No. 495.

‡ D'Herbelot.

§ The title is Resalat phi biyani'l mehabbat.

God given a man two hearts." At these words Ali's heart was moved, and they say he wept.

Hosein, touched with his father's tears, resumed the discourse, and to comfort him said, "If you had your choice between the sin of infidelity towards God or my death, what would you do?" Ali answered, "I would sooner deliver you up to death than abandon my faith." "Then you may know by this mark," replied Hosein, "that the love you have for me is only a natural tenderness, while that which you bear towards God is a true love."

Hosein was killed on the tenth day of the month Moharram, in the year of the Hejirah 61.* This date is so celebrated amongst the Persians, that to this very day they call it the day of Hosein, Yaum Hosein, Rus Hosein. The memory of, and mourning for his death, are still annually celebrated among them. It is this anniversary weeping, and extravagant lamentation, that still keeps up the aversion of that nation to all the Mussulmans that are not in the same sentiments with themselves. And causes, for the time at least, an implacable hatred between them and the successors of the family of Ommiyah; between all those who do not look upon Abubeker, Omar, and Othman, to have been usurpers, and those who regard Ali as the only rightful and lawful successor of Mahomet.†

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* October 19, A.D. 680. Though the English reader must not suppose that they keep annually the ninth of our October, but the tenth of Moharram, according as it falls, because theirs is the lunar year.

† Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, in her Portraiture of Mohammedanism in India, gives the following description of this mourning:—

"I have been present," says she, "when the effect produced by the superior oratory and gestures of a manbree (reading the history of the house of Ali), has almost terrified me; the profound grief evinced in his tears and groans, being piercing and apparently sincere. I have even witnessed blood issuing from the breasts of sturdy men, who beat themselves simultaneously as they ejaculated the names 'Hasan!' 'Hosein!' for ten minutes, and occasionally for a longer period in that part of the service called Nintem. . . . . The expressions of grief manifested by the ladies are far greater, and appear to be more lasting, than with the other sex: indeed, I never could have given credit to their bewailings, without witnessing, as I have done for many years, the season for tears and profound grief return with the month Moharram. In sorrowing for the martyred Imam, they seem to forget their private grief, the bereavement of a beloved object even is almost overlooked, in the dutiful remembrance of Hasan and Hosein at this season; and I have had opportunities of observing this triumph of

My anonymous author is very severe upon the sect of Ali,* both upon the account of the many fables they have invented concerning Hosein, and their superstitious observance of the day of his death. Let us hear him in his own words. "The sect of Ali," says he, "have forged a multitude of abominable lies upon this occasion. They say that the sun was eclipsed, so that the stars appeared at noon day; that you could not take up a stone but there was blood under it; that the sides of the heavens were turned red, and when the sun arose the beams of it looked like blood; that the heavens looked like clotted blood; that the stars came one against the other; that the heavens rained gore; and that before this day there was no redness in the heavens; that when Hosein's head was brought into the palace, the walls dropped with blood; that the earth was darkened for the space of three days; that nobody could touch any saffron or juniper† all that day but it burnt his fingers; and that when one of Hosein's camels that was killed was boiled, the flesh of it was as bitter as coloquintida; besides innumerable other lies without any manner of foundation. But this is true, that they that had a hand in his death, soon fell sick, dwindled away, and came to nothing, and most of them died mad. In the time of the government of the family of the Bowides, they used to keep this day as a solemn fast, and throw dust and ashes about the streets of Bagdad, and clothe themselves with black sackcloth, and making use of every mark of sorrow and mourning, a great many of them would not even take a draught of water, because Hosein was killed when he was drinking. But all these are abominable inventions and vile practices, contrived on purpose to cast an aspersion upon the government of the house of Ommiyah, because he was killed

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religious feelings in women who are remarkable for their affectionate attachment to their children, husbands, and parents:—they tell me, 'We must not indulge selfish sorrows of our own, whilst the prophet's family alone have a right to our tears. . . . . My poor old Ayah (maid servant) resolves on not allowing a drop of water, or any liquid, to pass her lips during the ten days' mourning; as she says, 'her Imam, Hosein, and his family, suffered from thirst at Kerbela, why should a creature as she is be indulged with water?' This shows the temper of the people generally; my Ayah is a very ignorant old woman, yet she respects the memory of her Imam."

* MS. Hunt. No. 495.

† Arab. Wars.

in their time. Now they that killed him urge in their defence, that he came to depose a person that had been set over them by the consent of all the people, and attempted, by means of Muslim, to make a division among them. Some of the learned doctors, however, with the utmost indignation, object to this as a pernicious and dangerous way of arguing. They determine thus:—If a certain number did interpret [the law] against him, they had no right to kill him, but ought rather to have accepted one of his three proposals. But still,* if a party of insolent fellows find fault with a whole people, and rise against its prophet (upon whom be God's peace), the matter is not to be [determined] according to their practice and example, but according to the majority of the nation, both ancient and modern. Those that were concerned in Hosein's death, were only a small handful of Cufians (God confound them), and the greatest part of them had written to him, and brought him into their pernicious counsels and designs; neither did all that army [that went against him] approve of that which fell out; nor did Yezid, the son of Moawiyah, the governor of the faithful, at that time approve of his death (though God knows), nor had any aversion to him. What appears most probable is, that if he had had him in his power before he was killed, he would have spared his life, according to his father's direction, as he said he would himself.

"Now certainly every Mussulman ought to be concerned at the sad accident of his death (God accept him), for he was one of the lords of the Mussulmans, and one of the learned men of the society, and son of the most excellent of the daughters of the apostle of God, and one, besides, who was devout, courageous, and munificent. Yet, notwithstanding all this, what these people do in making an outward show of sorrow, which, perhaps, is all that most of them do, is not at all becoming. His father was a better man than him, yet they did not keep the day upon which he was murdered, as they do that of Hosein; and Ali was killed as he went out to morning prayer, on the seventeenth of the month Ramadan, in the fortieth year. Othman, too, the son of Affan, was a better man than Ali, according to those that follow the tradition and the church;* and he was killed after he had been besieged in his own house, in the hot days of the month Dulhagiah, in the thirty-sixth year; and yet the people never kept his day. And so in like manner Omar, the son of Al Khattab, was a better man than Othman. He was killed as he was saying the prayers in the Imam's desk, and was reading the Koran, and his day was never kept. And Abubeker was a better man than he, but the day of his death was never observed. And the apostle of God (upon whom be peace), who is absolute lord of all the sons of men, both in this world and that which is to come, God took him to himself, even as the prophets before him died; yet the Mussulmans never made such a stir about the observance of the day of his death as a solemn day, as these fools do about the day in which Hosein was killed." Thus far my author in his own words.

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* MS. Hunt. No. 495.

This same year Yezid made Salem, the son of Ziyad, lieutenant of Sejestan and Chorassan, upon his coming as ambassador to him.† Salem was then twenty-four years of age. As soon as he came to his charge, he gathered together a select number of forces, and the best horses that could be found, in order to make an invasion upon the Turks. He carried his wife along with him (the first Arabian woman that ever passed over the river Jihon), who was brought to bed of a son in that part of the country which is called the Sogd of Samarcand, being the neighbouring plains and villages that lie round about that city, from whence he was afterwards surnamed Sogdi, that is the Sogdian. When she lay in, she sent to the Duke of Sogd's lady to borrow her jewels; who sent to her her golden crown, which was set full of them. She had not, however, the good manners to restore it, but carried it along with her upon her return to Arabia. Salem sent Mohalleb to Chowarezm, the chief city of the Turks, who were willing to purchase peace at any rate. He therefore assessed them and their cattle at so much a head. Salem having taken out of the whole sum, which was very considerable, what he thought fit, sent the rest to Yezid. He then marched forwards towards Samarcand, whose inhabitants also purchased peace at a high price.

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* What the Jews call עדָה *Edah*, the Greeks *ἐκκλησία*, and we "church," the Arabians call "jemaah," and mean the very same thing by it, namely, the congregation of the faithful united under their lawful Imam, or head. And they denominate as we do, those that separate from them, according to their particular tenets or opinions.

† MS. Laud. No. 161. A.

This same year, in the beginning of the month Dulhagiah, Yezid made Walid the son of Otbah governor of Medina, who headed the people on pilgrimage to Mecca, both this and the following year. Bassorah and Cufah were still in the hands of Obeidollah.

Hosein, being now out of the way, Abdallah the son of Zobeir, who had never submitted to Yezid's government, began now to declare publicly against him, and deposed him at Medina. The inhabitants of Mecca and Medina, perceiving that Yezid did all that lay in his power to suppress the house of Ali, rebelled against him, and proclaimed Abdallah caliph. As soon as he had taken their suffrages, in order to strengthen his interest by popularity, he made long speeches to the people, greatly exaggerating all the circumstances of Hosein's death. The Irakians in general, and the Cufians in particular, he represented to be the most perfidious villains upon the face of the earth; having first invited him, and then basely betrayed him afterwards. He dwelt upon the scandalous extremity they had reduced a person of his dignity to, either of surrendering himself into the hands of the son of Ziyad, or else of fighting at so great a disadvantage. He depicted at length his heroism in preferring an honourable death to an ignominious life. He magnified his merits, and reminded them of his exemplary sanctity, his frequent watchings, fastings, and prayers. In a word, he made a skilful use of every topic that might contribute towards the endearing his memory, and stir up in the people a desire of revenge, and an utter abhorrence and detestation of that government which was the cause of his death. The people, who were always well affected to Hosein, heard these discourses with delight, and Abdallah's party grew very strong. When Yezid heard of his progress, he swore he would have him in chains, and accordingly sent a silver collar for him to Merwan then governor of Medina, with orders to put it about his neck, and send him to Damascus, in case he persisted in his attempts; but Abdallah ridiculed both them and their collar.

There was at this time one Abdallah the son of Amrou in

Egypt, a person of great repute for his profound understanding. He used to study the prophet Daniel. Amrou, the son of Saïd, governor of Mecca, sent to him to know what he thought of this man, meaning Abdallah the son of Zebeir. He answered, "That he thought of him no otherwise than as of a man that would carry his point, and live and die a king." This answer from a man of his character gave great encouragement to Abdallah and his party, for it had a great influence upon the generality of the people. Amrou the son of Saïd, the governor of Mecca, was in his heart a mortal enemy to Abdallah and his pretensions, yet still he thought it the best way to carry it fair with him. Some of Yezid's courtiers represented to him, that if Amrou had been heartily in his interest, it was in his power to have seized and sent Abdallah to him; upon which suggestion Yezid removed him, and put Walid the son of Otbah into his place.

As soon as Walid had taken possession of his new government of Mecca,* he began to exert his authority by imprisoning three hundred of the servants and dependants of his predecessor Amrou. But Amrou sent a private message to them, bidding them break the prison at such an hour, when he promised there should be a sufficient number of camels ready for them kneeling in the street, which they were immediately to mount, and repair to him. This measure succeeded. When Amrou came before Yezid, he first received him courteously, and bade him sit down by him, and then began to rebuke him for his remissness in the execution of his commands, and not taking sufficient care to put down Abdallah and his party. To which he answered, "Governor of the faithful, he that is present sees more than he that is absent. The greatest part of the people of Hejaz and Mecca were favourably inclined to Abdallah's party, and encouraged one another as well in public as in private. I, however, had no forces sufficient to oppose them, if I had attempted it. Besides he was always upon his guard, and in fear of me, and I carried it fair with him in order to take a proper opportunity of getting him into my power. Notwithstanding his influence and caution, I nevertheless often reduced him to great straits, and hindered him from doing a great many things he wished to do. Thus I placed men round about the streets and passages of

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* An. Hej 62, cœpit Sept. 19, A.D. 681.

Mecca, that suffered no man to pass till he had written down his own name and his father's, and from which of God's countries he came, and what was his business; and if any one was a friend of his, or one whom I suspected to favour his designs, I sent him away; if otherwise, I permitted him quietly to go about his concerns. However, you have now sent into my place Walid the son of Otbah, who in all probability will give you such an account of his administration as will justify my conduct, and convince you of the fidelity of my services." Yezid was very well satisfied, and told him, that he was an honester man than they that had incensed him against him, and that he should depend upon him for the future." In the meantime the new governor Walid was employing all his skill to ensnare Abdallah, who was always upon his guard, and was still too cunning for him.* At the same time Walid had to watch the movements of one Naidah, a Yemanian, who, upon the death of Hosein, appeared in arms with a body of men against Yezid; as for Abdallah, he and Naidah were so familiar that it was generally believed that Naidah would give him his allegiance. Quickly after Walid's arrival,† Abdallah sent a letter to Yezid, complaining that he had sent a fool of a governor thither, that was not worthy of so important a trust; that if he would appoint a man of a tractable disposition, their differences might be compromised as well for the good of the public as their own in particular. Yezid, desirous of peace upon any terms, indiscreetly hearkened to the voice of his mortal enemy, removing Walid, and sending, in his stead, Othman the son of Mohammed and grandson of Abu Sofian. This Othman was by no means qualified for a trust of that importance, being raw, ignorant, and altogether inexperienced. He sent ambassadors from Medina to Yezid, who received them kindly, and gave them presents; but they took such offence at his manners and conversation, that when they returned, they did all they could to inflame the people against him. They told the Medinians that their caliph had no religion at all; that he was frequently drunk with wine, and minded nothing but his tabors, his singing wenches, and his dogs; that he used to spend whole evenings in talking with vile fellows and singing girls. For their part, they declared they did depose him; in which action they were followed by a great many, who, as it is said, gave their allegiance to one Abdallah the son of Hantelah. One of the ambassadors, Almundir by name, did not return with the rest to Medina, but went to Obeidollah to Bassorah, who entertained him in his house, with a great deal of friendship, for they were old acquaintances. As soon as Yezid was informed how the rest of the ambassadors had used him at Medina, he wrote to Obeidollah to bind Almundir, and keep him close till further orders. This Obeidollah looked upon as a breach of hospitality, and instead of obeying the order, showed it to Almundir, and advising him when the people were come together, to pretend very urgent business, and in the presence of them all to ask leave to be gone. Accordingly the request was made and granted, and away goes Almundir full of resentment to Medina, where he confirms all that the other ambassadors had said before to Yezid's disadvantage; adding, that though he confessed that Yezid had presented him with a hundred pieces, yet that could not influence him so far as to hinder him from speaking what he was a witness of, his drunkenness, idle conversation, and neglecting prayers oftener than any of his men. Yezid was informed of all, and vowed to be revenged on him for his ingratitude.

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* MS. Laud, No. 191, A.

† MS. Hunt. Naidah.

Yezid now sent Nooman the son of Bashir to Medina to quiet the people, and persuade them to return to their duty and allegiance. When he came there, he represented to them the folly of their proceedings, and the danger they exposed themselves to by such seditious practices; assuring them that they were not a match for the forces of Syria. One of them asked him what motive induced him to come upon such an errand? Nooman told him, "Because he was loath there should be any blood shed between the two parties, and see these poor creatures (meaning the Ansars or inhabitants of Medina) killed in their streets and mosques, and at the doors of their own houses." They would not be ruled by him, and he left them; but they found afterwards to their cost that his warning was only too true.

The Medinians, in their obstinacy, having renounced all allegiance to Yezid, set over the Koreish, Abdallah the son of Mothi, and over the Ansars, Abdallah the son of Hantelah, a noble person of excellent endowments, very religious, and universally respected: he had eight sons, and they had all gone along with him on the embassy, to Yezid, who presented him, besides vests, with a hundred thousand pieces, and each of his sons with ten thousand. In the beginning of the sixty-third year, the Medinians broke out into open rebellion, after the following manner:—Gathering together in the mosque round about the pulpit, one of them said, "I lay aside Yezid, as I lay aside this turban," throwing, with these words, his turban upon the ground. Another said, "I put away Yezid as I put away this shoe." Their examples were followed by others, till there was a great heap of shoes and turbans. The next step they took was to turn out Yezid's lieutenant Othman, and banish all the family of Ommiyah, together with all their friends and dependants, from Medina. The latter being in all about a thousand, took refuge in the house of Merwan the son of Hakem, where the Medinians besieged them so closely that they sent word to Yezid, "That unless they received speedy relief they must inevitably perish." Yezid, when he heard they were so many, wondered that they should have ever suffered themselves to be shut up without making the least resistance. He then consulted with Amrou, the son of Saïd, as to the fittest person to be sent upon this expedition; at the same time offering the commission to him. Amrou, however, excused himself, telling him, "That he had done him all the service he could there before, and yet he was pleased to remove him from his government; but now, since the blood of the Koreish was to be poured upon the dust, he begged that somebody not so nearly related to them as he was might be employed in that business. Upon this the caliph sent for Meslem, the son of Okbah, who, though very ancient and infirm, was willing to undertake the command of the forces, consisting of twelve thousand horse and five thousand foot. Meslem told Yezid that those thousand men who suffered themselves to be so distressed without fighting, did not deserve any assistance; that they had neither shown personal courage nor loyalty to their sultan; that they ought to be let alone till they had exerted themselves, and shown that they deserved support." But Yezid told him, "that his life would be a burden to him, if their safety were not provided for." Yezid rode about with his sword by his side, and an Arabian bow over his shoulders, viewing the troops, and giving directions to his general Meslem. Particularly he ordered him to take care of Ali, the son of Hosein, concerning whom he had been informed that neither he, nor any of his family were parties to the measures of the rebels, wherefore he commanded him to show him respect. As for the town, he was to summons it three days successively, and if it did not surrender upon the third summons, then, whenever he took it, he was to leave it for three days entirely to the mercy of the soldiers.

The Medinians, who had dug a large ditch round about the city, refused to surrender, and the general made preparations for a storm. He was advised to make his assault on the east side, that the besieged might have the sun in their faces: this proved of service to him. The Medinians made a vigorous defence, and held out a considerable time. In the end, however, most of the Ansars and considerable men being killed, finding themselves hard pressed, they would have surrendered on terms, but Meslem, from whose hands they had refused peace at the beginning of the siege, would not receive them but at discretion.

At last, forcing an entrance into the city, sword in hand, he first of all sent for Ali, and treated him with respect; and, to quiet all his apprehensions, he dismissed him honourably, calling for his own camel and sending him home upon it. Then his men put all to the sword that they met, plundered everything that was valuable, and ill-treated the women. Without any reverence for its being the burying-place of the prophet, they sacked it for three days; and those that escaped the edge of the sword Meslem took under the protection of the government, but only upon this condition, that they should own themselves slaves and vassals to Yezid; upon which account he purchased the name of Musriph, which signifies in Arabic, "extravagant, exorbitant," because he had exceeded his orders.* This battle was fought when there were three nights left of the month Dulhagiah.†

Meslem, having thus severely chastised the insolence of the

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* Abulfeda.

† When Meslem took the command he was obliged to take medicine, and was only allowed to eat a little, but he only followed the medical prescriptions until the taking of Medina. After that was captured he ate most voraciously, and said, "Now that the rebels are punished I am ready for death. In reward for having slain the murderers of Othman, God will forgive me my sins."—*Weil.*

Medinians, marched directly with his army towards Mecca. but died by the way, in the month Moharram of the sixty-fourth year. Upon his death, Hosein took upon him the command of the army, and besieged Abdallah in Mecca during the space of forty days, during which time he battered it so roughly, that he beat down a great part of the temple,* and burnt the rest; and this city had run the same fortune with Medina, if the news of Yezid's death had not recalled Hosein into Syria.†

Abdollah‡ heard of Yezid's decease before the Syrian army had received any intelligence of it, and called out to them from the walls, and asking them what they fought for, for their master was dead. But they, not believing him, continued their siege with great vigour, till they received further and authentic information. Hosein now told Abdallah that he was of opinion that it would be the best way to forbear shedding any more blood, and proffered him his allegiance if he would accept of the government; assuring him, that all this army, wherein where the leading men of all Syria, would be in his interest, and that there was no fear of any opposition. But Abdallah was afraid to trust him. As they were talking together, just where the pigeons from the temple of Mecca were pecking something upon the ground, Hosein turned his horse aside, which Abdallah taking notice of, demanded his reason; he said he was afraid his horse should kill the temple pigeons. Abdallah asked him how he could scruple that, and at the same time kill the Mussulmans. Hosein told him, that he would not fight against him any more, and only desired that they might have leave to go round the temple of Mecca before their departure; which was granted. Abdallah afterwards, when it was too late, repented of having rejected the services of Hosein, who was accompanied on his return into Syria by all those of the house of Ommiyah that were in Medina.

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* Some autnors, however, say that the temple was not set on fire by the besiegers, but that Abdallah, hearing in the night a shouting from the mountains of Mecca, and wishing to discover the cause, put some fire on the end of a spear, which, being wafted by the wind, the sparks laid hold first on the hangings, and then caught the wood-work.

† An Abyssinian superintended the engines that were throwing stones and combustibles upon the city, and was delighted at the destruction of the place and the sacred temple, whose columns were completely shattered. He likewise filled several barrels with pitch, set fire to them, and threw them against the Kaaba, so that every thing around it was burnt. Here a miracle is related. One day, when this Abyssinian was about to send a number of these pitch-barrels against the temple, a fierce wind suddenly arose, the flames seized the machines, and burnt the black and ten of his companions. This took place on the same day that Yezid died at Damascus. The fire likewise pursued all those who assisted in assaulting the city, and consumed them altogether. When the Syrians beheld this manifestation of the wrath of God, they were struck with terror, and raised the siege, saying, " With God's temple we will have nothing more to do." Hosein, who as yet knew nothing of the death of Yezid, wrote to Damascus and described the position of Abdallah. On the following day the latter sent a messenger to Hosein, to ask him for whom he was fighting, as Yezid was dead. Hosein supposed the information to be false, and waited till Thabit Ebn Kais arrived from Medina and confirmed the news of Yezid's decease.—*Weil.*

‡ MS. Laud. No. 161.

Yezid died in Hawwarin,* in the territories of Hems, when four nights were passed of the first Rebiyah, in the sixty-fourth year of the Hejirah, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, after he had reigned three years and six months. He was a man of a ruddy complexion, pitted with the small pox, with curly hair and black eyes. He had a handsome beard, and was thin and tall. He left behind him several children of both sexes, of whom his son Kaled is reported to have been skilled in the art of alchymy, and his son Abdallah to have been the truest bowman of all the Arabians in his time. His mother's name was Meisun, of the family of the Kelabi. She was an excellent poetess,† and had pleased Moawiyah's fancy to that degree with some of her verses, that he made her go back into the desert amongst her own relations, and take her son Yezid along with her, that he also might be brought up a poet. This part of his education succeeded, for he was reckoned to excel that way, though his chief talent consisted in making a drunken catch.

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* Abulfeda.

† Meisun was the Bedouin bride of Moawiyah, and amidst all the pomp of Damascus she still sighed for the desert. Some of her verses are thus translated in Carlyle's "Specimens of Arabian Poetry."

"The russet suit of camel's hair,
With spirits light and eye serene,
Is dearer to my bosom far
Than all the trappings of a queen.

"The humble tent, and murmuring breeze
That whistles through its fluttering walls,
My unaspiring fancy please,
Better than towers and splendid halls.

"The attendant colts, that bounding fly,
And frolic by the litter's side,
Are dearer in Meisuna's eye
Than gorgeous mules in all their pride.

It is observed of him, that he was the first caliph that drank wine publicly, and was waited upon by eunuchs.* Besides, the Arabians reproach him with bringing up and being fond of dogs, which the more scrupulous Mohammedans have in abomination.

But the greatest vices of this caliph were his impiety and covetousness, which occasioned a certain author† to say, that for the empire of the Mussulmans to flourish, it ought to be in the hands of princes either pious, like the first four caliphs, or liberal, as Moawiyah; but that when it was again governed by a prince who, like Yezid, had neither piety nor generosity, all would be lost.

The Mohammedan doctors look upon Yezid's allowing the soldiers to commit such abominable outrages in the city of the prophet,‡ and suffering it to be so profaned, as a very wicked action.§ They do not scruple to say, that although he did it thinking to preserve his life and government, God nevertheless had dealt with him as a tyrant, and, by cutting him off in the flower of his age, had inflicted judgment upon him for his presumption. In condemnation of Yezid, they quote this saying of Mohammed, "Whoever injureth Medina shall melt away, even as salt melteth away in the water."

By Persian authors he is never mentioned without abomination, and ordinarily this imprecation is added to his name,

"The watch-dog's voice, that bays whene'er
 A stranger seeks his master's cot,
Sounds sweeter in Meisuna's ear
 Than yonder trumpet's loud-drawn note.

"The rustic youth, unspoil'd by art,
 Son of my kindred, poor, but free,
Will ever to Meisuna's heart
 Be dearer, pamper'd fool, than thee!"

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* D'Herbelot.

† Rabi Al Akyar.

‡ MS. Hunt. No. 495.

§ MS. Laud. No. 161. A.

Laanabullah, that is, "The curse of God be upon him;" in reference not to his vices, but to the death of Hosein, the son of Ali, whom he first of all attempted to destroy by poison, and afterwards caused to be killed, with all his family, on the plains of Kerbela.*

Under his caliphate the Mussulmans conquered all Khorassan and Khowarezm, and put the estates of the prince of Samarcand under contribution. The motto of his seal was, "God is our Lord."

MOAWIYAH II., THE SON OF YEZID, THE THIRD CALIPH OF THE HOUSE OF OMMIYAH, AND THE EIGHTH AFTER MOHAMMED.

Hejirah 64. A.D. 683.

As soon as Yezid was dead, his son Moawiyah was proclaimed caliph at Damascus. He was near one and twenty years of age, but of a weak constitution; very religious,† but of the sect of the Alcadarii.‡ Moawiyah's favourite master was Omar Al Meksous; and he consulted him whether he ought, or not, to accept the caliphate. His master told him, that if he thought himself able to administer justice duly to the Mussulmans, and to acquit himself of all the duties of that dignity, he ought to accept it; but otherwise he ought not to charge himself with it.

This caliph had scarcely reigned six weeks, when he found himself too weak to sustain the weight of the government, and resolved to lay it down. To this end he called a council of the greatest men of the court, and told them that when he first entertained the thought of abdicating himself, he designed to follow the example of Abubeker, and nominate a successor, as that first caliph had done; but that he had not found, as Abubeker had done, men like Omar upon whom to fix his choice. Then he told them that he had also a design of imitating Omar, and naming six persons, upon one of which the choice should fall by lot, but that he had not found so many among them capable of it, and therefore could not determine upon that course.

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* D'Herbelot. † Abulfeda. Abulfaragius. D'Herbelot.

‡ These are a branch of the Motazeli, and differ in their opinions from the orthodox Mussulmans in that they deny God's decree, and assert free-will; affirming that the contrary opinion makes God the author of evil.

"I am therefore resolved," added he, "to leave the choice entirely to you." Upon this the principal statesmen told him that they had nothing to do but to choose that person amongst them that he should please, and that all the rest would obey him. Moawiyah answered them in these terms: "As I have not hitherto enjoyed the advantages of the caliphate, it is not reasonable that I should charge myself with its most odious duty, therefore I hope that you will not take it amiss if I discharge my conscience towards you, and leave you to judge for yourselves who is most capable among you to fill my place."

Accordingly, as soon as Moawiyah had made his abdication in so good form, they proceeded to the election of a caliph, and their choice fell upon Merwan, the son of Hakem, who was the fourth of the caliphs of Syria; Abdallah, the son of Zobeir, having been declared caliph in Arabia, Irak, Khorassan, Egypt, and a great part of Syria.

Moawiyah had no sooner renounced the caliphate but he shut himself up in a chamber, from whence he never stirred till he died, not long after his abdication, of the plague according to some, according to others by poison. The family of Ommiyah was, it is said, so greatly irritated at his proceeding, that they vented their resentment upon the person of Omar Al Meksous, whom they buried alive, because they supposed that it was by his advice that Moawiyah deposed himself. This caliph was nick-named Abuleilah, that is to say, "The father of the night," because of his natural weakness and want of health, which hindered him from often appearing abroad in the day time. The inscription of his seal was "The world is a cheat."

We must now look backwards a little towards the eastern parts of the empire.* As soon as Obeidollah heard of Yezid's death, he acquainted the Bassorians with it in a set speech, wherein he represented to them "the near relationship between him and them, and reminded them that the place of his nativity was amongst them; that, as appeared by the books, he had since his government over them destroyed a hundred and forty thousand of their enemies; that there was no person left of any consideration whom they need to fear, who was not already in their prisons; that they were every way the most considerable nation in the empire, both with regard to their courage, number, and extent of country; that they were very well able to subsist independently of any help, but that the rest of the provinces were not able to subsist without them; that there was a faction in Syria, and till that was appeased, he thought it advisable for them to choose a person duly qualified to be the protector of their state; that after that was done, if the Mussulmans agreed upon a successor whom they approved of, it would be well, if otherwise, they might continue as they were till they did." The Bassorians approved of his proposal, and told him that they knew no person so well qualified for such a trust as himself. He refused it several times, with little sincerity, as may be supposed by his speech; but overcome, as he pretended, by their importunity, accepted it at last. So they gave him their hands to be subject to him till all things were settled, and the Mussulmans were agreed upon an Imam or caliph. This being done, he sent a messenger to the Cufians, to persuade them to follow the example of the Bassorians. The Cufians received the message with indignation, and were so far from complying with it, that they flung dust upon their governor. Though the Cufians did not follow the example of the Bassorians, yet the Bassorians followed theirs. For, having learnt the repulse Obeidollah had met with at Cufah, they revoked their promise of allegiance to him; and the faction ran so high, that finding Bassorah too warm for him, he was fain to make the best of his way into Syria.

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* MS. Laud. No. 161. A.

There was at that time in the treasury of Bassorah sixteen millions of money, part of which he divided among his relations, the remainder he carried along with him. He attempted to persuade the Najari, who are a tribe of the Arabian Ansars, to fight for him; but they refused, as did also all his own relations, for he had rendered himself so obnoxious by his cruelty, that he was dreaded and abhorred by all, beloved by none. His brother Abdallah told the Bassorians, that since they had promised their subjection, he and his brother Obeidollah would not fly away from them, but stay and be killed, and leave it as a reproach upon them till the day of judgment. Obeidollah lay concealed in women's clothes in Mesoud's house, who advised him to scatter money liberally among the people, and induce them to renew their oath. Abdallah, his brother, tried his utmost with two hundred thousand pieces, and Mesoud also stirred for him as much as he was able, till at last he was killed in the tumult, though he owed his death chiefly to an old grudge. Obeidollah was at last constrained to fly, and as soon as he was gone the people plundered his effects, and pursued him. He had a hundred men with him that were left him by Mesoud. In the night time he grew weary of riding upon his camel, and exchanged it for an ass. One of his friends observing him riding in that manner, with his feet dangling down to the ground, began to reflect upon the uncertainty of human affairs, and said to himself, "This man was yesterday governor of Irak, and is now forced to make his escape upon an ass." Then riding up to him, he asked him if he was asleep (for he had been silent a long time). He said no, he was talking to himself. The other told him he knew what it was that he was saying; it was, "I wish I had not killed Hosein." Obeidollah told him he was mistaken, for he chose rather to kill Hosein than to be killed by him. Then, having first mentioned a few matters about his property, and how he wished to dispose of it, he said that what he was sorry for, and what he was speaking to himself about, was this, that he wished he had fought the Bassorians at the beginning of their revolt, and struck their heads off for their perjury. But perhaps if he had attempted it, he might have lost his own, for the Karegites, who were his mortal enemies, were got to a great head, and resolved either to kill him, or to drive him from Bassorah.

We will leave Obeidollah, therefore, riding upon an ass, and talking to himself, and return to Hosein, who, much about this time, was come back from the siege of Mecca to Damascus. He gave an account of the posture of affairs on that side of the country, and of his having proffered his allegiance to Abdallah, who had refused to accept it, or at least to come into Syria. He told Merwan, and the rest of the family of Ommiyah, that, in the present disorder of their affairs, they would do well to look about them quickly;

that they ought to settle the government before faction, which is both deaf and blind, should overwhelm them. Merwan was for submitting to Abdallah; but Obeidollah, who also had now arrived, told him that it was a shame for a person of his distinction, who was the head of the noble family of the Koreish, to think of anything so mean. The people of Damascus had constituted Dehac, the son of Kais, their protector till the Mussulmans should be agreed upon an Imam. Dehac favoured Abdallah, and Hassan, the son of Malec, was in that part of Palestine that lay near Jordan, and was of the party of the house of Ommiyah. The Bassorians were in tumult and confusion, and could not agree about a governor. During the interregnum, they set up first one, and then another, till at last they wrote to Abdallah, to take the government upon him.

ABDALLAH THE SON OF ZOBEIR, THE NINTH CALIPH AFTER MOHAMMED. HE WAS NOT OF THE HOUSE OF OMMIYAH.

Hejirah 64. A.D. 683.

THERE being two caliphs at the same time, will, of necessity, occasion the repetition of a few circumstances. This however will give no offence to the ingenuous reader. Though Abdallah had been proclaimed before, in the days of Yezid, yet this is the place that our Arabian authors assign him in their histories, because he seemed now to be fully settled and established, all the territories of the Mussulmans, with the single exception of Syria, being under his command. But when we talk of the entire subjection of the Mohammedan countries, we must on all occasions be understood as not speaking of the heretics and schismatics, the Karegites and Motazeli, for they, as we have observed already, would never be subject to any; but on the least prospect of a favourable opportunity, used their utmost efforts to break from off their necks the yoke of all government whatsoever.

As soon as Yezid was dead,* the people of Mecca stood up for Abdallah, the son of Zobeir: Merwan the son of Hakem (who was of the house of Ommiyah) was then at Medina, and was preparing himself to go to Abdallah, and acknowledge him; for all took it for granted that his interest was so powerful, that it would be to no purpose to oppose him; when on a sudden there was a report spread, that Abdallah had sent word to his deputy in Medina, not to leave a man alive of the house of Ommiyah. This proved his ruin; whereas if he had gone along with Hosein, as he wished him, or had he caressed Merwan and the house of Ommiyah, he had been fixed immoveably in the government. But there is no reversing what God hath decreed. When they proclaimed him at Mecca, Obeidollah was at Bassorah, from whence, as we have seen, he afterwards fled into Syria. The Bassorians, Irakians, Hejazians, Yemanians, and Egyptians, all came into Abdallah, who, moreover, had a strong private party even in Syria itself, and in Kinnisrin and Hems. In short, they were very near coming in universally; but he wanted some qualifications necessary for the critical juncture. He was brave and courageous enough, and also exemplarily religious, but he wanted both tact and generosity.

MERWAN THE SON OF HAKEM, THE FOURTH CALIPH OF THE HOUSE OF OMMIYAH, AND THE TENTH AFTER MOHAMMED.

Hejirah 64, 65. A.D. 683, 684.

Upon the rumour of Abdallah's cruel designs against the house of Ommiyah, Merwan made haste into Syria, where his friends came about him, and, resolving to make a bold stand in self-defence, they proclaimed him caliph. Syria was now divided into two factions; Hassan and the Yemanians in Syria, siding with Merwan, and Dehac the son of Kais, with Abdallah. This Dehac was a man of great note; he had been at the first siege of Damascus, and in the fifty-fourth year Moawiyah made him his deputy over Cufah. Because the general's father's name was Kais, the party that followed him were called Kaisians. There were a great many parleys between the two factions, which it would be tedious to relate. At last the brought it to the decision of a battle in the plains or meadows of Damascus. The issue was, that the Kaisians were shamefully beaten, Dehac himself being killed, and a great slaughter made amongst the horse. When the Kaisians were routed, Merwan sounded a retreat, and would not suffer his men to pursue. With Dehac, no less than fourscore of the nobles of Syria were killed. When Dehac's head was brought to Merwan, he expressed some concern, and said, "That I who am an old man, whose bones are wasted, and am next to nothing, should bring armies together to break one another in pieces!"

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* Abulfeda.

He then went into Damascus, and took up his lodgings at the house where Moawiyah used to reside. There he married Yezid's widow, for it had been agreed Merwan should not transfer the government to his own posterity, but leave it to Yezid's son Kaled, who was then a minor, and of whom the people had some expectation. Wherefore his friends thought it safer for him to marry Kaled's mother, and take upon him the guardianship of the child, than run the risk of standing upon the sole foundation of his own interest.

When the news of the defeat of the Kaisians and the death of Dehac came to Emessa, which was under the command of Nooman the son of Bashir, he fled away with his wife and family. The Emessians, however, pursued him, and cut off his head, and brought it, together with his wife and family, to Emessa.

Merwan after this marched towards Egypt, and sent before him Amrou the son of Saïd, who, going into Egypt, turned out Abdallah's lieutenant, and brought the Egyptians to own Merwan for their sovereign. As Merwan was upon his return to Damascus, news was brought him that Abdallah had sent his brother Musab against him with an army; wherefore he turned back and routed Musab before he entered Damascus.

This year the people of Khorassan chose Salem the son of Ziyad, who was their former governor, for their protector, till the Mussulmans should be agreed in the choice of an Imam. In that post he continued about two months. The people of the country never had any governor that they loved so well; they respected him to that degree, that in those few years that he governed them, there were more than twenty thousand children named Salem, purely out of love to his name.

This year the sect of Ali began to stir in Cufah, and sent circular letters to their friends round about the country, appointing a rendezvous in Nochailah for the next year following, intending to march into Syria to revenge the death of Hosein. The occasion was the following:—When after the death of Hosein, the Cufians came to reflect coolly upon that matter, their consciences accused them of having failed him both in honour and duty, and they thought they could make no atonement for their crime but by taking up arms to revenge his death. They therefore applied themselves to five leading men of the sect, Solyman the son of Sorad, who was one of the companions; and Mosabbib the son of Nahbah, one of the choicest of the friends of Ali; Abdallah the son of Saïd; Abdallah the son of Wali; and Refaah the son of Shadad. These all met together in Solyman's house, besides a great many others of the chief men of the sect, to whom Mosabbib made a speech, wherein he enlarged upon "the heinousness of their neglect, in having deserted Hosein after so solemn an invitation, and having received so many letters and messages from him; that they had neither assisted him with their hands, nor spoken for him with their tongues; neither supported him with their money, nor looked out for any assistance for him. What excuse would they have when they should come to appear before God, or how should they be able to look his prophet in the face, when by their means his son* was killed, and his beloved with his offspring and his posterity cut off! There was, he told them, no way to atone for this but by revenging his death upon his murderers, which was no hard matter, provided they chose a proper general, one that the people would be willing to fight under." This was seconded by Refaah, who added, that as to a general, his opinion was, that they should choose the chief of the sect, a person reverenced by all for his years, dignity, piety, and experience, Solyman the son of Sorad. Solyman, having first made a speech suitable to the occasion, accepted the command; and when some other persons arose and made speeches to urge on the matter (for there were above a hundred of the chief men amongst them), he told them, that there was enough said already, and the next step they ought to take should be to put what each of them designed to contribute into the hands of Abdallah the son of Wali, to be distributed amongst the poorest of the sect. The contents of Solyman's circular letter was as follows:—

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* Grandson, as before.

"In the name of the most merciful God.

"From Solyman the son of Sorad to Saïd the son of Hodaifah, and whosoever is with him of the Mussulmans; peace be to you. The present world is a mansion upon which every thing that is good turneth its back, and to which every thing that is bad draweth near, (or turneth its face;) and treateth persons of uprightness ill. The chosen servants of God have resolved to leave it, and to sell the little of the present world that remaineth not, for the great reward that is with God and shall never fail. The friends of God, your brethren of the sect of the family of your prophet, have considered with themselves the trial they have undergone in the business of the son of the daughter of your prophet, who was called and answered, and called and was not answered; and would have returned but was detained; and asked for security but was hindered: and he let the people alone, but they would not let him alone; but dealt wrongfully by him and killed him, and then spoiled him and stripped him wickedly, despitefully, and foolishly. Nor did they act as in the sight of God, neither had they recourse to God, and they that have done evil shall know what shall be the end of their actions.* Now what your brethren have seriously considered concerning the events of that in which they formerly engaged is this. They see they have sinned in deceiving the innocent, the good; and in the delivering him up, and the omitting the healing and helping him. A great sin! from which there is no way left for escape, nor any repentance but by killing those that killed him, or being killed themselves, and resigning their spirits upon this account. Now, therefore, your brethren are bestirring themselves in earnest, as also is your enemy; therefore do you get together all the assistance you are able. And we have fixed a time for our brethren to meet us at a place appointed. The time is the new moon of the month of the latter Rebiyah, in the sixty-fifth year, and the place where they shall meet us is Nochailah. O ye who never cease to be of our sect and our brethren! We have determined to invite you to this business which, as your brethren say, God would have them undertake, and as they show to us that they repent, so would we give you an opportunity to prove that you are persons duly qualified for the search of excellency, and the laying hold of the reward and repentance towards your Lord for your sin, though it be the cutting off your necks, and the killing your children, and the consumption of your wealth, and the destruction of your tribes and families. He [God] hath not hurt the courageous, religious men that were killed, but they are now alive with their Lord, sustained as martyrs;* enduring (affliction) patiently, they met their Lord; they are made account of, and God hath given them the reward of good men.† If it please God, persevere patiently in tribulation and affliction, and in the day of battle (God have mercy upon you!) for it is not fit that any of your brethren should persevere in any affliction in seeking his repentance, without you who are equally worthy and fit to seek the like reward by the same means; neither is it fit that any one should seek the favour of God by any means, though it were by death itself, but you should have the same privilege. 'For the best provision for a voyage is the fear of God in this world, and every thing besides shall perish and vanish away.'‡ Wherefore let your souls be assured of this, and your desire be fixed upon the mansion of your safety, and the engaging in the holy war against the enemy of God and your enemy; and the enemy of the family of the daughter of your prophet, till you come before God with repentance and desire. God preserve both us and you to the happy life, and remove both us and you from hell, and grant it may be our reward to die by the hands of that part of mankind that is the most odious of all to him, and are his most vehement enemies. He is the most powerful over what he pleases, and disposeth of his friends according to his will. Farewell to you."

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* Koran, passim.

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* It is a saying of Mohammed's.

† The next sentence is much to the same purpose, but it is obscurely represented in the manuscript, and I have not yet found it in the Koran.

‡ Koran.

Saïd read the letter to all the people, who readily gave their assent, and despatched a very encouraging answer to Solyman and his friends.* The truth of the matter is, that the sect of Ali had been contriving this affair from the time of Hosein's death till the death of Yezid the son of Moawiyah, (which was three years, two months, and four days) and had sent privately to one another, and laid up magazines, and strengthened their party.

Six months after Yezid's death, in the midst of the month Ramadan, Al Moktar came to Cufah, and at the same time came Ibrahim, the son of Mohammed the son of Telha, to receive the tribute of Cufah for Abdallah the son of Zobeir. The sect of (Ali)† readily joined themselves to this Captain Al Moktar, who made use of the authority of Mohammed, the son of Hanifiyah, who was Ali's son, and the hope of the party. He told them he was come to them as a counsellor and trusty assistant from the son of Al Hanifiyah. This circumstance, added to their confidence in his known abilities, endeared him to them exceedingly. He made it his business to disparage Solyman, the son of Sorad, as a person by no means qualified for the trust he had undertaken; but one that would most certainly destroy both them and himself, having no manner of experience in warlike affairs. Abdallah, the son of Yezid, was then governor of Cufah, and having received information that the sect had a design to seize the city, he called a congregation, and told them "that these people pretended indeed to seek revenge for Hosein's death, but he was persuaded that that was the bottom of their designs. For his part they had no reason to fight against him who was no manner of way concerned in the matter, but had been a sufferer upon the same account. If on the other hand they would in good earnest follow up those who were guilty of the death of Hosein, he should be willing to assist them." Then turning to the people he said: "In short it was the son of Ziyad that killed Hosein, and that killed the most valuable men amongst you; and the best thing you can do is to make preparation of war against him, who is the greatest enemy you have in the whole creation, rather than exercise your force upon one another, and shed each other's blood." Ibrahim the collector rose up and bade the people not be deceived with the governor's smooth speeches; and declared, that if any rose up in arms they should be put to death, both father and son, without distinction. As he was proceeding, Mosabbib cut him off short, and asked him, whether he pretended to threaten or terrify them? That it was more than lay in his power; "We have," says he, "already killed your father and grandfather, and we hope, before you go out of this country, to make you the third." Ibrahim threatened him with death, when Abdallah the son of Wali stood up, and asked Ibrahim what business he had to intermeddle between them and their governor, telling him that he had no manner of authority over them, but that he might go about his business, and look after his tax. The sect were wonderfully pleased with Abdallah the son of Yezid's speech, and the people very much offended at Ibrahim's behaviour; there were high words on both sides till Abdallah came down and left the mosque. Afterwards the governor, being informed that Ibrahim had threatened to write to Abdallah the son of Zobeir, and acquaint him with the purports of his smooth speech to the Cufians, made haste to pay him a visit, and swore that he meant nothing by it, but to appease the people, and keep the peace, to prevent their doing any further mischief. With this excuse Ibrahim was very well satisfied; but Solyman and his party encouraged by his public speech, and throwing off the mask, appeared openly in arms.

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* MS. Laud. No. 161. A.

† See the catalogue of Ali's children at the end of his life.

At this time the Separatists who had before joined Abdallah the son of Zobeir, and assisted him whilst he was besieged in Mecca, deserted him. The case was thus: Obeidollah, when governor at Bassorah, had been their implacable enemy, and exerted himself to the utmost to extirpate the whole generation of them, root and branch, from off the face of the earth. Distressed by his unmerciful persecution they took the opportunity, when Abdallah the son of Zobeir first made his appearance at Mecca, to apply to him. He, as matters then stood with him, was no less glad of their assistance than they were of his protection, and embraced them without any scrutiny about principles, or asking any questions for conscience' sake. Afterwards, however, they began to say among themselves, that they had committed an error in engaging themselves in a man's interest whose principles were dubious; and resolved, before they advanced one step further, to bring him to the test. They had not forgotten how both he and his father Zobeir had persecuted them upon the account of Othman's death, and they were resolved to make use of it as a test of his present sentiment. They came to him accordingly in a body, and told him, "That hitherto they had assisted him without any previous examination of his principles; now, for satisfaction, they desired to know what he thought of Othman?" Abdallah understood them very well, but seeing but few of his friends about him at the time, he told them, that they were come at an unreasonable moment, when he wished to be at rest; if, however, they would wait a little, and return in the evening, they should have a satisfactory answer. In the meantime he gathered together a strong body of soldiers, and placed them in double ranks round about his house. At last the Separatists came again, but perceiving how matters stood, and what preparation Abdallah had made for their reception, did not think fit to come to blows. One of them, however, a man of a voluble tongue, eminent for his eloquence, made a speech, wherein he briefly recapitulated the most considerable dispensations of providence towards them, and the several successions of their caliphs since Mohammed, concluding with hard reflections upon Othman's administration, his partiality in favour of his relations, and, in a word, justified his murder. Abdallah told him in reply, "That as to what he had said concerning the prophet (who was very great) he was not only what he had said, but much more; all too that he had said of Abubeker and Omar was just enough; but as for Othman, he had more reason to know him than any man alive; and he was sure he was murdered wrongfully, for he never wrote that letter whereof he had been accused; and for his own part, he should be a friend of Othman's both in this world and that to come, a friend of his friends, and an enemy of his enemies." To this they answered, "God is clear of thee, thou enemy of God!" which he echoed back again, "God is clear of you, ye enemies of God!" Upon this they parted. As for

Abdallah, he could easily spare them. Some of them went to Yemanah, the rest to Bassorah. Those that went to Bassorah began to say among themselves, "Would to God some of our people would go out in the way of God! for there hath been negligence on our side since our companions went out, and our teachers stood up in the earth, and were the lights of mankind, and exhorted them to religion, and sober and courageous men went out and met the Lord, and became martyrs maintained with God alive."* Thus they encouraged one another mutually till they had gathered together a body of about three hundred, just about the time that the Bassorians made an insurrection against Obeidollah, and, taking the advantage of the disorders among the people, they broke open all the jails. But when Obeidollah was driven into Syria, and the disturbance was completely over, they were soon routed and driven away from Bassorah.

So many things being transacted in several parts of the empire much about the same time, it was necessary to despatch these first, to clear the way for Moktar,† that great and terrible scourge of the enemies of Ali's family; and because he makes so considerable a figure in this part of our history, it will be necessary to be a little more particular in the account of his affairs. The sect of Ali had entertained no very favourable opinion of him ever since the time of Hasan; for he was considered to have been remiss in his service; but he regained their good opinion when Hosein sent Muslim to Cufah to take the suffrages of the Cufians, for he not only entertained him in his house, but also made use of all his interest privately to serve him; all the while, to prevent suspicion, making his appearance in public among Obeidollah's men. Going one morning to wait upon the governor, Obeidollah asked him, "whether he was come with his men to serve Muslim?" Moktar said, "that he was not, but had been under the banner of Amrou the son of Horith, and stayed with him all night," which Amrou confirmed. This, however, did not satisfy Obeidollah, who had good intelligence of his secret practices. He struck him over the face with his stick, knocked out one of his eyes, and sent him immediately to prison, where he was detained till after Hosein's death. Upon which event Al Moktar, finding means to make application to Yezid the caliph, was, by his express command, set at liberty. Obeidollah knew well that it was not to the caliph's interest to let him go, but forced to obey. He told Al Moktar that he allowed him three days, after which, if he took him, he would be under no obligation to spare him.

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* MS. Laud. Num. 161. A.

† Theophanes calls him Μοχτάρ.

Al Moktar made the best of his way to the part of Arabia called Hejaz (which is generally taken by our geographers to be Arabia Petræa), and meeting with a friend, who asked him what ailed his eye, he answered, "Obeidollah injured it: but God kill me if I do not one day cut him to pieces." His friend wondered at his speech, there being then little probability of its ever being in his power, and Moktar inquired of him concerning Abdallah the son of Zobeir. He answered him, "That he had made Mecca the place of his refuge;" to which Moktar answered, "I do not believe that he will make anything of it; but when it comes to pass, that you see Moktar up at the head of his men to revenge the death of Hosein, then, by thy Lord, I will kill, upon the account of his murder, as many as were killed upon the account of the blood of John the son of Zacharias, upon whom be peace."

For the clearing of which passage it must be understood that the Mohammedans entertain a profound veneration for the memory of St. John the Baptist, upon the account of the honourable mention made of him in the third chapter of the Koran, in these words, "Then prayed Zachariah to his Lord, and said, 'My Lord, give me from thee a good progeny, for thou art the hearer of prayers.' And the angels called to him as he stood praying in the oratory, 'God sends thee the good news of John, who shall confirm the truth of the word from God, and shall be a great person, chaste, a prophet, and one of the just,' or rather, 'and one of the just prophets.'" *

Which passage Hosein Waes paraphrases in these words,† "John the Baptist, your son, shall publish and give authority to the faith in the Messias Jesus the son of Mary, who is the Word of God, or the Word proceeding from God; for he shall be the first who shall believe in him. He shall become chief and high-priest by his knowledge, by the austerity of his life, and by the sweetness of his behaviour, which are three qualities requisite to make a man an Imam or high priest of the law of God. He shall abstain from women,

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* Koran, chap. iii. 33.

† D'Herbelot, in Jahia.

and from all the pleasures of sense, and, in short, he shall be a prophet descended from good men such as his father Zachariah and his grandfather Saleh had been before him, teaching men the ways of justice and salvation."

They have, moreover, a tradition that St. John Baptist, having been beheaded by the command of a king of Judea, the blood which flowed from his body could not be stanched till it was avenged by a great desolation which God sent upon the people of the Jews. This is what Al Moktar alluded to.

When they parted, Al Moktar went to Mecca, which he reached just at the time that Abdallah set up for the caliphate, whom he told that all things about Cufah were in the utmost confusion; and then, whispering, said that he was come to proffer him his allegiance, if he would make him easy. I do not find what answer he received, nor whether or no he received any at all.* However, from that time he was seen no more at Mecca till about a twelvemonth after, when, as Abbas the son of Sahel and Abdallah happened to be talking concerning him, he appeared on one side of the temple. Abbas went to him immediately, to find out which way he stood inclined, and asked him if he had been all that while in Taïf (for he had seen him there himself); he told him "No, in Taïf and other places," but seemed to make a secret of his affairs. Abbas told him that, like the rest of the Cufians, he was very reserved; that all the noble families of the Arabians had sent some great man or other to offer their allegiance to Abdallah, and that it would be very strange if he should be singular, and refuse it. To this Al Moktar replied, that he had offered his services the year before, but receiving no satisfactory answer, he supposed Abdallah had no occasion for them; and, as he thought Abdallah had more occasion for him than he had for Abdallah, he felt himself slighted. At last Abbas prevailed upon him so far, that he said he would visit Abdallah after he had said the last evening prayer. They appointed to meet at the Stone, and Abbas in the meantime rejoiced the heart of Abdallah with the news. When they were admitted into Abdallah's house, Al Moktar told him that if he gave him his allegiance he expected to have access to him upon all occasions before any other person, and to be employed upon his most weighty affairs; Abdallah would have had him been content with being governed, "according to the book of God and the tradition." Al Moktar answered, "That that was no more privilege than what the farthest man alive enjoyed, and that he would never come in upon any other terms than what he had proposed." Abdallah's affairs being as yet in an unsettled state, it was thought most advisable to indulge him in his humour; Al Moktar accordingly continued with Abdallah during the siege of Mecca, and fought bravely in the defence of it, till, as we have related before, upon the news of Yezid's death, the siege was raised, and the army returned into Syria.

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* MS. Laud, No. 161. A.

After the death of Yezid, Al Moktar continued with Abdallah five months and some days; but perceiving that Abdallah was still shy of him, and did not employ him in any considerable post, nor make any great use of him in his counsels, he began to inquire diligently into the condition of the Cufians, and Ali's friends on that side of the country. At last he was informed, by one in whom he confided, that there was only a small party, supported by a few provincialists, in the interest of Abdallah; whereas the friends of Ali wanted nothing but a man of their own opinion to head them in order to consume the whole earth. Al Moktar swore that he was their man, and that, by their assistance, he would beat down "all haughty tyrants."* His informant also told him, for his further satisfaction, they had already gone so far as to set one over them, who was, however, a person of but little experience. Al Moktar said he did not intend to call them to sedition, but to the right way, "and to the church," and forthwith set forth for Cufah. All the way he went he made it his business to pay his respects to the congregations of the several mosques, and say his prayers among them, and harangue them, assuring them of success and victory, and a speedy deliverance from all their grievances. When he came to Cufah he called the sect together, and told them that he was come "from the mine of excellency,† the Imam that directs the right way, who commanded medicines to be applied, and the veil to be removed, and the perfection of gracious works, and the killing of their enemies. He then represented to them the incapacity of Solyman for such an undertaking, as being altogether inexperienced in war, and one that would only destroy both them and himself." This he repeated so frequently that he drew over a great many of the sect into his interest, who began every day to favour him more and more in their common discourse, and magnify his merit, and promise themselves great things from him. But notwithstanding all this, Solyman's interest was still superior amongst the sect, as being the most ancient, and of the greatest authority. Solyman now resolved to go forwards according to his own appointment, with what forces he had, expecting to be joined by a great army of the sect at Nochailah. Al Moktar stayed behind, awaiting the issue of the expedition, not doubting in the least, but that if Solyman miscarried, as he thought he would, the sole command of the sect would inevitably fall into his hands. By some of Solyman's party he was suspected of having a secret design of seizing the province, upon which account they surrounded his house, and having surprised him, advised the governor to bind him and make him walk barefoot to prison. The governor answered that he would never do so to a man that had not openly declared himself an enemy, but was only seized upon suspicion. Then they demanded that he should be put in irons; but the governor answered that the prison was restraint enough. And being conveyed thither upon a mule, we must leave him there for a while.

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* It is an expression used in the Koran.

† That was Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah, Ali's son, then resident at Mecca.

We return now to Solyman and his penitents, for so all those who confederated under him to revenge the death of Hosein were called, because of their sorrow for their former neglect of him in his extremity. According to agreement, in the new moon of the latter Rebiyah, they set out for the general rendezvous at Nochailah, a place not very far distant from Cufah. When he came there, and had taken a view of the camp, he was greatly concerned at the smallness of the number collected there, and despatched two horsemen post to Cufah, with orders to cry round about the streets, and in the great mosque, " Vengeance for Hosein." As they passed through the streets they stimulated the people, and amongst the rest an Arabian, who was married to the greatest beauty of her time, whom he doated upon to an excess. As soon as he heard that proclamation, he neither answered them one word, nor went out to them; but, putting on his clothes in all haste, he called for his arms and his horse. His wife asked him if he was possessed; he answered, "By God, no! but I have heard God's herald calling for revenge for the blood of that man (Hosein), and I will answer him, and I will die for him, or God shall dispose of me as he pleases." "To whom," said she, "do you leave this child of yours?" "To God," saith he, "who hath no partner. O God! I commend to thee my family and my child! O God, preserve me in them." This said, he followed them, and left her to bewail him.

After parading through the street they went to the great mosque,* where they found a great many people after the last evening prayer, and repeated among them the same cry. Upon which, among others, a person of distinction went home, and armed himself and called for his horse. His daughter asking him whither he was going, he answered, "Child, thy father flies from his sin to his God." Then calling his nearest relations together, he took his leave, and arrived at Solyman's camp the next morning. Here they looked over the rolls to see how many had given their hands at first and kept their engagement. They found the former to be sixteen thousand, whereof not more than four thousand were present. One said that Al Moktar had drawn off two thousand; so that, according to that account, there still remained ten thousand guilty of perjury. At last Mosabbib told Solyman, that they who did not come out of hearty good-will would do them no service. After the muster, Solyman, and several others of the chief men, made speeches to the handful of men they had, telling them, that it was not this world they fought for; that they had neither silver nor gold, but were going to expose themselves to the edges of swords and the points of spears. To which the people answered, with one voice, "It is not this world that we seek, neither did we come out for the sake of it." They next consulted together as to the most proper method of carrying on their design; one proposed to march directly into Syria to be revenged on Obeidollah; another would have them go and destroy all that had a hand in Hosein's death at Cufah, where there were a great many of the chiefs of the tribes. and several other leading men. The last advice Solyman did by no means approve of; but said, that they ought to take vengeance upon that individual who had beset him with armed men, and said to him, "You shall have no protection from me, unless you surrender yourself entirely to my disposal;" that wicked wretch,[*] the son of that wicked wretch, is your object! Besides, he did not think it by any means advisable to begin a massacre in their own province, since it would alienate their friends, and exasperate the people to see their fathers, and brethren, and near relations murdered before their faces. On this account he advised them to leave that matter for future consideration, if it should please God to grant them a safe return out of Syria.

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* MS. Laud. No. 161, A.

In the meantime, Ibrahim (who, as we have mentioned before, was sent from Abdallah, the son of Zobeir, to gather the tribute) and Abdallah, the son of Yezid, the governor of Cufah, being informed of Solyman's expedition, entertained the thought of joining forces with him. They thought it was both prudent and practicable to secure themselves in that part of the country, under the pretence of revenging the death of Hosein. Besides, they knew that Obeidollah's cruelty had won him the ill-will and hatred of all the provinces that had been under his jurisdiction. They went, therefore, together to Solyman, and requested him to wait till they could raise forces to assist him, or else to abide where he was till Obeidollah should come within their bounds, which they had very good reason to think would not be long after the alarm was raised in Syria. But not prevailing with him, Ibrahim entreated him at least to stay till he could furnish him with money (no less than the tribute of the whole province). But the only answer he got to this last proposal was, that their going out was not for this world. Thus the conference broke off, and Solyman continued his march into Syria, and Ibrahim and the son of Yezid returned back to Cufah.

In the meanwhile, Obeidollah was not idle, but was upon his march towards them. Solyman's men, perceiving that their friends of Madayen and Bassorah did not join them according to promise, began to murmur. Notwithstanding

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[†] That is, Obeidollah, the son of Ziyad.

all his endeavours to pacify them, they deserted in troops; so that when he mustered them at Eksas, upon the banks of the Euphrates, there were a thousand of them wanting. To the rest Solyman said, "It is a good riddance; for if they had stayed, they would have been only a burden to you. The Lord did not approve of their going out, and therefore he hath withdrawn them, and held them back for the better, wherefore praise ye your Lord."

Marching all night, they came the next morning to Hosein's burying-place, where they stayed a night and a day, which they spent in prayer for him, and begging pardon for their own sins. When they first came to his tomb, they all cried out with one voice, and wept, and wished that they had been partners with him in his death. There never was seen a greater day of weeping than that. Solyman said, "O God! be merciful to Hosein the martyr, the son of the martyr; the guide, the son of the guide; the righteous, the son of the righteous! O God! we call thee to witness, that we are in their profession of religion, and in their way, and that we are enemies of those that killed them, and friends of those that loved them." Another account (not contradictory to the former) says, that when they drew near to Hosein's tomb they cried out unanimously, "O Lord! we have deceived the son of the daughter of our prophet; forgive us what is past, and repent towards us, for thou art the repenter, the merciful! Have mercy upon Hosein and his followers, the righteous martyrs! And we call thee to witness, O Lord! that we are the very same sort of men with those that were killed for his sake, and if thou dost not forgive us our conduct to him, we also must be sufferers." They did not move till the morning after, but continued bewailing him and his friends at his sepulchre, the sight of which renewed their sorrow. Nay, when Solyman commanded them to march, there was never a man of them would stir till he had first stood over Hosein's tomb, and begged his pardon. One that was present there swears that he never saw such crowding and pressing even round the black stone. From thence they marched to Hesasah, from Hesasah to Alambar, from Alambar to Sodud, and from Sodud to Kayyarah.

Whilst they were at Kayyarah, Abdallah the son of Yezid, the governor of Cufah, sent them a friendly letter, admonish-ing them of the hopelessness of their undertaking, in encountering such a multitude as they must expect to meet, with such a handful; assuring them of his being in the same interest with them, and desiring them to return. He concluded thus: "Do not set at nought my advice, nor contradict my command;* come as soon as my letter is read to you. God turn your faces towards his obedience, and your backs to the rebellion against him." When the letter was read, and the people had asked Solyman's advice, he told them that he saw no reason for going back, that they were never like to be nearer the two Hoseins† than now, and that the meaning of their persuading them to return was, that they might assist Abdallah the son of Zobeir, which he believed they were not required to do. But if they died now, they should die in a state of repentance for their sins." At last he came to Hait, from whence he wrote an answer to the governor of Cufah, wherein he gave him thanks for his kind letter, but told him that his men could not accept of his invitation. They were true penitents, and determined to go forwards and leave the success to God. The governor, as soon as he received the letter, said that they were resolved to die, and that would be the next news of them. From Hait they went to Karkisia, from thence to Ainwerdah. Their design was to depose both the caliphs, viz.: [Abdalmelik ‡ the son of] Merwan, and Abdallah the son of Zobeir, and restore the government to the family of the prophet. Not to enter into a long detail of the tedious particulars of their march and engagement, they fell in at last with Obeidollah and twenty thousand men, who cut them all to pieces.

Not long after, in the month Ramadan, the caliph Merwan died. We must here remember, that after Moawiyah's decease, Merwan was chosen caliph upon this condition, that Kaled the son of Yezid should succeed him, excluding his own children, and that Kaled had refused to take the government upon himself, because he was as yet too young; and that to secure the succession to Kaled, Merwan married Yezid's widow, who was Kaled's mother.

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* Arabic, Amri. It doth not always signify strictly a command, because that supposes superiority, but anything that one friend desireth of another.

† Hasan and Hosein, as we have observed before.

‡ There must be a mistake here; for this action was before Merwan's death. See Elmakin. Solyman and his penitents met at Nochailah on the new moon of the latter Rebiyah. Merwan died in the month of Ramadan; so, that unless we can suppose them to have been above five months in their march (which would not take them so many weeks), this action must have been over before the death of Merwan; therefore, instead of Abdalmelik, I would propose to read Merwan.

Afterwards however, Merwan, having altered his mind, was desirous that the succession should pass to his own children to the exclusion of Kaled, and accordingly caused his eldest son Abdalmelik to be proclaimed his lawful and proper successor.

Kaled, who always hated him, came to him one day, when there were a great many of the nobility about him in the garden, and reviled him in the most opprobrious terms. This moved the old man's choler to such a degree, that he called him bastard. Kaled went immediately and told his mother all that had passed, and the lady, touched to the quick with this affront, resolved secretly to be revenged. She said, however, to Kaled, "Child, you must have a care of such behaviour, for he will never bear it; let me alone, and I will take care of him for you." Merwan, coming in soon after, asked her if Kaled had said anything concerning him; she told him no; he had too much respect for him to do so.

Merwan did not long survive this event, however; some say his wife poisoned him, others that she laid a pillow upon his face when he was asleep, and sat upon it till he was dead, and then told the people that he died on a sudden.

Some say his age was sixty-three; others, with more probability, seventy-one. He reigned two hundred and ninety-eight days.

He was called Ebn Tarid, "The son of the expelled;" because Mohammed had banished his father Hakem for divulging a secret.* He continued in his exile during the reigns of Abubeker and Omar, and his recall was objected to

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* "When the father of Merwan was disposed to treat him reproachfully, he would salute his son with the appellation of Bennu or Zerreka, the latter being the name of his grandmother, a woman of infamous character, who, previous to her union with Abi Al Aas, gave lodging to licentious females, and announced her occupation to the public, by exhibiting a flag at the top of the house."—*Price.*

Othman as one of the greatest crimes; it being nothing less than reversing the sentence of the prophet. Othman, mild and good-natured as he was, thought that since the cause of his banishment and all the bad effects of it that could possibly happen from it, were at an end, the punishment ought to cease also.

ABDALMELIK THE SON OF MERWAN, FIFTH CALIPH OF THE HOUSE OF OMMIYAH, AND THE ELEVENTH AFTER MOHAMMED.

Hejirah 65—86. A.D. 684—705.

On the third day of the month Ramadan,* in the sixty-fifth year of the Hejirah, Abdalmelik the son of Merwan was inaugurated caliph, and succeeded his father in the government of Syria and Egypt. It is reported, that when the news was first brought to him, he was sitting with the Koran in his lap; whereupon he folded it up and laid it aside, and said, "I must take my leave of thee now."

Abdallah still holding out against him at Mecca, Abdalmelik was not willing the people should go thither on pilgrimage. For that reason he sent and enlarged the temple of Jerusalem, so as to take the "stone into the body of the church,"† and the people began to make their pilgrimages thither.

All this while Al Moktar was making the best use of his time. During his imprisonment he found means to keep up his correspondence with the sect. Letters being conveyed to him in the lining of a cap, he was soon informed of Solyman's fate, and thought the season was arrived for him to exert himself. Abdallah the son of Zobeir being still in arms at Mecca against Abdalmelik the new caliph, Ibrahim the son of Alashtar was courted by the sect, who answered, that he would join with them if they would place themselves under his command; but they told him that that was impossible, because they were already engaged to Al Moktar, who soon afterwards being released, produced, at a meeting where Ibrahim was present, a letter from Al Mohdi the son of Mohammed, the son of Ali, who was head of the sect in a lineal succession, and Ibrahim gave him his hand without any more to do. Accordingly Al Moktar took upon him the sole command of the forces. Not only so, but a great many of them inaugurated him caliph upon these terms, that he should govern according to the contents of the book of God and the tradition of the apostle, and destroy the murderers of Hosein and the family.* The first Al Moktar proceeded to seize was Shamer, whom he overcame and killed; the next was Caula, who had carried Hosein's head to Obeidollah, him he beseiged in his own house, and slew and burned him to death. Afterwards he slew Ammar, who commanded the army that had murdered Hosein, and gave orders that the horsemen should trample over his back and breast; he also took the life of his son, and sent both their heads to Mohammed Ben Hanifiyah. The sect were afraid lest he should pardon Ali the son of Hathem, and therefore begged of him to let them kill him; he told them that they might dispose of him as they thought fit. They took him and bound him, saying, "You stripped the son of Ali before he was dead, and we will strip you alive; you made a mark of him, and we will make one of you." Thereupon they let fly a shower of arrows at him, which stuck so thick over all parts of his body that he looked like a porcupine. In short, Al Moktar found means to surprise the enemies of Hosein wherever they were, and destroyed them with a variety of deaths.

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* Abulfeda.

† See p. 214, at the siege of Jerusalem. MS. Laud. No. 161. A.

Abdalmelik† had about this time sent an army against Abdallah the son of Zobeir, who was at Medina; Al Moktar, who had two such powerful enemies to deal with, determined to try if he could get rid of them one by one. Accordingly, he endeavoured in the following manner to overreach Abdallah, by sending an army, pretendedly, to his assistance.

Abdalmelik having sent an army out of Syria towards Irak, Al Moktar was afraid lest they should not only fall upon him on that side, but that he should be at the same time hard pressed on the other by Abdallah's brother Musab, from Bassorah. He therefore wrote a deceitful letter to Abdallah, telling him, that being informed that Abdalmelik the son of Merwan had sent an army against him, he was ready to come to his assistance with a competent force. Abdallah answered, "That if he would only assure him of the sincerity of his allegiance he might come; and in order to satisfy him in that point, he desired him to take the votes of his men for him. If he did this, he would believe him, and not send any more forces into his country; and that in the meantime he must send his proffered assistance with all possible speed against Abdalmelik's army that lay at Dilkora." Upon this, Al Moktar called Serjabil the son of Wars to him, and despatched him with three thousand men, most of them slaves, for there were not above seven hundred Arabs amongst them, and bade him march directly to Medina, and write to him from thence for further orders. Al Moktar's design was, as soon as they came to Medina, to send an Emir to command them, whilst Serjabil should go and besiege Abdallah in Mecca. But Abdallah, who had no great confidence in Al Moktar, especially as he had not given him the security he expected, did not intend to allow himself to be surprised. He therefore sent Abbas the son of Sahel, from Mecca to Medina, with two thousand men, ordering him, if he found the army in his interest, to receive them, if otherwise, to use the best of his endeavours to destroy them. When Abbas, who observed no order in his march, came up with Serjabil, he found his men in order of battle, the horse on the right, and Serjabil himself marching before the foot on the left. After they had saluted one another, Abbas took Serjabil aside, and asked him if he did not own himself to be Abdallah's subject? To which question when Serjabil had answered in the affirmative, Abbas bade him march along with him to Dilkora; but Serjabil told him, that he had received no such orders from his master, who had commanded him to proceed directly to Medina. Abbas however told him, that his master took it for granted, that he was come to join the expedition against Dilkora; but the other still insisted that his instructions were to move upon Medina. Abbas, perceiving how matters stood, concealed his suspicion, and told him he was in the right to obey his orders; but for his own part he must go to Dilkora. Now Serjabil and his men were almost famished for the want of provision, which in their long march had run short. Abbas therefore made Serjabil a present of a fat sheep, and also sent one to every ten of his men. The sharpness of their hunger soon set them on work, and, leaving their ranks, they were quickly in disorder, running backwards and forwards for water, and whatsoever else was necessary for the dressing their victuals. Abbas in the meantime having drawn up a thousand of his best men, advanced upon Serjabil, who, perceiving his danger, attempted to rally his men; but had scarcely got together a hundred of them, before Abbas was close upon him, crying out to his men, "O troop of God! come out and fight with these confederates of the devil; you are in the right way, but they are perjured villains!" They had not fought long before Serjabil and seventy of his guard were killed; whereupon Abbas held up a flag of quarter, to which Serjabil's men readily ran, except three hundred, who were all afterwards put to the sword. When Al Moktar heard the news, he wrote to Mohammed the son of Hanifiyah, acquainting him with the disaster, and proffering to send a powerful army to his assistance, if he would please to accept of it. Mohammed answered, that he was very well assured of the sincerity of his zeal; that if he thought fit to make use of arms, he would have no want of assistance; but that he was resolved to bear all with patience, and leave the event to God, who was the best judge. When the messenger who had brought Al Moktar's letter took his leave, Mohammed said to him, "Bid Al Moktar fear God, and abstain from shedding blood." The messenger asked him, if he had not better write that word to him. But Mohammed replied, "I have already commanded him to obey the great and mighty God; and the obedience of God consists in the doing all that is good, and the abstaining from all evil." When Al Moktar received the letter he gave it another turn, and said to the people, "I am commanded to do that which is just, and reject infidelity and perfidiousness."

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* Abulfeda.

† MS. Laud. No. 161. A.

This same year the Hoseinians went to Mecca, and performed a pilgrimage there, under Abu Abdallah Aljodali. Upon this occasion Abdallah seized Mohammed the son of

Hanifiyah, and all the rest of Ali's family, though they behaved themselves very inoffensively, and were so far from making any disturbance, that they strongly recommended peace to their friends, who were ready to hazard their lives in their service; Abdallah had found by experience, that it would be impossible for him to succeed as long as they were alive, and refused the oath of allegiance. For though they did not stir themselves, they had a very strong party; and a great many others made good use of the pretext of revenging the death of Hosein to cover their disaffaction. Resolving therefore to make an end of it all at once, he seized Mohammed and his family, and seventeen of the principal Cufians, and imprisoned them in the Zemzem, and, setting a guard over them, threatened them, that if they did not come in within a certain time and do him homage, he would put them to death, and burn them to ashes. The Zemzem is the name of a pit at Mecca which (the Mussulmans say) was made out of that spring which God caused to appear in favour of Hagar and Ishmael, when Abraham had turned them out of his house, and obliged them to retire into Arabia. Here they were shut up, but (says my author) God, whose name be magnified and glorified, gave to them courage and resolution not to come in, though Abdallah should execute all his threats upon them. Whilst they were in this condition, they found means to write to Al Moktar and acquaint him with their circumstances, entreating the Cufians also not to desert them, as they did Hosein and his family. When Al Moktar received the letter, he called the people together, and, having read it to them, said, "This is from your guide, and the purest of the family of the house of your prophet, upon whom be peace; they are left shut up like sheep expecting to be killed and burnt; but I will give them sufficient assistance, and send horse after horse, as the streams of water follow one another."* Then he sent Abu Abdallah Aljodali with threescore and ten troopers, all men of approved valour. After him a second with four hundred. Then a third with one hundred. A fourth with one hundred. A fifth with forty. And last of all a sixth with forty more. In all, seven hundred and fifty. These went out at several times one after the other, and Abu Abdallah the chief who had first gone out, made a halt by the way, till he was joined by the two companies, consisting of forty each, and with this one hundred and fifty made haste to the temple of Mecca, crying out "Vengeance for Hosein!" At last they went to the Zemzem, where they arrived opportunely, for Abdallah had got the wood ready to burn his prisoners, if they did not swear allegiance within the appointed time, to the expiration of which there wanted but two days. Having beaten off the guard, and broken open the Zemzem, they begged of Mohammed to allow them full liberty in treating with the enemy of God, Abdallah the son of Zobeir; but Mohammed answered that he would not permit any fighting in the sacred place of the most high God.* Abdallah, now coming up, said to them, "Do you think I will dismiss them, unless they swear allegiance to me? nay, and you shall swear too." But Abu Abdallah answered, "By the Lord of this sacred place, thou shalt let them go, or we will cut thee to pieces." Abdallah, despising the smallness of their number, swore that he had only to give the word to his men and within an hour all their heads would be off. Mohammed the son of Hanifiyah kept back his friends, and would not let them fight, and in the meantime another captain came up with a hundred men, and a second with the like number; then two hundred more in a body; who, as they came into the temple all cried out, "Allah Acbar, vengeance for the death of Hosein." At this sight Abdallah's passion began to cool, and before he could leave the temple he was taken prisoner. His captors entreated Mohammed to give them leave to dispose of him as they thought fit, but he would not suffer them. The money which they brought with them was distributed amongst four thousand of Ali's friends, and the whole business, through the exceeding gentleness of Mohammed's temper, was amicably compromised.

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* Here the Arabic is somewhat obscure.

Before Merwan's death, Obeidollah was sent towards Cufah with an army, with leave to plunder it for three days.† Against him was sent Yezid the son of Ares, who is worthy to be mentioned for his heroic courage and presence of mind;

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* It is prohibited in the Koran, chap. ii. 187.

† MS. Laud. No. 161. A. Abulfeda.

for, being wounded in the battle, when death appeared in his face, and he was forced to be held by two men on his ass, he appointed three generals who if necessary were in succession to take the command of the army during the fight.* Obeidollah never reached Cufah. In the first month of the sixty-seventh year, Al Moktar sent his forces against him under the command of Ibrahim the son of Alashtar. There was one thing very remarkable in his preparation; he made a throne, and pretended that there was something mysterious in it, telling the people, that it would be of the same use to them that the ark had been to the children of Israel. Accordingly, in this expedition against Obeidollah, it was carried into the battle upon a mule, and a prayer was said by the whole army before it. "O God!" they prayed, "grant us to live long in thy obedience, and help us and do not forget us, but protect us." And the people answered, "Amen, Amen." After a sharp engagement, Obeidollah's forces were beaten and himself killed in the camp. A greater number of the son of Ziyad's men were drowned in the flight than were slain in the field. Ibrahim, having cut off his head and sent it with several others to Al Moktar, burned his body.† Thus did God avenge the death of Hosein by the hands of Al Moktar, though Al Moktar had no good design in it.‡ After the success of this battle,* the people had such a reverence for this ark, that they almost idolized it.†

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* "With 3000 cavalry Yezid ventured to oppose 6000 troops of Obeidollah, and though chained to his litter by a violent and fatal disorder, yet he obtained a very signal victory. As a foretaste to the scheme of vengeance which the avengers of Hosein seemed determined to pursue, three hundred prisoners of different descriptions, who had fallen into their hands, were massacred in cold blood; Yezid, who was speechless, and in the agonies of dissolution, could only communicate the sanguinary fiat by passing his hand across his throat. This general soon afterwards expired, and his successor, receiving intelligence of the approach of Obeidollah at the head of the main body of the Syrians, thought it expedient for the present to retire within the frontiers of Irak."—*Price.*

† Abulfeda.

‡ "After a most sanguinary conflict, and towards the decline of day, victory declared for the standard of Al Moktar, and the defeat of the Syrian general was rendered more complete by the following circumstance. Ibrahim was perambulating the bank of the river after the hour of evening prayer, when his attention was attracted by the appearance of a stranger, whose splendid apparel bespoke him to be of the highest distinction. The curiosity of Ibrahim, was however more especially excited by the rich and valuable scimitar which the stranger bore in his hand, and to make himself master of this he immediately attacked and killed him. Next day,

Al Moktar was now sole master of Cufah, where he persecuted all that he could lay his hands on, who were not of Hosein's party; but this year, Abdallah sent his brother Musab to govern Bassorah. Musab rode muffled into Bassorah, and when he alighted at the temple, and went up into the pulpit, the people cried out Emir, Emir, that is, "a governor, a governor." He bade Hareth his predecessor give place, which he did immediately, sitting one step below Musab. Then, having first, according to custom, praised God, he began with these words of the twenty eighth-chapter of

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in relating the circumstance, he expressed an opinion that the person he had slain was no other than the Syrian general, as he was known to be extravagantly fond of musk, and the murdered stranger was highly scented with that perfume. In this he was not mistaken, for, on proceeding to the spot, the body was found and identified to be that of Obeidollah Ziyad."—*Price.*

* MS. Laud. Num. 161. A.

† Price declares it was the chair of Ali which Moktar exhibited, and gives the following account:—

"Not less artful than ambitious, Moktar about this period determined to employ the chair from which the venerated Ali had been accustomed to pronounce his decisions, as a means to animate the enthusiasm of his followers. Of this precious deposit, Teffeil, the nephew of Ali, now residing at Cufah, was supposed to be either in possession, or capable of giving information concerning it; and to him Moktar applied, promising him the most valuable compensation if he could contrive to procure it. Either unwilling to part with the article or ignorant of its existence, Teffeil vainly made use of every protestation to relieve himself from the threats and importunities of Moktar; but at last the latter admonished him to produce it in three days at his peril. In the anxiety of his heart Teffeil had recourse to an imposition, and going to a dealer in oil who lived at the head of the same street, he purchased an old chair; which, having secretly conveyed home, he carefully washed and scoured, and carried to Moktar. With as much apparent transport as if the mantle and staff of the prophet had fallen into his hands, the latter rewarded Teffeil to the utmost of his promise; then quitting his seat, he pressed the precious relic to his lips, and raised it above his head, and, having repeated two courses of prayer, he declared to his auditors that the chair should be as much an object of reverence to the Schiahs as the sanctuary of Abraham was to the Mussulmans, or the ark of the covenant to the children of Israel. He further hailed it as a pledge that God would be present in all their enterprises; and when it had been received by his followers with the same veneration, he caused the sacred memorial to be enclosed in a wooden cabinet under a lock and key of silver, and lodged in the principal mosque the Koran;* "We relate to thee the history of Moses and Pharaoh with truth, for (the satisfaction of) those that believe;" going on till he came to these words, and "was of them that defile the earth; when he pointed out with his hands towards Syria." † And when he came to the words, "who were weakened in the earth, and we shall make them rulers, and make them heirs;" he pointed towards Hejaz or Arabia Petræa: while at the words, "and we showed Pharaoh and Haman, and their armies what they most feared," he pointed again towards Syria. Then he said to the Bassorians, "I hear that you used to gave names to your emirs; I have named myself Hejaz, that is Arabia."

Soon after one came into Bassorah, upon a crop-eared bob-tailed mule, with his clothes rent, crying out as loud as he could, Ya gautha, ya gautha, "help! help!" As soon as they had described the manner of his appearance to Musab, he said, "he was sure it must be Shebet, for nobody else would do so but him, and ordered them if it was so to give him instant admission." Musab was right. Shebet had come with a heavy complaint, enforced by the names of a great many of the chief men of Cufah, who represented the great disorders committed in that city, and their sufferings under the administration of Al Moktar. They particularly complained of an insurrection of their slaves, which Al Moktar, if he did not encourage, did not endeavour to put down, and therefore begged his assistance, entreating him earnestly to march with an army against Al Moktar. He was very much inclined to hearken to their proposal, but was resolved not to stir till Al Mohalleb his lieutenant over Persia should come to his assistance. He therefore wrote to summons Al Mohalleb, who, however, made no great haste, not overmuch approving of the expedition. But he obeyed the second summons, and

of Cufah; where it remained in the custody of a particular set of men whom he distinguished by the appellation of 'guards of God.' It continued here to excite the veneration of the people, and in the expedition against Obeidollah it was carried at the head of the army, and may possibly have produced such an impression at the battle, as to have contributed in no small degree to the ultimate success of the day."—*Price.*

* Kcoran, ch. xxviii.

† When he pointed towards Syria he meant Abdalmelik, whom he compares to Pharaoh and Haman; and when he pointed towards Arabia he meant his brother Abdallah.

came with large supplies both of men and money. Joining their forces, they marched towards Cufah against Al Moktar, who was not wanting to his own defence, but mustered his forces, and gave them battle. After a bloody fight Al Moktar was beaten, and made his retreat into the royal castle of Cufah, where Musab closely besieged him. Al Moktar defended the castle with great bravery till he was killed; and, upon his death, his men surrendered, at discretion, to Musab, who put them every man to the sword.* They were in all seven thousand.†

Thus, in the sixty-seventh year of his age died that great man,‡ who had beaten all the generals of Yezid, Merwan, and Abdalmelik, all three caliphs of the house of Ommiyah, and made himself master of all Babylonian Irak, whereof Cufah was the capital. He never pardoned, when he had them in his power, any one of those who had declared themselves enemies of the family of the prophet, nor those who, as he believed, had dipped their hands in Hosein's blood, or that of his relations. On this account alone, without reckoning those who were slain in the battles which he fought, it is said that he killed nearly fifty thousand men.

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* This was in the month Ramadan, an. 67.

† The particulars of the death of Al Moktar are thus related by Price: "With six thousand troops, the remnant of his army, Al Moktar prepared to defend himself against his pursuers in the palace at Cufah. He was soon invested by the army of Musab, and as the place was entirely destitute of provisions, he proposed to his followers to cut their way through the besiegers and perish, sword in hand, rather than by the accumulating horrors of famine. This they declined, desiring to throw themselves on the mercy of Musab; but Moktar had resolved never to throw himself on the discretion of his enemies, but to combat them to the last extremity and surrender his sword only with his life. The next morning, accordingly, after performing his ablutions, and despatching the early duties of his religion, he took leave of his followers with a solemn assurance, that when he was fallen they were not to flatter themselves that they should escape the unsparing vengeance of the enemy. Perceiving, however, that they continued deaf to every appeal, he finally quitted the palace at the head of nineteen of his most faithful associates, all clad like himself in their winding-sheets; and generously sought, and obtained a glorious death in the thickest ranks of the enemy. The besieged immediately surrendered at discretion; and being led handcuffed to the great square of Cufah, they were all put to death through the importunities of their fellow citizens, although Musab himself seemed very well disposed to spare them."

‡ D'Herbelot in Moktar.

This year* the sect of Separatists called Azarakites, sworn enemies to all established government, both temporal and spiritual, and particularly to the house of Ommiyah, made an eruption out of Persia, and overran all Irak, till they came near Cufah, and penetrated as far as Madayen. They committed all manner of outrages as they went, destroying all they met, and exercising the utmost cruelty without distinction of sex or age. There was a lady of extraordinary piety as well as beauty, which one of them would have spared, to whom another answered, "What! thou art taken with her beauty, thou enemy of God, and hast denied the faith!" and killed her. Al Mohalleb, the governor of Mausal and Mesopotamia, mustered his chosen troops at Bassorah, and met them at a place called Saulak, where they fought desperately for eight months, without intermitting one day. This year there was such a famine in Syria, that they could not undertake any expedition, nor lay siege to any town, because of the great scarcity of provisions. Abdalmelik encamped in a place called Botnan, near to the territories of Kinnisrin; his camp was very much incommoded by the great showers of rain; however, he wintered there, and afterwards returned to Damascus.

In the sixty-ninth year, Abdalmelik left Damascus to go against Musab the son of Zobeir, and appointed Amrou the son of Saïd to take care of Damascus, who seized upon it for himself,† which obliged Abdalmelik to return. Others say, that when he went out, Amrou the son of Saïd to him, "Your father promised me the caliphate after him, and upon that consideration I fought along with him, and you cannot be ignorant of the pains I took in his service; wherefore, as you are going to Irak, give me your nomination to the caliphate after you. Abdalmelik would not hearken to his proposal, and Amrou returned to Damascus, whither Abdalmelik followed him close. They skirmished in the streets several days; at last the women came between them with their children, crying out, "How long will you fight for the government of the Koreish, and destroy one another?" and with some difficulty, parted them; and articles of peace were drawn between Amrou and Abdalmelik.

But standing in competition for a crown is a crime never to be forgiven. Three or four days after, Abdalmelik sent for Amrou, who, when the messenger arrived, was in company with his wife and two or three friends. They all tried to dissuade him from trusting himself into the caliph's hands, but he resolved to run the risk. As he went out he stumbled; and his wife, taking the omen, repeated her persuasions to stay him, but to no purpose. He put on his sword, and took a hundred men along with him. When he came to Abdalmelik's house, he was admitted himself, but the gates were shut upon his men, and only a little foot-boy permitted to go in with him. When he came in, Abdalmelik spoke very civilly to him, and placed him by his side on his own couch. After a long discourse, he commanded a servant to take his sword off. Amrou, showing some unwillingness to part with it, "What," said Abdalmelik, "would you sit by me with your sword on?" Amrou at this submitted, and was disarmed; whereupon Abdalmelik told him, that when he first rebelled against him he had taken an oath, that if ever he got him into his power, he would put him into fetters. Amrou said he hoped he would not expose him in them to the people. Abdalmelik promised him he would not, and at the same time pulled the fetters from under his cushion, which were accordingly put upon his hands and feet. Then he pulled him so violently against the couch that he beat out two of his fore-teeth. After which he told him that he would still let him go if he thought he would continue in his duty, and keep the Koreish right. "But," said he, "never were two men in one country engaged in such an affair as you and I are concerned in, but one pursued the other to the death." Some say that when Abdalmelik saw Amrou's teeth dropped out, as he took them in his fingers, he said, "I see your teeth are out; after this you will never be reconciled to me," and immediately commanded him to be beheaded.

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* An. Hej. 68, cœpit July 17, A.D. 687.

† MS. Laud. No. 161. A.

The muezzin at the same time called to evening prayers. Abdalmelik went out to prayers, and left the execution of Amrou to his brother Abdolaziz the son of Merwan; whom, as he stood over him with his drawn sword, Amrou begged for God's sake not to do that office himself, but to leave it to some other person that was not so nearly related to him; whereupon he threw away his sword and let him alone. Abdalmelik made but short prayers, and when he came back, the people observing that Amrou was not long ago with him, acquainted his brother John with the matter, who, immediately gathering together some of his own friends, and a thousand of Amrou's slaves, made an assault upon Abdalmelik's house, broke open the gates, and killed several of the guards. In the meantime Abdalmelik, wondering to find Amrou alive, asked Abdolaziz the reason of it, and learning that he had forborne to kill him out of compassion, Abdalmelik gave him reproachful language, and calling for a javelin, struck Amrou with it, but as it did not penetrate, he repeated his blow, but still to no purpose. Thereupon, feeling Amrou's arm, he discovered that he had a coat of mail beneath his vest, at which he smiled and said, "Cousin, you come well prepared!" Then, calling for his sword, and commanding Amrou to be thrown upon his back, he killed him; but he had no sooner despatched him, than he was seized with such a trembling that they were forced to take him up and lay him upon his couch. All this while John and his friends were pressing in, killing and wounding all they met. Wherefore, by Abdalmelik's command, to satisfy them that their fighting would be to no purpose, they threw out Amrou's head; and Abdolaziz the son of Merwan, to appease their rage, threw money amongst them in plenty. When they saw the head and the money, they left off fighting and fell to picking it up. After the heat was over, however, it is said that Abdalmelik, such was his covetousness, recalled it all again, and ordered it to be repaid into the public treasury. John was taken prisoner and sentenced to death, but Abdolaziz begged of his brother not to kill two of the Ommiyan family in one day: whereupon he was put in prison. After a month or more, Abdalmelik consulted with those about him as to the putting him and his friends to death; but he was answered that it would be better to leave them alone, for they were near relations; and the best way, perhaps, would be to give them their liberty and let them go, if they would, to his enemy Musab the son of Zobeir. For if they were killed in that service, he would be rid of them by the hands of others; but if they returned and fell into his hands again, he might then, without incurring any censure, deal with them according to his own discretion. This advice was followed, and they went to Musab the son of Zobeir. When Abdalmelik sent to Amrou's wife for the articles of peace between him and her husband which he had signed, she bade the messenger go back, and tell him that she had wrapped them up in his winding-sheet, in order that Amrou might have them to plead his cause with against him before God. There was an old grudge between Abdalmelik and his cousin Amrou which dated from their infancy, and was occasioned by an old woman of their own family, whom when they were boys they frequently visited. She used to dress victuals for them, and give each of them his dish by himself; and always managed, by showing a preference to one or the other, to raise a jealousy between them, and set them together by the ears; so that they were either always quarrelling, or else so obstinately sulky as not to exchange a single word. Merwan, before he died, had received information that Amrou entertained hopes of the caliphate after his decease, which made him seize the first opportunity to propose to the congregation to swear allegiance to his sons Abdalmelik and Abdolaziz after him, with which, without any exception, they all readily complied.

In the seventieth year,* the Greeks made an incursion into Syria. Abdalmelik, who had business enough on his hands already, between the two sons of Zobeir, Abdallah in Arabia, and Musab in Irak, was not at leisure to go against them, but agreed to pay the Grecian emperor a thousand ducats every week. This same year, Musab went to Mecca with prodigious wealth and cattle, which he distributed amongst the Arabians. Abdallah the son of Zobeir also went the pilgrimage this year.

Abdalmelik, being now resolved upon an expedition into Irak against Musab, put to death the principal persons among those who had been confederates of Amrou the son of Saïd.† He had sent before him to Bassorah Kaled the son of Asid, who, privately entering the city, began to form a party for him. Musab, having received intelligence of his proceedings, went to Bassorah in hopes of surprising him. But Kaled, getting out of the way, he sent for the chief of the Bassorians, and upbraided them, reproaching one with the meanness of his family; another with some scandalous action, either of his own or some of his relations; in short, raking up something against all of them. But this way of proceeding only exasperated them, and made them more averse to his interest. In the meantime, Abdalmelik had sent letters, full of large promises, to each of the leading men. Amongst the rest, he sent one to the faithful Ibrahim the son of Alashtar, who delivered it to Musab sealed up as it came to him. The purport of it was to offer him the lieutenancy of Irak if Ibrahim would come over to his party. Ibrahim told Musab that he might depend upon it that Abdalmelik had written to the same purpose to all his friends, and advised him to behead them. Musab, however, not approving of that measure, because, he said, it would alienate all their tribes, Ibrahim advised him at least to imprison them or put them in chains, and set some one to watch them, who if he should be conquered should strike their heads off, but if he got the victory he might make a present of them to their tribes. Musab answered, "I have other business to mind; God bless Ahubehran, who gave me warning of the treachery of the Irakians, as if he had foreseen this very business wherein I am now engaged."

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* An. Hej. 70, cœpit Jun. 24, A.D. 689.

† An. Hej. 71, cœpit Jun. 14, A.D. 690.

The Syrian nobility did not approve of Abdalmelik's engaging in this enterprise. They did not, indeed object to the expedition itself, but they wished rather that he should stay at home with them at Damascus, and reduce Irak by his generals, and not expose his person to the hazards of war; for they feared lest, if he were to miscarry, the caliphate might be unsettled, and their own affairs embroiled. To this he answered, that nobody was fit for that undertaking but a man of sense as well as of courage; and perhaps if he chose a man of courage he might nevertheless be wanting in prudence; but he considered himself qualified for it, both by his abilities in war and his personal courage. As for the danger, Musab, he remarked, was of a courageous family, and his father Zobeir had been one of the most valiant of the Koreish, and he was himself also brave enough, but he did not understand war, and loved an easy life. Moreover, Musab had some with him that would be against him, whereas he could depend on the fidelity of his own men.

The battle was joined at a place called Masken. The Irakians, according to their custom, had made up their minds to betray Musab, for they did not intend to expose their country to be ravaged by a Syrian army for his sake. His faithful friend Ibrahim, the son of Alashtar, gave the first charge, and repulsed Mohammed,* the son of Haroun, to whose support Abdalmelik advanced with a fresh company, when at the second charge Ibrahim was killed. Musab's general of the horse ran away, and a great many of the rest stood by and would not obey his command. Then he called out, "O Ibrahim! but there is no Ibrahim for me to-day." It is said, that when Musab was upon his march against Abdalmelik, Abdalmelik asked if Omar, the son of Abdallah, was with him; being answered, "No, he has made him lieutenant of Persia," he next inquired if Almohalleb was there, and was told "No, he is lieutenant over Mausal;" and when he had demanded the third time if Ibad, the son of Hossem was there, and was answered in the negative, for he had been left behind at Bassorah, he was exceeding glad, and presaged a certain victory; "for," said he, "he will have nobody to help him."

When Musab perceived his forlorn condition, he endeavoured to persuade his son Isa to ride with the men under him to Mecca, and acquaint his uncle with the treachery of the Irakians. But Isa (who must be very young, for his father was but six and thirty) would not leave him, but told him that his life† would be hateful to him if he survived his father, and advised him rather to retreat to Bassorah, where he would find his friends, and from whence he might be able to join the governor of the faithful, meaning his uncle Abdallah, the son of Zobeir. But Musab said, "It shall never be said among the Koreish that I ran away, nor that I came defeated into the sacred temple of Mecca." He therefore bade his son, if he chose, to come back and fight; which order he joyfully obeyed, and died in battle, his father Musab being killed shortly after him. It is said, that during the engagement Abdalmelik sent to Musab, tendering him quarter;

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* That is, as we pronounce, Mahomet, the son of Aaron.

† Yacut Hamawi.

but he answered, that men like himself did not use to go from such a place as that (meaning the field of battle) without either conquering or being conquered. After being grievously wounded with several arrows, he was stabbed, and his head being cut off, was carried to Abdalmelik, who proffered the bearer a thousand ducats; but he refused to accept them, saying, that he had not slain Musab from any wish to do him service, but to avenge a quarrel of his own, and for that reason he would take no money for bringing the head.* Musab† had been Abdalmelik's intimate friend before he was caliph, but marrying afterwards Sekinah, Hosein's daughter, and Ayesha, the daughter of Telha, by those marriages he was engaged in the interest of two families who were at mortal enmity with the house of Ommiyah.

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* The death of Musab was commemorated by a distinguished poet of the time named Ubeid Allah Ebn Kais, who was on terms of friendship with him, and had fought in his cause. The poet seems, however, to have possessed more genius than principle; for he subsequently became as warm a panegyrist of his friend's adversary, Abdalmelik. The following incident is recorded by Weil :—"When Musab was surrounded by the enemy, he said to Ubeid Allah, 'Take as much as you wish from my treasury, and preserve your life.' 'Not so,' replied the poet, 'I will never forsake thee.' He then continued fighting by the side of Musab until the latter was slain, when he fled to Cufah. At this place, whilst looking cautiously round the entrance of a house, he was invited into it by a female, who concealed him in a top room for a space of four months; during which time she lodged and attended him without even desiring to know his name, though every morning and evening, throughout the whole period, the public crier was proclaiming his flight, and offering a price for his head. One day, he expressed a wish to his hostess to return to his home and family, and in the evening she invited him down stairs, when he beheld two camels standing at the door, one for himself, and one for two slaves, whom she presented to him to be his guides. Before he started he begged to know her name; but she replied by reciting some of his own verses, and adding, 'To me didst thou dedicate them.' He now departed, and travelled without halting to Medina, where he arrived in the depth of night, and was received by his family with tender affection, though at the same time they warned him that his life was in the greatest danger there, as the very day before he had been sought for everywhere. He accordingly resumed his journey, and repaired to Abdallah Ebn Djafar, and begged his protection; who thereupon rode off to Abdalmelik, and prayed him to grant him a favour. 'All that thou desirest is already granted,' said the caliph, 'only do not ask pardon for Ubeid Allah.' 'Hitherto thou hast always granted my requests without reserve,' answered Abdallah. 'Then I make no exceptions this time,' said Abdalmelik; 'what is thy wish?' 'Pardon for the offences of Ubeid Allah,' cried Abdallah. 'I pardon him,' said the caliph; and the poet immediately repaired to the court of Abdalmelik, and recited to him an ode in his praise."

† Abulfeda.

As soon as this battle was over, Abdalmelik* entered into Cufah, and with it took possession of both the Babylonian and Persian Irak. As soon as he signified to the people his command that they should come in and take the oaths to him, they obeyed unanimously. Soon after he came into the castle he inquired for John, the brother of Amrou, whom he had put to death. Being informed that he was not far off, he commanded him to be produced; but this the Cufians refusing, unless he would promise to do him no harm, Abdalmelik seemed at first to take it ill that they should presume to stipulate with him, but at last he condescended to make the required promise, and John made his appearance. When he came into his presence, Abdalmelik thus greeted him, "Thou vile wretch! with what face wilt thou appear before thy Lord, after having deposed me?"† "With that face," answered John, "that he himself hath created." As John took the oath of allegiance to him, there was an end of that business. Abdalmelik ordered vast sums of money to be distributed among the people, and made a splendid entertainment, to which everybody that would come was welcome. When they were sat down to supper, Amrou, the son of Hareth, an ancient Mechzumian came in. Abdalmelik called to him, and placing him by his side upon the sofa, asked him what meat he liked best of all that ever he had eaten; the old Mechzumian answered, "An ass's neck well seasoned and roasted."‡ "You don't know what's good," says Abdalmelik; "what say you to a leg or a shoulder of sucking lamb, well roasted, and with a sauce of butter and milk?"§ Whilst he was at supper he said,

"How sweetly we live, if a shadow would last!'

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* MS. Laud. No. 161. A.

† That is as much as in him lay; for they use that expression, though a prince were not actually deposed.

‡ MS. Laud. No. 161. A.

§ Hence I observe, that the Arabians had not altered their cookery since Abraham's time, who made use of butter and milk when he entertained the angels. See Gen. xviii. 8. There is some obscurity in the Arabic.

After supper was over he took the old Mechzumian along with him to satisfy him concerning the antiquities of the castle; and when the answers to all his questions began, of course, with "this was," and "that was," and "he was," and the like, it raised a melancholy reflection in the caliph, and he repeated the verse out of an ancient Arabic poet:—

"And everything that is new (O Omaim!) goes to decay, and he that *is* to-day is hastening to *he was yesterday.*"

Then, returning to his sofa, he threw himself upon it, and repeated these verses:—

"Proceed leisurely because thou art mortal, and chastise thyself, O man!"
"For what *was* will not be when it is past, also what *is* will soon be *it was.*"

When Musab's head was brought to him in the castle, one that stood by said, "I will tell you something particular that has passed within my own observation. In this same castle I saw Hosein's head presented to Obeidollah, Obeidollah's to Al Moktar, Al Moktar's to Musab, and now at last Musab's to yourself."* The caliph, surprised and alarmed at this coincidence, commanded the castle to be forthwith demolished, to avert the ill omen.

When the news of Musab's death was brought to his brother Abdallah, the son of Zobeir, he immediately made a speech to the people.† "Praise be to God," he said, "to whom belongs the creation and the command of all things; who bestows and withdraws dominion to and from whom he pleases; who strengthens and weakens whom he pleases; only God never weakens him that hath truth on his side, though he stands alone, nor doth he strengthen him whose friend is the devil, though all the world should join in his assistance. There is news come from Irak which is matter both of sorrow and joy to us—it is the death of Musab, to whom God be merciful. Now what rejoiceth us is, that his death is martyrdom to him, and what is matter of grief to us is the sorrow wherewith his friends will be afflicted at his departure; but men of understanding will have recourse to patience, which is of all the most noble consolation. As for my own part, if I be a sufferer in Musab, I was so before in

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* MS. Hunt.. No. 495. D'Herbelot. † MS. Laud. No. 161. A.

(my father) Azzobier. Nor was Musab aught else but one of the servants of God, and an assistant of mine.* But the Irakians are treacherous and perfidious; they betrayed him and sold him for a vile price. And if we be killed, by Allah, we do not die upon beds, as the sons of Abilasi die. By Allah, there was never a man of them killed in fight, either in the days of ignorance or Islam. But we do not die but pushing with lances and striking under the shadow of swords. As for this present world, it diverts from the most high King, whose dominion shall not pass away, and whose kingdom shall not perish; and if it (the present world) turns its face I shall not receive it with immoderate joy, and if it turns its back I shall not bewail it with indecent sorrow. I have said what I had to say, and I beg pardon of God both for myself and you."

Whilst Mohalleb was engaged against the Separatists, they received intelligence of Musab's death before he and his men knew anything at all of it.† Whereupon they called out to his men, "What! will you not tell us what you think of Musab?" They said, "He is the Imam of the right way." "And he is," replied the Separatists, "your friend both in this world and that to come?" They answered, "Yes." "And you are his friends, both alive and dead?" "Yes." "And what do you think of Abdalmelik, the son of Merwan?" They said, "He is the son of the accursed; we are clear of him before God, and we feel ourselves more free to shed his blood than yours." "And you are," continued the Separatists, "his enemies both alive and dead?" Yes; we are his enemies both alive and dead." "Well," said the Separatists, "Abdalmelik hath killed your Imam Musab, and you will make Abdalmelik your Imam to-morrow, though you wash your hands of him to-day and curse his father." To which the other answered, "You lie, ye enemies of God." But the next day, when they were informed of the truth of the matter, they changed their note, and Mohalleb and all his men took the oath to Abdalmelik. Upon this account they were bitterly reproached by the Separatists, who said to them, "Now, you enemies of God! yesterday you were clear of him both in this world and the world to come, and affirmed that you were his enemies both alive and dead; and now to-day he is your Imam and your caliph, who killed your Imam whom you had chosen for your patron. Which of these two is the right?" They could not deny what they had said the day before, and were loath to give themselves the lie, so they answered, "You enemies of God! we were pleased with the other so long as he presided over us; and now we approve of this as we did before of the other." To which the Separatists answered, "No, by Allah! but you are brethren of the devils, companions of the wicked, and slaves of the present world." This is the account of that conference.

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* Here is a difficulty in the Arabic.

† An. Heg. 72. cœpit Jun. 3, A.D. 691.

Abdalmelik, upon his return into Syria, made Bashur his brother governor of Cufah, and Kaled, the son of Abdallah, governor of Bassorah. When Kaled came to the latter city, he made Mohalleb supervisor of the tribute, indiscreetly enough, for Mohalleb was the best general of the age, and in all probability the victory of the Azarakites now was owing to his absence; for Abdolaziz being sent against them, they defeated him and took his wife prisoner. While they were disputing about her worth, some valuing her at about a hundred thousand pieces, one of their chief men said, "This heathen doth nothing but cause disturbance amongst you, and shall she escape?" at which words he cut her head off.* Some of the bystanders telling him upon this that they did not know whether to praise him or blame him for what he had done, he answered, he at least had done it out of zeal. When Kaled wrote to Abdalmelik, acquainting him with the loss of the army, and desiring to know his pleasure, he received the following answer:—"I understand by your letter that you sent your brother to fight against the Separatists, and have received the account of the slaughter and flight. When I inquired of your messenger where Mohalleb was, he informed me that he was your supervisor of the tribute. God rejected thy counsel when thou sentest thy brother, an Arabian of Mecca, to battle, and kept Mohalleb by thy side to gather taxes, who is a man of a most penetrating judgment and good government, hardened in war, and is the son of the grandson of it; see, therefore, and send Mohalleb to meet them in Ehwaz, or beyond Ehwaz. I have sent to Bashur, ordering him to assist thee with an army of Cufians; and if thou goest and meetest thy enemy, do not undertake any enterprize against him until thou hast shown it to Mohalleb, and asked his advice about it, if please God. Peace be unto thee, and the mercy of God." Kaled was not well pleased with the contents of the letter, both because Abdalmelik had blamed him for sending his brother to manage the war, and because he had laid him under an injunction to do nothing without the advice of Mohalleb. Abdalmelik kept his word, and ordered Bashur to assist them with five thousand Cufians; but first he was to send a messenger to consult with Mohalleb, who was a person of too great consideration not to be treated with the utmost respect.

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* MS. Laud. Num. 161. A.

Their combined forces being now ready, Kaled and Bashur marched, and met the enemy near the city Ehwaz, for the Azarakites were advanced so far. There were in the river certain ships which Mohalleb advised Kaled to seize; but before that design could be put in execution, a party of the enemies' horse set them on fire. As Mohalleb passed by one of his generals, and perceived he had not intrenched himself, he asked him the reason of it. The other swore, he was no more afraid of them than of a fly. Mohalleb bade him not despise them, for they were the lions of the Arabians. The Azarakites remained in their entrenchments about twenty days; when at last Kaled and Mohalleb fell upon them, and, after as bloody a battle as was ever fought in the memory of man, entirely routed them and took possession of their camp. Kaled sent David to pursue them, and despatched an express to Abdalmelik, acquainting him with the success; who immediately commanded his brother Bashur to send four thousand horse more to join David and pursue them into Persia: these orders were obeyed till they had lost almost all their horses, and were themselves quite worn out, and almost starved to death, so that the greatest part of the two armies returned on foot to Ehwaz.

Thus Abdalmelik, in the seventy-second year, having brought all the eastern part of the Mussulman empire entirely under his subjection, had no opposition to encounter, but that of old Abdallah the son of Zobeir at Mecca. Against him Abdalmelik sent Hejaj the son of Joseph, one of the most eloquent as well as warlike captains that flourished amongst them, during the reigns of the caliphs. One reason among others that led to his employment in that service was the following. When Abdalmelik was upon his return into Syria, Hejaj said to him, "I have had a dream that I had taken the son of Zobeir and slayed him; wherefore send me against him, and commit the management of that war to my charge." The caliph was pleased with the dream, and sent him with a strong body of Syrians to Mecca, whither he had written before, promising pardon and security, upon condition of their submitting immediately to his authority. Abdallah sent out parties of horse against him, but in all the skirmishes they came by the worst. Hereupon Hejaj wrote to Abdalmelik to send him sufficient force to besiege Abdallah, assuring him that his fierceness was very much abated, and that his men deserted daily. Abdalmelik ordered Tharik the son of Amer to assist him, who joined him with five thousand men. Hejaj came to Taïf (a town lying sixty miles eastward of Mecca) in the month Shaaban in the seventy-second year, and Tharik came to him in the new moon of Dulhagiah, but he did not go round the temple, nor come near it, because he was under a vow; but kept himself in arms, neither sleeping with his wives, nor anointing himself till after the death of the son of Zobeir. Abdallah killed the sacrifice (either camels or oxen) on the killing day,* that is the tenth of Moharram;† but neither he nor his friends performed the rites of pilgrimage, because they had not been at Mount Arafat, which however is necessary to make a true pilgrimage. As they were under siege it was impossible for them to do so.

This same year Abdalmelik wrote to Abdallah the son of Hazim to persuade him to come in, promising him if he did to give him the revenues of Khorassan for seven years. But he received the offer with so much disdain, that he made the messenger eat the letter he had brought, telling him at the same time that if it were not for making a disturbance between the two tribes, he would have killed him. Afterwards Abdalmelik sent against him a general with sufficient force, who defeated and slew him. Others say, that he was not killed till after the death of Abdallah the son of Zobeir, and that Abdalmelik sent the head of the son of Zobeir to the son of Hazim, imagining that he would not after that sight stand out any longer. But it had the quite contrary effect, for as soon as he saw it, he swore he would never acknowledge his authority as long as he lived. Then calling for a bason he washed the head and embalmed it, and wrapped it up in linen, prayed over it, and sent it to Abdallah's relations at Medina. He then cut off the messenger's hands and feet, and afterwards beheaded him.*

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* Arabic, Yaumolnehri. † An. Hej. 73. cœpit Maii 22, A.D. 692.

The siege of Mecca lasted eight months and seventeen nights. The Syrians battered the temple with their engines, and it thundered and lightened so dreadfully, as put them into a terrible consternation, and made them give over.† At this Hejaj, sticking the corner of his vest into his girdle, and putting into it one of the stones they used to propel with the engines, slang it towards the city; his example encouraged his men to resume their work afresh. The next morning there came upon them storm after storm, and killed twelve of his men, which quite dispirited the Syrians. Hejaj, however, said to them, "O Syrians, do not dislike this, I am a son of Tehamah. This is the storm of Tehamah. Victory is just at hand: rejoice at the news of it. The enemy's men suffer as much by it as you do." The next day there was another storm, and some of Abdallah's men were killed, which gave room to Hejaj to encourage his men and say, "Do not you see that they are hurt, and you are in a state of obedience, and they of disobedience?" Thus they continued fighting till a little before Abdallah was killed. His followers in the meanwhile deserted from him every day, and went over to Hejaj. The inhabitants of Mecca having done so, to the number of ten thousand: even his two sons Hamza and Chobeib left him, and went and made conditions for themselves. When he perceived himself forsaken on all sides, he went to his mother (who was grand-daughter to Abubeker the first caliph, and was then ninety years of age, a woman of a most undaunted spirit) and said to her, "O mother! The people, and even my own children and family, have deserted me, and I have but a few left who will hardly be able to stand it out one hour. These people are ready to give me, if I will submit, whatsoever I can desire in this world; what do you advise me to do?" "Son," said she, "judge for yourself; if, as you pretend to be, you know that you are in the right, persevere in it, for your friends have died for the sake of it. Be not so obstinately resolved to save your neck as to become the scorn of the boys of the Ommiyan family! But if thou choosest the present world, alas! bad servant! thou hast destroyed thyself, and those that were killed with thee. And if thou sayest I stood to the truth, and when my friends declined I was weakened! this is neither the part of an ingenuous nor a religious man. And how long can you continue in this world? Death is more eligible." Then Abdallah drew near, and kissed her head, and said, "By Allah, this is the very thought which I have ever persisted in to this day; neither did I incline towards this world, nor desire to live in it, nor did any other motive but zeal for God, persuade me to dissent. However, I had a mind to know your opinion, and you have confirmed my own: wherefore, mother, look upon me as a dead man from this day; nor let your grief be immoderate, but resign yourself to God's command; for your son hath not stood in the footsteps of the scandalous, nor done anything worthy of reproach. He has not prevaricated in the judgment of God, nor dealt treacherously in giving his faith: nor supported himself by doing injury to any person that delivered up himself or entered into covenant; nor did any injustice done by any of my officers ever reach me that I approved of, and did not discourage; nor was there any thing that I preferred before the doing the will of my Lord. O God! thou knowest that I do not say this for the justification of myself, but to comfort my mother, that she may receive consolation after my decease." She answered, "I hope in God, I shall have good comfort in thee, whether thou goest before me, or I before thee. Now go out and see what will be the issue." To which he answered, "God give thee a good reward, O mother! You will not cease praying for me, both before and after." She answered, "That I never shall; others are killed in vain, but thou for the truth. O God! be merciful to him for his watchfulness in the long nights and his diligence,* and his piety towards his father and me; O God, I resign myself to what thou shalt command concerning him; I am pleased with what thoü dost decree; give me in Abdallah the reward of those that are grateful and persevering." This was about ten, or according to some only five, days before he was slain. The day whereon he was killed he went into the house of his mother, with his coat of mail on and his helmet, and took hold on her hand and kissed it. She said, "This farewell is not for a long time." He told her he was come to take his leave of her, for this was his last day in this life. As he embraced her, she felt the coat of mail, and told him that the putting that on did not look like a man that was resolved to die, and when he said that he had only put it on, in order to be the better able to defend her; she said she would not be so defended, and bade him put off. Then she bade him go out, assuring him that if he was killed he died a martyr; he said he did not so much fear death as the being exposed after it; to which she courageously answered, "That a sheep when it was once killed never felt the flaying."† Before he went out she gave him, to increase his courage, a draught with a pound of musk in it. At last he went to the field and defended himself to the terror and astonishment of his enemies, killing a great many with his own hands, so that they kept at a distance, and threw bricks at him; which made him stagger; and when he felt the blood run down his face and beard, he repeated this verse:—

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* According to Price, the government of Khorassan was offered to Abdallah, the son of Hazim, for seven years longer, provided he would transfer his allegiance from the son of Zobeir to Abdalmelik. The proposal was however rejected with disdain, though the messenger returned unhurt; and the irritated caliph wrote to Wokkeil, the lieutenant of Abdallah, offering the government of Khorassan to him, if he would put his principal to death. The temptation was too powerful for the integrity of Wokkeil, and he accordingly proceeded to swear the inhabitants against the authority of his master; but the latter, discovering the treachery, put himself at the head of his troops and attacked his lieutenant, before his designs were ripe for execution. The treason was however already too formidable and extensive. In the midst of battle Abdallah Hazim was attacked from behind by a body of Arabs, and thrown from his horse covered with wounds. In this situation Wokkeil approached him for the purpose of taking off his head, when Abdallah suddenly opened his eyes and recognized his lieutenant. "Miscreant," said he, spitting in his face, "art thou, whom I have reared to manhood, the wretch to supersede me? Away with thee! no longer disturb the attention of the brave by thy polluted presence." But these stern reproaches were not sufficient to deter Wokkeil from his purpose: he immediately struck off his head and sent it to Abdalmelik, and for this acceptable piece of service he retained the government of Khorassan till an. Hej. 75.

† MS. Laud. No. 161. A.

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* Here is a word or two which I do not so well apprehend the meaning of: Watthema, Phi'l Hawajeri'l Medina wa Mecca.

† Elmakin.

> "The blood of our wounds doth not fall down upon our heels, but upon our feet,"

meaning, that he did not turn his back upon his enemies. Then they killed him, and as soon as Hejaj heard the news he fell down and worshipped. His head was cut off, and his body hung up; and for several days after, they smelled the perfume of the musk he had drunk.

Tharik said to Hejaj that never woman bore a braver man. "How," said Hejaj, "do you commend a man that was in rebellion against the emperor of the faithful?" Yes, answered Tharik, and he himself will agree with us; for only consider we have been besieging him these seven months, and he had neither army nor strong place of defence, nevertheless he was always a match for us, nay superior to us, This discourse of theirs reached Abdalmelik's ears, who said that Tharik was in the right.

Abdallah was caliph nine years, being inaugurated in the sixty-fourth year of the Hejirah, immediately after the death of Yezid the son of Moawiyah. He was a man of extraordinary courage, but covetous to the last degree. So that this sentence passed among the Arabians for a sort of a proverb, "That there was never a valiant man, but was also liberal, till Abdallah the son of Zobeir." He was in a great repute for his piety. He is said to have been so fixed and unmoved when he was at prayer, that a pigeon once lighted upon his head, and sat there a considerable time, without his knowing any thing in the matter. Abulfeda says he wore a suit of clothes* forty years† without putting them off his back, but doth not inform us of what they were made. This family of the Zobeirs passed amongst the Arabians for a half-witted sort of people.

After he was dead, all Arabia acknowledged Abdalmelik for their caliph, and Hejaj took the oaths of allegiance for him. This year Mohammed the son of Merwan took Assaphiyah, and beat the Greeks; and in this same year it was that Othman the son of Walid fought the Greeks on the side of Armenia with four thousand men, and beat their army consisting of sixty thousand.

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* Abulfed. MS. Poc. No. 303. † The Arabian historians never use figures to express their numbers, but write them in words at length. It is hardly to be supposed that the transcriber would be guilty of such a mistake as to write Arbaina for Arbaah, i. e. forty for four; and yet the other account is incredible.

Hejaj* being now, in the seventy-fourth year, master of all Arabia, pulled down the temple of Mecca, which Abdollah had repaired, placing the stone on the outside of it again, and restoring it to the very form it had before Mohammed's time. He exercised the most pitiless cruelties on the poor Medinians, branding them in their necks and hands. He used frequently to pick quarrels with them without provocation, and punish them without any crime. Meeting once with one of them, he asked what was the reason he did not assist Othman the son of Affan? He answered, he did. Hejaj told him he lied, and immediately commanded a stamp of lead to be put upon his neck. Thus he continued plaguing and tormenting them, till the Azarakites rising new commotions in the east, Abdalmelik thought his service necessary in those parts, and made him governor of Irak, Khorassan, and Sigistan; upon which he removed from Medina to Cufah, Abdalmelik's brother Bashar being then dead. As he entered into Cufah, muffled up in his turban,† curiosity drew the people round him; whereupon he assured them that they should soon know who he was. Going directly to the mosque, he mounted the membar or pulpit, where he assailed them with very rough words, swearing that he would make the wicked bear his own burden, and fit him with his own shoe. And a great deal more said he to the same purpose, both then and on other occasions, which increased their terror and aversion. Thus, one day,‡ he went into the pulpit, and after a short pause, he rose up and said:—"O Irakians! methinks I see the heads [of men] ripe and ready to be gathered, and turbans and beards sprinkled with blood."

The day after he came to Cufah, hearing a noise in the street, he went directly to the pulpit, and made a most reproachful speech, protesting that he would make such an example of them by the severity of his punishments, as should exceed all that went before, and be a pattern for all that should come after. He then began to give daily instances of his cruelty, and his rage vented itself particularly upon those that had any hand in the murder of the caliph Othman. Not long after this he went to Bassorah, where he made them a speech much to the same purpose as those he had delivered at Cufah; and to give them a taste of his discipline, caused one of them, who had been informed against as a rebel, to be beheaded upon the spot. This provoked the Irakians to such a degree, that they made an insurrection against him; but having beaten them in a drawn battle, he quickly put it down, and then sending eighteen of their heads to Mohalleb, returned to Bassorah.

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* An. Hej. 74. cœpit Maii 12, A.D. 693.

† An. Hej. 75. cœpit Maii 1, A.D. 694.

‡ Abulfaragius. MS. Laud. No. 161. A.

The Azarakites now appearing in considerable force, Hejaj sent Mohalleb and Abdarrhaman the son of Mehnef against them. These generals had good success at the beginning; but Abdarrhaman, thinking it a disparagement to his own dignity to be commanded by Mohalleb, neglected his advice and would not entrench, which gave the enemy an opportunity of cutting him off. But whatever encouragements the insurrection of the Bassorians against Hejaj gave the Azarakites at first, who hoped to make the best use of the dissensions of their adversaries, that tumult was soon quelled, and they found themselves disappointed.

But the greatest opposition that Hejaj* ever met with in the whole course of his life, was begun by Shebib a Karegite, and Salehh another sectary, who having been both on pilgrimage at Mecca, in the seventy-fifth year, when Abdalmelik was there, formed a conspiracy against him. The caliph being informed of it, sent orders to Hejaj to seize them. But notwithstanding Hejaj's vigilance, Salehh remained safe for a month, at least, in Cufah, where he concerted measures with his friends, and provided all things necessary for his undertaking. His sect were called the Safrians, and he was the first of them that ever appeared openly in arms; he was a man much given to devotion, and had a great many followers both in Mausal and Mesopotamia, to whom he used to read and expound the Koran. Some of his hearers desired him to send them a copy of what they once heard him deliver; he condescended to their request, and wrote as follows:—

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* An. Heg. 76. cœpit April 21, A.D. 695.

"Praise be to God,* who hath created the heavens and the earth, and appointed the darkness and the light. They that deny the faith make an equal to the Lord. 'O God! as for us, we will not make any equal to thee,' nor will we hasten but to thee; nor will we serve any besides thee. To thee belong the creation and the government, and from thee come good and evil, and to thee we must go.† And we testify that Mohammed is thy servant, and thy apostle whom thou hast singled out, and thy prophet whom thou hast chosen, and in whom thou hast delighted, that he should convey thy message, and thy warning to thy servants: and we bear witness that he conveyed the message, and admonished the people, and invited to the truth, and stood in righteousness, and helped religion, and made war upon the associators,‡ till God took him, on whom be peace. I exhort you to trust in God, and to abstain from the present world, and to desire the other, and frequently to remember death, and to love the believers, and to separate yourselves from the conversation of evil doers. For abstinence from the present world increaseth the desire of the servant towards that which is with God, and causeth his body to be at leisure to obey God; and the frequent remembrance of death maketh the servant stand in the fear of his Lord, so as to be moved with love towards him, and to humble himself before him. The separating from evil doers is a law to the Mussulmans. God Most High saith in his book:—'Never pray for any of them that are dead, nor stand at their grave, for they denied God and his apostle, and died doing evil.'§ And the love of the faithful is a means whereby the favour of God is attained, and his mercy, and his paradise (God make us and you of the number of those that bear witness to the truth, and persevere). Now it is of the gracious doing of God towards the believers, that he sent them an apostle of their own, who taught them the book and wisdom, and cleansed them, and purified them, and kept them in their religion, and was gentle and merciful to the faithful, till God took him, the blessing of God be upon him. And then the verifier[*] succeeded him, with the good liking of the Mussulmans, and governed according to his direction and tradition, till he went to God, God be merciful to him. He left Omar his successor, and God made him the governor of his flock, and he managed by the book of God, and revived the tradition of the apostle of God; neither did he cease to do justice to the people committed to his charge, nor feared any accusation in the cause of God till he went to him. God have mercy upon him. After him Othman governed the Mussulmans, and he pursued a shadow, and broke down the bounds, and perverted judgment, and weakened the faithful, and strengthened the wicked, and the Mussulmans went to him and killed him, and God and his apostle are clear of him. And after him the people agreed to give the government to Ali the son of Abu Taleb, who did not make it his business to judge according to the command of God to men; but joined himself to erroneous people, and was mixed among them, and played the hypocrite; and we are clear of Ali and his sectaries. Wherefore prepare yourselves (God have mercy upon you) with alacrity for the holy war against these jarring people, and these erroneous and unjust Imams; and for the going out of this transitory mansion to the mansion that shall remain, and for the being joined to your brethren the faithful, who have certain assurance, who sold the present world for the other, and laid out their substance in quest of the favour of God in the latter end. Neither be afraid of being killed for the sake of God; for the being killed is easier than death; and death cometh upon you quicker than thought, and makes a separation between you, and your children, and your families, and your present world, notwithstanding your exceeding aversion to it, and your fear of it. Wherefore sell yourselves and your substance in obedience to God, that you may securely enter into paradise, and embrace the black-eyed girls. God make us and you thankful, and full of remembrance, and keep us among such as are directed in the truth, and do according to that which is right."

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* Koran, ch. vi. 1.

† Arabic, "is the going."

‡ So they call all idolaters and Christians, as joining partners with God

§ Koran, ch. ix. 85.

[†] Arabic, Assidik. It is the surname of Abubeker, which Mohammed gave him because he verified or asserted the truth of Mohammed's journey to heaven in the night.

Once, when he was amongst his friends, he broke out into these expressions, "What do you stay for? How long will you stand still? For iniquity hath spread itself, and this injustice is grown to an exceeding height and vast distance from the truth, in defiance of the Lord. Wherefore let us see what is to be done, and come to some resolution." In the midst of these speeches there came a letter from Shebib to Salehh, desiring him, since he had complied with his request, to make an attempt upon the present powers, to inform him in what condition his affairs were; for there was no time to be lost; since he could not be sure that he would not be overtaken by death before he had an opportunity of engaging in a holy war, against these wicked ones. Salehh returned answer, "that he only waited for him; that his delay had already raised some suspicion in the rest, who were making all necessary preparations, and stayed for nothing but his coming." Shebib gathered together his small company and joined Salehh in Dara'leizirah, over which Mohammed Ben Merwan was governor. They seized some of his horses in a neighbouring village, upon which they mounted their foot. Mohammed soon received intelligence of their movements; but despising the smallness of their number (which did not exceed one hundred and twenty), commanded Adi to go against them with five hundred men, who however begged to be excused, affirming that he knew that one of their men was as good as a hundred of their own, and that it was unreasonable to send him with such an unequal force. Mohammed thereupon ordered him five hundred more: but with this thousand he marched from Harrad as unwillingly as if he had been going to the place of execution. When he drew near to Salehh, he sent a messenger to let him know that he had no wish to attack him; but if he would depart out of that territory, he might invade some other, and he would not oppose him. Salehh replied to the messenger, "Go and tell him, that if he is of our opinion, it shall be so; but if he be in the measures of the tyrants, and the Imams of enmity, we know what to do." To which Adi answered, "that he was not of his opinion, but that he did not come to fight either against him or any one else." Salehh had no sooner received this answer, than he ordered his men to ride full speed, and by this means surprised Adi saying the noon prayers, who suspected nothing of the kind, till he saw the horsemen close upon his camp; Adi's men were all out of order, and put to the rout before they could offer any resistance. Salehh trampled down Adi and his standard as he was at prayers, and moving directly to his camp, took possession of all that was in it. They that escaped carried the sad news to Mohammed, who was very angry, and ordered Kaled the son of Jora to march against them with one thousand five hundred men, and Hareth with one thousand five hundred more. Calling them both together, he bade them go out against these wicked Separatists; and, to add to their speed, told them that he that first came up with the enemy should have the supreme command.* Being informed that the enemy had marched towards Amed, they kept together in pursuit, and towards the evening came up with Salehh, who sent Shebib against Hareth, whilst he charged the other general himself. Notwithstanding the disproportion of numbers, the victory was a long time doubtful; for one of the Separatists could beat ten or twenty of the others. At last Kaled and Hareth, perceiving that their horse were repulsed, alighted and fought on foot. This movement quite altered the condition of the combatants, for by this means, they supported themselves with their lances against the enemies' horse, while at the same time their archers galled them, and the remainder of their horse trampled them down. Thus they continued fighting till night parted them, by which time Salehh had lost thirty men, and Kaled and Hareth more than threescore and ten. Both parties were sufficiently weary of one another, for the battle was very sharp as long as it lasted, and a great many were wounded on both sides. After they had said prayers, and refreshed themselves with such fragments as they had, Salehh asked Shebib his advice, who told him that they were over-matched, and that the enemy would by entrenching themselves render hopeless any attempt against them. Upon this they decamped under the protection of the night, and marched across Mesopotamia till they came to Mausil, and from thence to a place called Dascarah, where Hejaj having received intelligence of their approach, sent against them a body of five thousand men, under the command of Hareth Alhamdani. Three thousand of them were Cufians, and tried veterans, and the other two thousand were chosen men. On the march to Dascarah, Salehh, having gone with a small party to Jalouta and Catikin, Hareth pursued him to a place called Modbage, on the borders of Mausil, between Mausil and Juchi. There they came to an engagement. Salehh had then with him no more than ninety men, and these he divided into three companies, thirty in each. In a short time Salehh was killed. Shebib, having had his horse killed under him, fought on foot till he came to the place where Salehh lay dead; whereupon he called out to the Mussulmans to come to him, for they had no commander left, and bade them turn back to back, and so make good their retreat to a deserted castle in the neighbourhood. This they performed in good order, seventy of them getting there in safety. Hareth surrounded them in the evening, and bade his men set fire to the castle-gates, and then leave them till the morning, when they would be sure to find them. Shebib, having called his people together, told them that, whatever they proposed to do must be done by the favour of the night, because it would be absurd to expect that they should be able to defend themselves against such a force in the morning; upon this his men having first given him their hands in token of their submission, he ordered them to sally out and attack the enemy in their camp; the gates of the castle being burnt to coals, they wetted their saddle cloths, and, spreading them over the coals, stepped over. Hareth and his men were sleeping in their tents without any apprehension of danger, when about midnight they found Shebib and his men in the midst of the camp, slaying all before them. Hareth himself was struck down to the ground, but his men succeeded in carrying him off, and ran away in the greatest confusion and consternation. This victory, which is the first that Shebib got, added such courage to his party that his numbers daily increased, and became terrible to Hejaj himself, who made every exertion to extirpate them. After a great many battles, in all which Shebib came off superior, he seized the city of Cufah, in the absence of Hejaj, who was gone to Bassorah.

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* MS. Laud. No. 161. A.

This year Mohalleb died, whom Hejaj had made governor of Khorassan. He was a person of extraordinary character, both for his abilities and his generosity of temper. When he felt the approach of death, he called his sons about him, and gave them a bundle of arrows to break, which they told him they could not. Upon this he asked them, if they could break them one by one, and when they answered in the affirmative, he bade them imagine themselves to be like that bundle of arrows.

This year Abdalmelik caused money to be coined;* this was the first coinage of their own that ever was in use among the Arabians; for before they used to trade with Greek or Persian money. The following was the occasion of his so doing. Abdalmelik used to commence the letters that he sent to the Greek emperor, with these words, "Say, God is one;" † or, "Say, there is one God," and then mention the prophet with the date of the Hejirah. Whereupon the Grecian emperor sent him word, that he had made certain innovations in his style of writing, and therefore requested him to alter it, or else he would send him some coins with such a mention of their prophet upon them as he would not very well like. Abdalmelik was angry at this, and said, "A curse upon their coins;" and from that time began to make money of his own. Hejaj stamped some with this inscription, "Say, there is one God," which gave great offence to the Mussulmans, because, they said, the sacred name of God would be exposed to the touch of unclean persons of both sexes. Somyor a Jew regulated their coinage, which was but rude at first, but, in the succeeding reigns, it received several improvements.

Shebib had beaten the army which Hejaj had sent against him, and made such a vigorous opposition, that the Cufians were not able to keep the field.‡ Hejaj, however, resolved not to bear his insults any longer, represented the state of that part of the country to the caliph Abdalmelik, who reinforced him with a strong number of Syrians; whereupon Hejaj gave Shebib battle near Cufah. Shebib, who had in all but six hundred men, made a noble defence, but was forced at last to give way to the Syrians, when Hejaj was scarce able to hold up against him. At last Shebib's brother was killed, and his wife Gazalah, who had attended him when he went first to Cufah, having made a vow to say her prayers in the great temple, and read the "Cow" and the "Family of

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* Ebn Al Athir. MS. Pocock, 137.

† Koran. Where God is introduced, speaking so to Mohammed.

‡ An. Hej. 77. cœpit April 9, A.D. 696. MS. Laud. 161. A.

Amram" there, (i. e. the second and third chapters of the Koran), all which she had duly performed. A body of Syrians pursued Shebib, who killed a hundred of them with the loss of only thirty of his own men. Some of them were so tired with their march and the fight, that when they struck with their swords the blows fell powerless; and some of them struck as they sat, being unable to rise. In this condition Shebib left them, and, despairing of doing anything, passed over the Tigris and went towards Juchi. Afterwards repassing the Tigris at Waset,* he bent his course towards Ehwaz; going from thence into Persia, and so on to Kerman, where he rested and refreshed himself and his men. In the meantime Hejaj ordered his wife Gazalah's head to be washed and buried. Soon after Shebib began to advance again, when Hejaj sent against him Sofian the son of Alabrad, whom Abdalmelik had sent to his assistance out of Syria. They met at a bridge called Dojail el Ehwaz. Shebib was the first to pass the bridge, but after a sharp encounter was repulsed. Returning once more, he renewed the battle with fresh vigour, but was again beaten back; and when he came to the bridge, he made a stand with about a hundred men, who fought so bravely till the evening, that the Syrians declared they had never been so roughly handled before. Sofian, perceiving that at close quarters he could prevail nothing against them, commanded the archers to shoot at them, which they did for a while, till Shebib and his men rushed in upon them, and, having killed above thirty of them, wheeled about, and fell upon the main body, where they continued fighting desperately till night, when, they retreating, Sofian commanded his men not to pursue them. When Shebib, who had resolved to renew the fight in the morning, came to the bridge, he ordered his men to go over before him, and he brought up the rear himself. He was the last upon the bridge, and, his horse suddenly rearing, Shebib's foot struck against a boat which was moored alongside the bridge, by which he was suddenly dismounted, and fell into the water. When he came up to the surface, he said, "When God decrees a thing it is done." Then coming up a second time, he cried, "This is the decree of the

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* This is by way of prolepsis, for Waset was not then built.—Ebn Al Athir.

Almighty, the all-wise [God]!" and sank to rise no more. These were the last words of that great captain, concerning whose mother they relate the following remarkable story.*

Yezid the son of Naim was sent by Othman to assist the Syrian Mohammedans against the Greeks in the twenty-fifth year of the Hejirah. The Mussulmans, obtaining the victory, the Christians were exposed for sale. Among the captives, Yezid espied a tall, beautiful, black-eyed maid, whom he bought, and, carrying her to Cufah, commanded her to turn Mohammedan. Upon her refusal he caused her to be beaten, which only increased her aversion towards him to such a degree that, to bring her to a good humour, he was glad to let her alone. Afterwards she proved with child of Shebib, and her fondness to her master increasing daily, she turned Mohammedan of her own accord, in order to please him, so that she changed her religion before Shebib was born, which was on the tenth of the month Dulhagiah, being the day on which the pilgrims kill the sacrifices at Mecca. Awaking out of a slumber, she said, "I saw, as one that sleeps sees, that there went out from before me a flame which diffused itself round about the heavens, and spread itself to every quarter; after which, I saw that a coal dropped into a great water, and was quenched. Now, as I brought him forth upon the day wherein you shed blood, I thus interpret my dream. This son of mine will be a man of blood, and his condition, in a short time, will be exalted to a very high degree." Hearing once a false rumour of his being killed, she gave no credit to it, but as soon as she heard he was drowned she believed it, saying that she knew from the time of his birth that he would come to no other end.†

His body being drawn up with a net, his head was cut off, and sent to Hejaj; when he was opened, his heart was found prodigiously firm and hard like a stone.‡

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* Elmakin.

† MS. Laud. No. 161, A. Ebn Al Athir. MS. Pocock, No. 137.

‡ "As a proof of the spirit of Shebib, we are told that on one occasion he appeared suddenly before the gates of Cufah, and would have made himself master of the place but for the unexpected return of Hejaj from Bassorah. Compelled to quit the town, Shebib determined to leave behind him a proof at least of his matchless personal strength, and with a single stroke of his mace demolished the castle gate."—*Price.*

In the eighty-first year* died Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah, the third son of Ali, who, because he was not descended from Mohammed as Hasan and Hosein were, is not reckoned amongst the Imams, notwithstanding there were many who, after Hosein's death, secretly acknowledged him to be lawful caliph. Some of the sectaries look upon him as a great prophet, and believe that God hath taken him away, preserving him alive in a certain mountain† where he is to appear again, and fill the earth as full of justice and piety as it is at present of impiety and wickedness.

The Saracenic empire was free from all internal dissension from the time of Shebib's death till the eighty-second year,‡ when Abdarrhaman, the son of Mohammed, raised a dangerous commotion in the east, upon the following occasion. Hejaj, who hated him, sent him against Zentil, king of the Turks, with orders to carry the war into the midst of his country. Having a malicious design to destroy him, he gave him a very inconsiderable force. Abdarrhaman received secret intelligence of his barbarous intentions towards him, and soon acquainted his men with the object of the expedition they were engaged in. The soldiers were all in a rage at being so basely betrayed, and under a pretence of war sent to be murdered as a sacrifice to Hejaj's malice against their general. Vowing revenge, they unanimously swore to be true and faithful to Abdarrhaman, and, renouncing the service of Hejaj, prepared themselves to revenge his perfidiousness. Abdarrhaman, having first concluded a peace with the Turk, returned into Irak and marched directly against Hejaj, who, having been informed of his hostile intentions, had petitioned Abdalmelik for succour from Syria, who sent him a considerable army. With these supplies Hejaj marches against him, but being beaten in the first battle, Abdarrhaman moved with his victorious army to Bassorah, where a great many of the citizens, throwing off their allegiance to Abdalmelik, took the oath to him. Entrenching himself on one side of the city, he soon obtained a second victory over his enemies. From thence he proceeded to Cufah, where he was so far from meeting with any opposition, that the citizens came out of their own accord to meet him, and took the oath of allegiance to him. In the meantime, Hejaj gathered together all the forces he could; while, on the other hand, Abdarrhaman's army increased to the number of a hundred thousand men, among whom were several of prime note among the Bassorians, by whom Hejaj was hated for his cruelty. The two armies encamped near one another;* and in the space of a hundred days fought fourscore and one battles. At last, Hejaj put Abdarrhaman to flight, and slew four thousand of his men. Abdarrhaman retreated to Sahan, where he was seized by Hejaj's lieutenant. But Zentil the Turk, Abdarrhaman's friend and ally, having received notice of it, rescued him as he was being carried captive to Hejaj. Zentil, however, being threatened with a war by Hejaj† in case he refused to deliver him up, was preparing to surrender him; but Abdarrhaman, abhorring the thought of falling into the hands of his most implacable enemy, took an opportunity of killing himself by falling from the top of a high house.‡

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* An. Hej. 81. cœpit Feb. 25, A.D. 700.

† Redwa.

‡ An. Hej. 82. cœpit Feb. 14. A.D. 701.

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* Hejaj in Dairkorrah, and Abdarrhaman in Dairalimaiim.

† Abulfeda.

‡ "Of the many distinguished persons who had associated with Abdarrhaman, Saïd, the son of Hoban, rendered himself particularly obnoxious to Hejaj; but on the final defeat of the design Saïd escaped to Mecca. Several years afterwards, in the reign of Al Walid, Kaled the son of Abdallah was created governor of Mecca; and one of his first actions was to apprise Hejaj of the residence of Saïd, with other of the rebellious chiefs, at Mecca; in consequence of which orders were despatched that the obnoxious persons should be seized and conveyed to Hejaj. Saïd was one of the last of the survivors of the prophet's companions; and such was the veneration in which he was held, that during the journey one of his guards entreated him to escape; but the latter, resolving to abide his destiny, declined the offer. On being taken into the presence of Hejaj, he candidly acknowledged his error, and the tyrant appeared to relent; but being exasperated by some further observations of Saïd, he directed the executioners of his vengeance to strike off his head. Strange to relate, after the head was severed from the lifeless trunk, and weltering on the floor, it repeated three times, in a perfectly intelligible manner, the former half of the Mohammedan creed, 'La illah il Allah,' 'there is no God but God!' Surprised and disconcerted by a circumstance so extraordinary, Hejaj gave expression to his feelings by bitterly cursing that spawn of a Christian parent, Kaled, the son of Abdallah, whose officiousness had compelled him to witness so appalling a spectacle. In forty days from the execution of the son of Hoban, Hejaj was himself summoned before the eternal Judge to answer for his deeds, the ghastly resemblance of Saïd never ceasing to haunt his imagination to the day of his death."—*Price.*

In the eighty-third year,* Hejaj built a city upon the river Tigris, which he called Waset, from its lying in the middle between Bassorah and Cufah, that being the signification of the Arabic word. The Persian geographer† says, that it is situate at an equal distance from Bagdad, Cufah, Ehwaz, and Bassorah, that is, about fifty leagues from each of them.

Hejaj survived Abdalmelik, and managed all the chief affairs for some time under his son Walid. We, however, must terminate this part of our history (which we intended to carry down to the line of the Abbassides) with the reign of the former caliph; and it is uncertain whether we shall ever have either opportunity or inclination to continue it; therefore, before we take our leave of this great man, by whose vigilance, courage, and conduct, the empire of the Saracens was restored to perfect quiet, and firmly established under the government of the house of Ommiyah, it will not be amiss to relate here a few instances of the greatness and singularity of his genius.

One day, as he was taking a walk in the field, he met with a wild Arab, who knew nothing at all of him, and asked him what sort of a man this Hejaj was, whom every one talked so much of.‡ The Arab answered that he was a very wicked man. "Then," said Hejaj, "do you not know me?" The Arab answering "No," "I would have you to know, then," said Hejaj, "that it is Hejaj you are talking to now." The Arab, having heard this, said, without expressing the least concern, "And do you know who I am?" "No," answered Hejaj. "I am," said the Arab, "of the family of Zobeir, whose posterity all become fools three days in the year, and this I suppose is one of them." Hejaj could not forbear laughing, and admiring the ingenuity of the Arab. Although, therefore, he was extremely severe, and reckoned cruel, for he had, they say, in his lifetime, put to death a hundred and twenty thousand persons, and when he died had fifty thousand in his prisons, yet he pardoned this Arab out of esteem for his wit and courage.

The following anecdote, while it shows plainly enough what Hejaj's general character was, gives a remarkable trait of his occasional generosity. Having taken a great many officers prisoners in the battle where he defeated Abdarrhaman, he resolved to put them all to the sword. One of the captives cried out, just as he was going to be executed, that he had a piece of justice to demand of Hejaj. Greatly surprised, Hejaj asked what he had to demand of him. The prisoner answered, "When our general, Abdarrhaman, railed against you most violently, I told him he was in the wrong." Upon this Hejaj asked the prisoner if he had any witness to produce. "Yes," answered the prisoner; and pointed out one of his comrades condemned to death as well as himself, who was present when he said it. Hejaj, being satisfied of the truth of the fact, said to the witness, "And why did not you do so as well as your comrade?" This undaunted man answered him fiercely, "I did not do it because you are my enemy." Hejaj gave them both their lives; the one in acknowledgment of his obligation, the other for having confessed the truth with so much frankness and courage.

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* An. Hej. 83. cœpit Feb. 3, A.D. 702.

† D'Herbelot in Vasseth.

‡ D'Herbelot in Hejaj.

Some people having complained of the cruelty of his behaviour towards his subjects, and set the fear of God before his eyes; he instantly mounted the pulpit to harangue the people, and without any preparation, with his usual eloquence, addressed them in these words:—"God hath at present given me the power over you, and if I exercise it with some severity, do not think that you will be better off after my decease! In the way you live you will always be treated with severity. God hath a great many servants, and when I shall be dead he will send you another, who may possibly execute his commands against you with greater rigour. Would you have a prince sweet and moderate? Then exercise justice among yourselves and obey his orders. Depend upon it, that the behaviour of yourselves is the origin and the cause of the good or ill treatment which you receive. The prince may justly be compared to a looking-glass; all that you see in that glass is nothing but the reflection of the objects you present to it."

Once, when he was hunting, he lost his company, and found himself in a lonesome place, where an Arab was feeding his camels. His sudden appearance scared away the camels, which made the Arab, who at the time was minding something else, lift up his head in a great passion and say, "Who is this with his fine clothes that comes here in the desert to scare my camels? the curse of God light upon him." Hejaj, without taking notice of what he said, came up to him, and saluted him very civilly, wishing him peace; but he, instead of returning his salutation, answered him roughly, that he neither wished him peace, nor any blessing of God. Hejaj pretended not to understand him, and being parched with thirst, begged of him some water to drink. The Arab told him, that if he had a mind to drink, he might alight and help himself, for he was neither his fellow nor his man. Hejaj did as he bade him, and having drunk, asked him, "Whom do you believe to be the greatest and most excellent of all men?" "Why, the prophet sent by God, to be sure," said the Arab. "And what do you think of Ali," added Hejaj? The Arab answered, "His excellency cannot be expressed in words." Hejaj, continuing his discourse, inquired what he thought of Abdalmelik! The Arab was silent at first, but being pressed, gave him to understand that he took him to be a bad prince. "Why so?" answered Hejaj. "Because he has sent us for a governor the most wicked man under the heavens."

Hejaj, knowing that the Arab meant him, said no more; but just at that moment, it happened that a bird flying over their heads made a sort of noise, which the Arab had no sooner heard, but he looked stedfastly upon Hejaj, and asked him who he was. Hejaj, having asked the reason of his question, the Arab replied that the bird which flew by a moment ago, told me that there was a company of people not far off; and I think very likely you are the chief of them. The Arab had no sooner made an end of this discourse, when Hejaj's people came up, and received orders to carry the Arab along with them.

The day after, Hejaj called for him, and made him sit down at his table, and commanded him to eat; the Arab, before he began to eat, said his usual grace, "God grant that the end of this meal may be as fortunate as the beginning." Whilst they were eating, Hejaj asked him if he remembered the discourse that had passed between them the day before. The Arab answered him immediately; "God prosper you in everything; but as for yesterday's secret, take care you do not divulge it to day." "That I will," said

Hejaj; "but you must choose one of these two things, either to acknowledge me for your master, and then I will retain you in my service; or else to be sent to Abdalmelik, to whom I will give an account of all that you have said of him." The Arab, having heard Hejaj's proposal, answered him instantly: "There is a third way you may take, which seems to me to be much better." "What is that?" said Hejaj. "It is," said the Arab, "to send me home, and never to let me see your face any more." Hejaj, as fierce as he was, being pleased to hear the man talk with so much spirit, sent him home according to his desire, and gave him ten thousand drachms of silver.

It is proper to observe here, with regard to this bird that made itself understood by the Arab, that there are people in Arabia who pretend to know the language of birds. They say that this science has existed among them ever since the time of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, who had a bird called Hudhud, that is "the houp," who was the messenger of their amours.

There lived in the time of Hejaj, one Kumeil, the son of Ziyad, a man of fine wit, who by no means approved of his conduct in the government. One day Hejaj summoned him before him, and reproached him with having in a certain garden, and before such and such persons, whom he named, uttered many imprecations against him, such as, "The Lord blacken his face," that is, "Fill him with shame and confusion," and "May his neck be cut off, and his blood shed."

Kumeil, who had a very ready wit, answered him instantly: "It is true that I did say these words in that garden, but then I was under a vine-arbour, and was looking upon a bunch of grapes that was not yet ripe, and I wished that they might soon turn black, that they might be cut off and made wine of." This ingenious explication pleased Hejaj so well, that he sent Kumeil home, and restored him to his favour.

Hejaj also admitted to his familiar intercourse Ebn Corrah,* a person celebrated for his piety and his learning, and whose father had been one of the companions of the apostle.

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* D'Herbelot in Corrah.

One day when he was with him, the porter came to say that there was a Kateb or secretary at the gate; on which Ebn Corrah said:—"These secretaries are the worst of all sorts of people." The secretary, however, was well received by Hejaj, who, after he had dismissed him, said to Ebn Corrah, "Were it not for the title of companion of Mohammed that is in your family, I would slit your neck, for the Koran says, 'Honour the writers.'" Ebn Corrah immediately answered, "I spoke of the secretaries of the Divan, and not of the angels who are called writers in the Koran, because they write the actions of men to produce them at the last judgment."

It is reported that Hejaj,* to excuse the severity which he exercised over those that were under him, used frequently to say, "That a severe, or even violent government, is better than a weak and indulgent one. Because the former doth wrong only to some particular persons, whereas the latter hurts and injures the whole people."

He also used to say, that the obedience due to princes is more absolute and necessary than that which men owe to God. For the Koran, speaking of the latter, says, "Obey God as far as you are able." In which words there is a condition or exception. But of that which concerns princes, it is said, "Hear and obey," without any exception. "Therefore," said he, "if I command any one to submit to such or such a thing, and he refuses it, he is guilty of disobedience, and is consequently worthy of death."

Some one having heard him talk after this manner, said to him:—"You are an envious and an ambitious man, because you desire to have greater authority than others." To which he answered:—"He is still more envious and ambitious, who says to God, 'Give me, O Lord, a condition of life which nobody can enjoy after me.'"

Hejaj having once commended himself to the prayers of a religious Mussulman, he instantly prayed that it would please God to kill him quickly, for, said he, nothing better can happen either for him or for the people.

Mircond writes, that when he was seized with his last sickness, he consulted his astrologer, whether he did not find from his ephemerides that some great captain was near the end of his days. The astrologer answered, that according to his observations, a great lord, called Kolaib, was threatened with speedy death. Hejaj replied, "That is the very name which my mother gave me when I was a child." This word signifies in Arabic, "a little dog."

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* D'Herbelot in Hejaj.

The astrologer, no less imprudent in his discourse, than skilful in his art, went on very bluntly to say:—"Then it is you that must die; there is no room to doubt it." Hejaj, offended at this discourse, said instantly to the astrologer, "Since I must die, and you are so dexterous in your predictions, I will send you before me into the other world, that I may make use of you there;" and at the same time, gave orders for his being despatched.

The death of Hejaj is placed in the ninety-fifth year of the Hejirah, and the fifty-fourth of his age. They say he was so magnificent in his entertainments, that he had sometimes a thousand tables furnished, and that he was so liberal in his presents to his friends, as to give away a million of pieces of silver at one time.

Abulfaragius observes, that he fell sick with eating dirt. This dirt was a sort of medicinal clay, called by the Latins "Terra Lemnia," and by the Arabians, Thin, and Thin Mechtoum, Lutum, et Lutum sigillatum; this threw him into a consumption of which he died. Thus much concerning Hejaj out of Monsieur D'Herbelot.

In the 86th year of the Hejirah,* Abdalmelik died. When he was sick the physicians had told him, that if he drank he would die; but his thirst increased so violently, that he was not able to forbear any longer, but commanded his son Walid to give him some water, which the son refusing he called to his daughter Fatima to do so; but Walid, willing to keep him alive as long as he could, held her, and would not suffer it. Whereupon Abdalmelik told him in a passion, that if he did not let her go, he would disinherit him. So she gave him water, and he quickly expired. He died in the middle of the month Shewal: but he was always afraid of the month Ramadan, and used to say he should die in it; because in it he was born and weaned, had learned the Koran by heart, and also was saluted emperor.

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* An. Hej. 86. cœpit Jan. 1. A.D. 705. Ebn Al Athir.

He had two nicknames given him, the one was "the sweat of a stone,"* because of his extreme covetousness; the other was "father of flies," upon the account of his stinking breath, which was so nauseous that it killed all the flies that lighted upon his lips.

The inscription of his seal was, "I believe in God our Saviour."

Abulfeda says, "that he was a man of foresight, and of very good capacity and understanding; he was courageous, learned, and wise;† but his being made caliph quite turned him, and spoiled all his good qualities."

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* Arab. Rafhhol Hejer.

† Abdalmelik, who was himself a poet, assembled around him at his court, the most distinguished poets of his time, whom he rewarded in a most princely manner, and upon some settled handsome salaries. The poet Djerir received, for a single panegyrical ode, one hundred camels, eighteen slaves, and a silver jug. A Bedouin poet of some eminence once recited to the caliph a poem with which he was very much pleased. At the conclusion of it, the caliph asked him which he considered to be the best verse in any panegyrical ode; upon which the Bedouin selected and recited the following verse, which had been addressed by Djerir to Abdalmelik: "Art thou not the noblest among all who ride on camels? Is not thy hand the most generous in the whole world?" The caliph then inquired what he considered the best lyrical and satirical verses, when he again quoted from the compositions of Djerir. The latter, who was present, but unknown to the Bedouin, was so delighted with his opinions, that he immediately kissed and embraced him, and begged the caliph to present him with the whole of his own running salary, amounting to 15,000 dirhems. "Good!" said the prince of the Faithful, "That he shall have, and I myself will add to it another sum of the same amount."

On one occasion Abdalmelik caused a camel to be laden with gold, and then summoned the three lyrical poets, Omar the son of Abdallah, Djamil Ebn Mimar, and Kutheir Azza, and said, "Whichever of you three improvise the most tender verses upon his beloved, shall receive the camel." Omar commenced thus:—

"Oh might I but venture to kiss thy cheeks when my last moment approaches! might I, when dead, be moistened with the dew of thy lips, and embalmed with thy blood and with the dust of thy feet! Oh would that Suleima (this was the name of his beloved) might rest beside me in the grave, and be my companion whether in paradise or in hell."

Djamil next began:—

"O Butheima! I swear—and be sure my oath is sincere, for let me become blind if I swear falsely!—I swear by the consecrated animals which are sacrificed with the knife, that love has broken my heart, and I can no longer endure my life. But, if after I am dead, an exorciser will seek to resuscitate me with one single word from the lips of my beloved, I will instantly return to life."

He died in the sixtieth year of his age. He was much more powerful than any of his predecessors. He subdued Abdallah the son of Zobeir, and added Arabia to his dominions; quelled all the revolts of the Sectaries. In his reign India was conquered in the east, while in the west his victorious arms penetrated as far as Spain.*

Kutheir in his turn repeated :—

"By the life of my father and that of my mother! My beloved Azza puts all her enemies to the blush. Beautiful women visit me to prejudice me against Azza, but their cheeks are not to be compared to the beauty of the soles of my Azza's feet. Verily, should my Azza dispute with the morning star for the prize of beauty, impartial judges must inevitably award it to her."

Abdalmelik then said: "Friend of hell! (Omar) take the camel with all it bears upon its back."

Even the Christian poet, Achtal, experienced a kind reception from this caliph, and took his place in the first rank amongst the royal poets; for he had praised Yezid the son of Moawiyah, and derided the companions of the prophet who had opposed him. He was a contemporary and rival of Djerir and Ferasdak, and together with them formed the poetical triumvirate of the period.

Djamil died in an. Hej. 82. In Egypt he was once asked why he loved Butheima, who was so lean that birds might be cut to pieces with her bones. He replied, "Thou seest her only with thine eyes, otherwise thou wouldst not hesitate to appear before God as an adulterer in order to possess her."

Butheima was inconsolable at the tidings of Djamil's death. On one occasion she appeared before Abdalmelik, but her presence prepossessed him so little in her favour, that he observed to her, "Tell me what is it that excited Djamil to compose and dedicate to thee such tender verses." To which she replied, "What is it that the people found in thee, that they should have created thee caliph?" Abdalmelik smiled and granted her what she desired.—*Weil.*

* The following anecdotes of Abdalmelik are extracted from Lane's notes to the Arabian Knights :—

"Al Walid, the son of this prince, spoke so corrupt a dialect that he often could not make himself understood by the Arabs of the desert. Abdalmelik was greatly grieved at this deficiency in his son, which he considered would incapacitate him from being a future ruler of the Arabs, as they were great admirers of purity of speech, although a large proportion of them spoke very corruptly. To remove this defect he sent him to be instructed by a grammarian, but after the youth had remained there a long time, he returned to his father more ignorant than before. Vulgarisms, however, would sometimes escape from the mouth of Abdalmelik himself; yet, so fully did he appreciate eloquence, that when a learned man, with whom he was conversing, informed him in elegant language of an error of this kind, he ordered his mouth to be filled with jewels. "These," said his courteous admonisher, "are things to be treasured up; not to be expended:" and for this delicate hint, he was further rewarded with thirty thousand pieces of silver, and several costly articles of apparel. This caliph was, in the beginning of his reign, an unjust monarch; and is said to have been recalled to a sense of duty by the following hint:—Being one night unable to sleep, he called for a person to tell him a story for his amusement. "O prince of the faithful," said the man thus bidden, "there was an owl in El-Mosil, and an owl in El-Basrah; and the owl of El-Mosil demanded in marriage, for her son, the daughter of the owl of El-Basrah: but the latter said, 'I will not consent unless thou give me, as her dowry, a hundred desolate farms.' 'That I cannot do,' said the owl of El-Mosil, 'at present; but if our sovereign, may God preserve him! live one year more, I will give thee what thou desirest.'" This simple fable sufficed to rouse the prince from his apathy, and he thenceforward applied himself to fulfil the duties of his station.

"Abdalmelik was the first who gave his lieutenant in Africa, (who at that time was Hassan the son of An Nooman), instructions to possess himself of the arsenal in Tunis, to build vessels, and to collect all kinds of maritime stores, so as to enable the Arabs to continue by sea their conquests and incursions. It was with these vessels that Sicily was conquered."—*Don Pascual de Gayangos.*

HERE OCKLEY'S HISTORY TERMINATES. It was his wish to complete the dynasty of the Ommiades, but this he was prevented from accomplishing, first, by "inexorable necessity," as he himself tells us in his preface (page xxvi.), and subsequently by his death, which took place soon after the publication of the second volume of his work.

It is the intention of the publisher to give, in a future volume, not only a history of the remaining caliphs of the house of Ommiyah, in completion of the design of Ockley, but also a history of the long dynasty of the Abassides, down to the barbarous murder of Al Mostasem, the last caliph of that family, when Bagdad, the metropolis of Islamism, fell into the hands of Houlagou Khan, emperor of the Moguls and Tartars, and Saracenic history becomes merged in that of their conquerors.

This period will comprise 538 years; and though the history of the Saracens becomes less stirring and romantic the farther it is removed from the time of Mohammed and his immediate successors, the first four caliphs, called "companions of the prophet," yet it records many memorable events, and some even of as great celebrity as any that have preceded; such as the conquest of Spain and the Crusades.

Some indication of what is to follow is given in the accompanying Chronological Tables of the Caliphate, commencing with that of Walid I., the son and successor of Abdalmelik, the last caliph recorded by Ockley.

TABULAR VIEW

OF

THE HISTORY OF THE SARACENS,

In continuation of Ockley.

DYNASTY OF THE OMMIADES.

(For Table of the previous Caliphs, see commencement of volume.)

6. WALID I. AN. HEJ. 86—96. A.D. 705—715.

Musa reduces the Berbes in *Africa*, and subdues Mauritania and the whole northern coast. Victory of Catibah over the Turks. Conquest of Bokhara and Samarcand. Expedition into India. CONQUEST OF SPAIN.

7. SOLIMAN. AN. HEJ. 96—99. A.D. 715—717.

Defeated before Constantinople, and died of grief.

8. OMAR II. AN. HEJ. 99—101. A.D. 717—720.

Endeavoured to reconcile the sects of Omar and Ali, and died of poison.

9. YEZID II. AN. HEJ. 101—105. A.D. 720—724.

His generals successful, but he gives up his life to pleasure.

10. HASHEM. AN. HEJ. 105—125. A.D. 724—743.

Armenia, and the Khozens of the Caucasus, subdued. CHARLES MARTEL checks the conquests of the Arabs in the west. Rise of the Abassides.

11. WALID II. AN. HEJ. 125, 126. A.D. 743, 744.

Of a voluptuous disposition, and slain in his palace by conspirators.

12. YEZID III. AN. HEJ. 126. A.D. 744.

Reigned five months, and died of the plague.

13. IBRAHIM. AN. HEJ. 126. A.D. 744.

Deposed by Merwan after a reign of three months.

14. MERWAN II. AN. HEJ. 127—132. A.D. 744—750.

The Abassides make head in Khorassan, under the brothers Ibrahim and Abul-Abbas; and refuse to acknowledge Merwan. The latter, after being defeated on the banks of the Zab, flees into Egypt, whither he is followed by Abdallah, and, in another battle on the banks of the Nile, is defeated and slain.

DYNASTY OF THE ABASSIDES.

AN. HEJ. 132—656. A.D. 750—1258. THIRTY-SEVEN CALIPHS.

1. ABUL-ABBAS. AN. HEJ. 132—136. A.D. 750—754.

The fourth in descent from Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed.

2. AL MANSUR. AN. HEJ. 136—158. A.D. 754—775.

Destroys the cities of Ctesiphon and Seleucis, and founds Bagdad, which becomes the seat of the caliphs and the centre of commerce. In these two reigns all the Ommiades are put to death except Abdarrhaman, who escapes, and founds the dynasty of the Ommiades in Spain, which is lost to the caliphate, A.D. 755.

3. AL MAHDI. AN. HEJ. 158—169. A.D. 775—785.

Expends 666,000 gold crowns in a pilgrimage to Mecca. Haroun Al Rashid pushes as far as Nicomedia, on the sea of Marmora, and compels the Empress Irene to pay a yearly tribute of 70,000 dinars in gold.

4. AL HADI. AN. HEJ. 169, 170. A.D. 785, 786.

5. HAROUN AL RASHID (*"Aaron the Sage,"—the celebrated hero of the Arabian Nights*). AN. HEJ. 170—193. A.D. 786—809.

He was the friend and patron of learning—was always surrounded by learned men, and never built a mosque without attaching a school to it. Haroun sends an embassy to Charlemagne: among the presents is an hydraulic clock. Defeats the Greeks, ravages Asia Minor, captures Cyprus, and compels Nicephorus to pay tribute.

A FLOURISHING PERIOD OF ARABIAN ASTRONOMY, POETRY, PHILOSOPHY, ARCHITECTURE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Dynasty of the Aglabites founded at Kairwan and Tunis, A.D. 800—941. Edrisites at Fez, A.D. 808—908.

6. AL AMIN. AN. HEJ. 193—198. A.D. 809—813.

7. AL MAMUN. AN. HEJ. 198—218. A.D. 813—833.

Augustan period of Arabian literature. First dismemberment of the Arabian monarchy in the east. A band of Spanish Arabs take Crete. Euphemius invites the Saracens of Africa into Sicily—they take Palermo.

Dynasty of the Taherites founded at Khorassan, A.D. 820—872.

8. AL MOTASSEM. AN. HEJ. 218—227. A.D. 833—841.

Builds Saumara, which he makes the seat of government. Wars with Theophilus—their savage character. Turkish captives formed into the body guards of the caliphs. Gradual decline of the caliphate.

9. **Al Wathek.** An. Hej. 227—232. A.D. 841—847.

10. **Al Motawakkel.** An. Hej. 232—247. A.D. 847—861.

A persecutor of the Jews and Christians, whom he compels to wear broad belts of leather to distinguish them from Mussulmans.

Motawakkel was a tyrant, and trusted to his Turkish guard, who subsequently murdered him, and placed his son on the throne. After this act of treason they disposed of the throne at their pleasure.

11. **Al Mostanser.** An. Hej. 247, 248. A.D. 861, 862.

12. **Al Mostain.** An. Hej. 248—252. A.D. 862—866.

13. **Al Motaz.** An. Hej. 252—255. A.D. 866—869.

14. **Al Mohtadi.** An. Hej. 255—256. A.D. 869—870.

15. **Al Motamed.** An. Hej. 256—279. A.D. 870—892.

Re-establishes the capital at Bagdad, and reduces the strength and power of the Turkish guards.

Taherites overthrown, and Saffarian dynasty founded, by Yakub Ebn Seis, in Persia, A.D. 872.

Carmathians, or Karamites, in Eastern Arabia, A.D. 890—951. A set of fanatics who declare eternal war against the pomp of the court of Bagdad.

16. **Al Motadhed.** An. Hej. 279—289. A.D. 892—902.

Turkistan independent under Ismail Samani, A.D. 892. He conquers Persia.

17. **Al Moktafi.** An. Hej. 289—295. A.D. 902—908.

The caravan to Mecca plundered by the Karamites, and 20,000 pilgrims slain.

Ismael Samani conquers Persia.

18. **Al Moktader.** An. Hej. 295—320. A.D. 908—932.

A dissolute prince, who leaves the government to his ministers. The Karamites, under Taher, storm and plunder Mecca.

Fatimites in Egypt, A.D. 908. Mohammed Al Mahdi, descended from Hosein, the son of Ali and Fatima, whence the race is called Fatimite, claims the caliphate in Western Africa, and subverts the Aglabite and Edrisite dynasties.

19. **Al Kaher.** An. Hej. 320—322. A.D. 932—934. *Blinded and deposed.*

Insurrections in Persia end in the elevation of Imad Al Daulah, who founds the BUYIDE, or DEYLIMITE DYNASTY, A.D. 983—1056. Under their sway the language and genius of Persia revive.

20. Al Radhi. An. Hej. 322—329. a.d. 934—940.

An annual tribute of 50,000 dinars paid to the Karamites. Radhi was the last caliph who was invested with any considerable spiritual or temporal power; "the last," says Abulfeda, "who harangued the people from the pulpit, who passed the cheerful hours of leisure with men of learning and taste; whose expenses, resources, and treasures, whose table or magnificence, had any resemblance to those of the ancient caliphs."

21. Al Motaki. An. Hej. 329—333. a.d. 940—944.

22. Al Mostakfi. An. Hej. 333, 334. a.d. 944, 945.

Ahmed, the Buyide, establishes himself vizier of the caliph at Bagdad, and he and his descendants, under the title of Emir Al Omra, engross all political power.

23. Al Moti. An. Hej. 334—363. a.d. 945—974.

Maiz Ad Din, fourth Fatimite caliph, subdues all Africa and Egypt, and builds Cairo, a.d. 958—972.

Principality of Ghizni established, a.d. 961.

24. Al Tai. An. Hej. 363—381. a.d. 974—991. *Deposed.*

25. Al Kader. An. Hej. 381—422. a.d. 991—1031.

A just and pious prince. Mahmud, sultan of Ghizni, a.d. 997—1028, makes twelve expeditions into Hindustan, and enriches Ghizni with the spoil. Patronizes literature. Ferdusi, the Persian Homer, about a.d. 1020—Shahnameh of 60,000 distiches. Ghizni declines after a.d. 1032, and is confined to India; falls, 1183.

Rise of the Seljukian Turks.

26. Al Kaim. An. Hej. 422—467. a.d. 1031—1075.

Toghrel Beg, grandson of Seljuk, subdues and conquers Persia; takes Bagdad, marries the daughter of Al Kaim, and becomes Emir Al Omrah.

27. Al Moktadi. An. Hej. 467—487. a.d. 1075—1094.

Rise of Hassan Jubah, of Nishapur (old man of the mountain): his followers, called Assassins, numerous in Persia and Syria.

Seljuks in Syria, under Shah, capture Jerusalem; insult, rob, and oppress the Christian pilgrims—a cause of the Crusades. Melek dies, a.d. 1092; his kingdom is divided, and the Seljukian power declines.

28. Al Mortader. An. Hej. 487—512. a.d. 1094—1118.

Egypt. Mustali, the eighth Fatimite caliph, takes Jerusalem, a.d. 1096. Loses it to the Crusaders, a.d. 1099. Godfrey of Bouillon elected king of Jerusalem, Bohemond, prince of Antioch, Joscelyn, prince of Edessa. Acre taken, a.d. 1104. Tripolis taken, a.d. 1109. Berytus and Sidon, a.d. 1111.

29. Al Mostarshed. An. Hej. 512—529. a.d. 1118—1135. Murdered by the Assassins.

30. AL RASHID. AN. HEJ. 529—530. A.D. 1135—1136.

Defends Bagdad against the Turks, but is murdered by the Assassins.

31. AL MOKTAFI. AN. HEJ. 530—555. A.D. 1136—1160.

Defeated and taken by the Ghuz, a rebellious tribe of Turks in Balkh. He is carried about in an iron cage. Escapes and dies at Mene, A.D. 1157.

THE SECOND CRUSADE, A.D. 1146.

32. AL MOSTANJED. AN. HEJ. 555—566. A.D. 1160—1170.

Great disorders in Persia; the governors of provinces assume independence, and contend with each other for supremacy.

33. AL MOSTADHI. AN. HEJ. 566—575. A.D. 1170—1180. Proclaimed caliph in Egypt by Saladin.

SALADIN, sultan of Egypt, conquers Syria, Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia.

34. AL NASER. AN. HEJ. 575—622. A.D. 1180—1225.

The Assassins murder many eminent men, both Mohammedans and Christians.

SALADIN directs his attention against the Crusaders. Gains the victory of Tiberias, A.D. 1187. Captures Jerusalem, which leads to the THIRD CRUSADE, in which Richard Cœur de Lion, Philip Augustus, and Frederic Barbarossa engage. Richard defeats Saladin at Azotus, storms Jaffa, and concludes an honourable peace. Saladin dies, A.D. 1193; his dominions divided.

Conquests of Jengiz Khan, A.D. 1206—1227, Khan of the Mongols.

35. AL ZAHER. AN. HEJ. 622, 623. A.D. 1225, 1226. Reigns a few months.

36. AL MOSTANSER. AN. HEJ. 623—640. A.D. 1226—1240.

Persia subject to the Mongols, but the native princes suffered to rule as feudatories.

37. AL MOSTASEM. AN. HEJ. 640—656. A.D. 1240—1258.

Houlakou, grandson of Jengiz Khan, enters Persia, and becomes sultan, A.D. 1256—1265. Destroys the last of the Assassins. Takes Bagdad (1,600,000 killed at its capture), and puts the caliph, Mostasem, to death, A.D. 1258. End of the Caliphate of Bagdad.

The uncle of the last caliph went to Egypt, A.D. 1261, where the caliphate continued as a spiritual power till A.D. 1577.

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